

Unit 25

Urbanization

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Learning Objectives

After studying this unit you should be able to:

- Understand the term urban and urbanism
- Trace the historical antecedents to urbanisation in India
- Critically evaluate the theories on urbanization
- Analyse the social effects and problems of urbanisation

25.1 Introduction

I am sure you have heard the word urbanization and must have affair idea what it means. You probably associate it with growth of cities. Urbanization, indeed, is the process of becoming urban, moving to cities, changing from agriculture to other pursuits common to cities, such as trade, manufacturing, industry and management, and corresponding changes of behaviour patterns. It is the process of expansion in the entire system of interrelationships by which a population maintains itself in its habitat (Hawley, 1981). An increase in the size of towns and cities leading to growth of urban population is the most significant dimension of urbanization. The urban centers are essentially non-agricultural in character. In ancient times there have been great many cities such as Rome or Baghdad but ever since industrilisation and increasing industrial production and territory level production cities have grown phenomenally and now urbanization is very much apart of our contemporary life.

What exactly constitutes, urban and what is the process of urbanisation will be dealt with in the following sections. We will also talk about various theories associated with urbanization. We will discuss the growth of cities and some of the problems associated with urban centers as well.

25.2 Urban, Urbanism

What is an 'urban area'? The term is used in two senses - demographic and sociological. Demographically, the focus is on the size and density of population and nature of work of the majority of the adult males. Sociologically, the focus is on heterogeneity, impersonality, interdependence and the quality of life. Tonnies (1957) differentiated between *gemeinschaft* (rural) and *gesellschaft* (urban) communities in terms of social relationships and values. The former is one in which social bonds are based on close personal ties of kinship and friendship, and the emphasis is on tradition, consensus and informality, while in the latter, impersonal and secondary relationships

predominate and the interaction of people is formal, contractual and dependent on the special function or service they perform. Other sociologists like Max Weber (1961) and George Simmel (1950) have stressed on dense living conditions, rapidity of change and impersonal interaction in urban settings.

In India, the demographic and economic indexes are important in defining specific areas as town or city. The census definition of 'town' remained more or less the same for the period 1901-1951 but in 1961, a new definition was adopted. Up to 1951, 'town' included:

- 1) An inhabited locality with a total population of not less than 5,000 persons;
- 2) Every municipality, corporation and notified area of whatever size; and
- 3) All civil lines not included within municipal limits.

Thus, the primary criteria for deciding whether a particular place is a town or not was the administrative set-up rather than the size of the population. Because of this definition many of the towns in reality were nothing more than over-grown villages.

In 1961 'town' was redefined and determined on the basis of a number of empirical tests:

- a) a minimum population of 5,000,
- b) a density of not less than 1,000 per square mile,
- c) three-fourths of the occupations of the working population should be outside of agriculture, and
- d) the place should have a few characteristics and amenities such as newly founded industrial areas, large housing settlements, and places of tourist importance and civic amenities. As a result of the new definition of 'town' was a reduction in the total number of towns in India between 1951 and 1961. The 1961 basis was adopted in the 1971, 1981 and 1991 censuses too for defining towns.

Sociologists do not attach much importance to the size of population in the definition of city because the minimum population standards vary greatly. A city is an administratively defined unit of territory containing "a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals" (Wirth, 1938). Urban refers to a set of specialized, non-agricultural activities that are characteristic of, but not exclusive to, city dwellers. A ruling class with a capacity for taxation and capital accumulation and writing and its application to predictive sciences, artistic expression, and trade for vital materials are the kinds of specialized activities necessary to the definition of the emergence of a truly urban place (Childe, 1950).

Box. 25.1 Million Cities

A million city is, yes you guessed it, a city with one million (or more) inhabitants. According to the 1995 UN census these are the largest cities on the planet:

- 1) Tokyo (Japan) 27.2 million
- 2) Mexico City (Mexico), 16.9 million
- 3) Sao Paulo (Brazil) 16.8 million
- 4) New York (USA), 16.4 million
- 5) Bombay, India, 15.7 million

The 1971 census introduced the term urban agglomeration. Very often large railway colonies, university campuses, port areas, military camps etc. come up outside the statutory limits of the city or town but adjoining it. Such areas may not be themselves qualify to be treated as towns but if they formed a

continuous spread with the adjoining town, it would be realistic to treat them as urban. Such settlements have been termed as outgrowths, and may cover a whole village, or part of a village. Two or more towns may also be contiguous to each other. Such towns together with their outgrowths have been treated as one urban unit and called 'urban agglomeration'.

Box 25.2 Type of Cities

On the basis of broad common features of the cities we can classify them into following types:

Production centres - Jamshedpur, Ferozabad, Kanpur, Kolar

Centres of trade and commerce - Bombay, Madras

Capitals - Delhi, Lucknow etc.

Health and Recreation Centres - Mussoorie, Mysore, Kodaikanal

Cultural Centres - Amritsar, Ajmer, Hardwar

Diversified Cities - Varanasi

Urbanism

Urbanism has been defined by various scholars as patterns of culture and social interaction resulting from the concentration of large populations into relatively small areas. It reflects an organization of society in terms of a complex division of labour, high levels of technology, high mobility, interdependence of its members in fulfilling economic functions and impersonality in social relations (Theodorson, 1969).

Urbanism as way of life, Louis Wirth believes, may be empirically approached from three interrelated perspectives:

- as a physical structure with a population base, technology and ecological order;
- as a system of social organization with a structure and series of institutions (secondary contacts, weakening of kinship ties etc.);
- as a set of attitudes, ideas and constellation of personalities (increased personal disorganization, suicide, crime, delinquency and corruption).

25.3 The Process of Urbanization

Urbanization as a structural process of change is generally related to industrialization but it is not always the result of industrialization. Urbanization results due to the concentration of large-scale and small scale industrial and commercial, financial and administrative set up in the cities; technological development in transport and communication, cultural and recreational activities. The excess of urbanization over industrialization that makes it possible to provide employment for all persons coming to urban areas is, in fact, what sometimes leads to over urbanization. In India, a peculiar phenomenon is seen: industrial growth without a significant shift of population from agriculture to industry and of growth of urban population without a significant rise in the ratio of the urban to the total population. While in terms of ratio, there may not be a great shift from rural to urban activities, but there is still a large migration of population from rural areas to urban areas. This makes urban areas choked, there is lack of infrastructural facilities to cope with this rising populations.

Urbanization implies a cultural and social psychological process whereby people acquire the material and non-material culture, including behavioural patterns, forms of organization, and ideas that originated in, or are distinctive of the city. Although the flow of cultural influences is in both directions - both toward and away from the city - there is substantial agreement that the

cultural influences exerted by the city on non-urban people are probably more pervasive than the reverse. Urbanization seen in this light has also resulted in what Toynbee has called the “Westernization” of the world.

The idea of urbanization may be made more precise and meaningful when interpreted as aspects of diffusion and acculturation. Urbanization may be manifest either as intra-society or inter-society diffusion, that is, urban culture may spread to various parts of the same society or it may cross cultural or national boundaries and spread to other societies. It involves both borrowing and lending. On the other side of the diffusion coin is acculturation, the process whereby, individuals acquire the material possessions, behavioural patterns, social organization, bodies of knowledge, and meanings of groups whose culture differs in certain respects from their own. Urbanization as seen in this light is a complex process (Gist and Fava: 1933).

The history of urbanization in India reveals, broadly four processes of urbanization at work throughout the historical period. These are:

- a) the emergence of new social relationships among people in cities and between people in cities and those in villages through a process of social change;
- b) the rise and fall of cities with changes in the political order;
- c) the growth of cities based on new productive processes, which alter the economic base of the city; and
- d) the physical spread of cities with the inflow of migrants, who come in search of a means of livelihood as well as a new way of life.

Box 25.3

Sub-Urbanization, is closely related to over-urbanization of a city. When cities get over-crowded by population, it may result in sub-urbanization. Delhi is a typical example. Sub-urbanization means urbanization of rural areas around the cities characterized by the following features:

a sharp increase in the ‘urban (non-agricultural) uses’ of land
inclusion of surrounding areas of towns within its municipal limits, and
intensive communication of all types between town and its surrounding areas

Over Urbanization refers to the increased exemplification of the characters of urbanisation in a city or its surrounding rural area. It results due to the excessive development of urbanistic traits. Due to the expansion of the range of urban activities and occupations, greater influx of secondary functions like industry, increasing and widespread development of an intricate bureaucratic administrative network, the increased sophistication and mechanization of life and the influx of urban characters into the surrounding rural area, over urbanization gradually replaces the ruralistic and traditionalistic traits of a community. Mumbai and Calcutta are two such examples of cities.

Urbanization as a Socio-Cultural Process

Cities are social artifacts and stands apart from the countryside, in terms of the higher degree of its acceptance of foreign and cross-cultural influences. It is a melting pot of people with diverse ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds. Seen in this light, urbanization is a socio-cultural process of transformation of folk, peasant or feudal village societies.

India has a continuous history of urbanization since 600 BC. Over this period, three major socio-cultural processes have shaped the character of her urban societies. These are Aryanization, Persianization and Westernization.

The Aryan phase of urbanization generated three types of cities:

- a) the capital cities, where the secular power of the kshatriyas was dominant;
- b) the commercial cities dominated by the vaishyas; and
- c) the sacred cities, which, for a time, were dominated by Buddhists and Jains, who were kshatriyas, and later by brahmins.

With the advent of the Muslim rules from the 10th century AD, the urban centers in India acquired an entirely new social and cultural character. The city became Islamic; Persian and later Urdu was the official language of state and Persian culture dominated the behaviour of the urban elite.

The impact of 150 years of British rule in India, that is, Westernization, is clearly visible in various aspects of city life today - in administration, in education, and in the language of social interaction of the city people and their dress and mannerisms. Urbanism is clearly identified with westernisation.

Reflection and Action 25.1

Based on your experience, what do you think is the present cultural character of city/cities in India? Do you think it is westernisation which is the dominating cultural impact or are there other influences? Write a note on this and share it with friends or fellow classmates at the study centre.

Urbanization as a Political - Administrative Process

The administrative and political developments have played an important role in urbanization in the past and they continue to be relevant today. From about the 5th century BC to the 18th century AD, urban centers in India emerged, declined or even vanished with the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires. Patliputra, Delhi, Madurai and Golconda are all examples of cities that flourished, decayed, and sometimes revived in response to changes in the political scene. The administrative or political factor often acts as an initial stimulus for urban growth; which is then further advanced by the growth of commercial and industrial activities.

Urbanization as an Economic Process

Urbanization in modern times is essentially an economic process. Today, the city is a focal point of productive activities. It exists and grows on the strength of the economic activities existing within itself. It is the level and nature of economic activity in the city that generates growth and, therefore, further urbanization.

Urbanization as a Geographical Process

The proportion of a country's total population living in urban areas has generally been considered as a measure of the level of urbanization. Population growth in urban areas is partly a function of natural increase in population and partly the result of migration from rural areas and smaller towns. An increase in the level of urbanization is possible only through migration of people from rural to urban areas. Hence, migration or change of location of residence of people is a basic mechanism of urbanization. This is essentially a geographical process, in the sense that it involves the movement of people from one place to another.

There are three major types of spatial moments of people relevant to the urbanization process. These are

- a) the migration of people from rural villages to towns and cities leading to macro-urbanization
- b) the migration of people from smaller towns and cities to larger cities and

capitals leading to metropolisation. It is essentially a product of the centralization of administrative, political and economic forces in the country at the national and state capitals. It is also a product of intense interaction between cities and the integration of the national economy and urban centers into a viable independent system.

- c) The spatial overflow of metropolitan population into the peripheral urban feigned villages leading to a process of sub-urbanization. It is, essentially, an outgrowth of metropolization and here there is a reverse flow of people from the city to the countryside.

25.4 Urbanization in India

In this section, we will the historical background to urbanization in India and see how influential history was in the present situation of urban places and process of urbanization. Urbanization did not occur once but has recurred over and over in history as societies have urbanized at different times. It is an ongoing process that has never stopped and has rarely, showed since it's beginning.

India has long history of urbanization with spatial and temporal discontinuities. The first phase of urbanization in the Indus valley is associated with the Harappan civilization dating back to 2350BC. The two cities of Mohanjodaro and Harappa represent the climax of urban development attained in the Harappan culture. This great urban civilization came to end at about 1500 B.C, possibly as a result of Aryan invasion.

The second phase of urbanization in India began around 600 BC. The architects of this phase were the Aryans in the North and the Dravidians in the South. From this period onwards, for about 2500 years, India has had more or less continuous history of urbanization. This period saw the formation of early historical cities and also the growth of cities in number and in size especially during the Mauryan and post-Mauryan eras.

The Mughal period stands out as a second high watermark of urbanization in India (the first occurring during the Mauryan period), when many of India's cities were established.

The early part of British rule saw a decline in the level of Indian urbanization. The main reasons for the decline of cities during this period are:

1. the lack of interest on the part of the British in the prosperity and economic development of India, and
2. the ushering in of the industrial revolution in England.

During the latter half of British rule, Indian cities regained some of their last importance; further, the British added several new towns and cities, in addition to generating newer urban forms in the existing cities.

The following elements constituted the permanent components of the Indian urban system:

1. the military-political town, serving as a center for the flow of cash nexus in the society and often for the redistributive system, and
2. the temple or the full-fledged temple town.

The great variations existing among the different periods and areas developed with respect to (a) the degree of existence of a more centralized hierarchy; (b) the relative importance of coastal towns in relation to those of the hinterland and (c) the importance of temple centres and networks in relation to the more political and commercial towns.

Facets of British Influence on Urbanization

During the 150 years of British rule, India's urban landscape went through a radical transformation. The major contributions of the British to the Indian urban scene were:

1. The creation of the three metropolitan port cities (Calcutta, Bombay and Madras) which emerged as the leading colonial cities of the world.
2. The creation of Hill stations (Simla, Darjeeling, Mahabaleshwar etc.) and plantation settlements in Assam, Kerala and elsewhere.
3. Introduction of the Civil Lines and the Cantonments. The Civil Lines contained the administrative offices and courts as well as residential areas for the officers, whereas the Cantonments were most often built near major towns for considerations of security.
4. The introduction of the railways and modern industry which led to the creation of new industrial townships such as Jamshedpur, Asansol, Dhanbad and so on, and
5. The improvements in urban amenities and urban administration.

In the British period, Indian cities became the focal points of westernisation. Schools and colleges trained boys and girls in western thought and languages. A new western oriented urban elite emerged whose dress, eating habits and social behaviour reflected western values and attitudes. With the process of westernization, there has been a concomitant alienation of the urban elite from the urban and rural masses.

Urbanization in the Post-Independence Period

This period has witnessed rapid urbanization in India on a scale never before achieved. The major changes that have occurred in India's urban scene after independence are:

- 1) the influx of refugees and their settlement, primarily in urban areas in northern India,
- 2) the building of new administrative cities, such as Chandigarh, Bhubaneswar and Gandhinagar,
- 3) the construction of new industrial cities and townships near major cities,
- 4) the rapid growth of one-lakh and million cities
- 5) the stagnation and decline of small towns
- 6) the massive growth of slums and the rural-urban fringe and
- 7) the introduction of city planning and the general improvement in civic amenities.

25.5 Theories of Urbanization

City forms the central point of urban sociology. Like many other sociological categories, the city is an abstraction composed of concrete entities like residences and shops and an assortment of many functions. A place is legally made a city by a declaration by a competent authority. Sorokin and Zimmerman enumerate eight characteristics in which the urban world differs from the rural world. These are (1) occupation (2) environment (3) size of community (4) density of population (5) heterogeneity (6) social differentiation and stratification (7) mobility and (8) system of interactions.

The study of cities was a subject that had already explored in the second part of the 19th century in early classical sociology with its celebrated dichotomies,

such as Maine's (1931) distinction between status and contract and Morgan's (1877) contrast between savagery, barbarism and civilization. This aspect was further developed by Tonnies (1957), who contrasted *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*, and by Durkheim (1964), who distinguished between "mechanical and "organic" solidarity. Tonnies and Durkheim believed that the *gemeinschaft* type of social organization, or mechanical solidarity, is fully developed in cities, particularly in modern cities.

In 1920-1940s a number of sociologists from the University of Chicago put forward ideas which for many years were the chief basis for theory and research on urban sociology. Two strands of the Chicago school that we are going to examine are the ecological approach and the 'urbanism as a way of life' approach developed by Wirth.

Louis Wirth - Urbanism as a Way of Life

Wirth was one of the pioneers of the study of urbanism and his was the first systematic attempt to distinguish the concepts of urbanism and urbanization. His social-psychological theory investigates the human behaviour in an urban environment. He indicated that size, density and heterogeneity - regarded as the principal traits in defining cities - are conducive to specific behavioral patterns and moral attitudes (Wirth, 1938). For him "a city is a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals". Urbanism is that complex of traits that makes up the characteristic mode of life in cities. Urbanism, as a way of life, may be approached empirically from three interrelated perspectives:

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

Louis Wirth shows two kinds of forces operating in urban society: the force of segregation and the melting pot effect; which has many unifying aspects like uniform system of administration etc. However, he concludes that urban society is based on a means-to-end rationality, which is exploitative and where the individual is isolated through anonymity. Wirth believed that the density of life in cities produced neighbourhoods, which have the distinctive characteristics of traditional communities.

Wirth's theory is important for its recognition that urbanism is not just part of a society, but expresses and influences the wider social system. However, Wirth's observations are based on American cities, which are generalized to urban centers everywhere, where situations are different.

The Ecological Approach

In natural sciences the term ecology is used to understand the relationship plants and animals have with their environment. The term is used in a similar way to understand the process of urbanisation, by such scholars as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Amos Hawley. The scholars of ecological approach feel that cities do not grow randomly but grow along lines and in response to features which are advantageous to it - along rivers, near natural resources, in the intersection of trading routes etc. They feel that cities become ordered in to "natural areas", through a process of competition, invasion and succession. Patterns of location, movement and relocation in cities follow similar principles. These scholars view cities as a map of areas with distinct characteristics. Burgess sees them as concentric zones - Central Business District (with

concentration of trade, retail, business and related activities are located), the Transition Zone to the outer fringes which he calls the Commuter Zone-the satellite towns and suburbs. Process of invasion and succession occur within these segments.

Some of the principles of these theories can be applied to Indian situation especially to growth's such as suburbs such as Gurgaon in outer fringes of Delhi or the growth of suburbs in Bombay but largely the theory is based on American cities which have distinct characteristics. The theory, also, underemphasises the role of planning and design in cities.

Urbanism and Created Environment : Harvey and Castells

More recent theorist such as David Harvey and Manuell Castell's have stressed that urbanism is not an autonomous process, but is part of a larger political and economic processes and changes.

In modern urbanism , Harvey points out space is continually restructured .The process is determined by large firms, who decide where they should open their businesses, factories etc and by policies, controls and initiatives asserted by governments which can change the landscape of a city.

Like Harvey, Castells stresses that spacial form of a city is very much related to the larger process of the society. Castells further adds the dimension of the struggles and conflicts of various groups who make up the cities. He gives the example of gay community who have reorganized the structure of San Francisco city. He believes that it is not only big corporations, businesses and government which influence the shape a of a city but also the communities and groups who live in cities.

Harvey and Castells analysis of uranbinasation and urabn situation adds an important dimension - the political economy of a system.

Reflection and Action 25.2

According to Harvey and Castellls the special form of a city is very much influenced by the politico-economic considerations of corporations, business houses and governments.

Give examples from the Indian cities to support the above statement.

Indian Sociologists : Rao and Bose

M.S.A. Rao (1970), analysis urabinasation and urbanism keeping in mind the larger social structures of Indian society. For him, urbanism is a heterogeneous process and hence there can be many forms of urbanisms giving rise to many types of urbanization. Rao states that the dichotomy between cities and villages is incorrect as both have the same structural features of caste and kinship and are parts of the same civilization. Moreover, urbanization and westernization are not identical and should not be confused. Urbanization does not lead to the breakdown of traditional structures of caste and joint family. The traditional and modern structures coexist in the urban milieu because of which various types of urbanisms exist - post-industrial, pre-industrial, western, non-western etc. Further, urbanization is seen in relation to social change and no real social transformation is associated with it. However, due to urbanization new forms of social organization and association have emerged. Thus, for Rao, urbanization is a complex multifaceted process comprising of ideological, cultural, historical, demographic, comparative, traditional and sociological elements. Rao defines a city as a center of urbanization and urban way of life. Urbanization is a two way process. Urbanization in India is not a uniform process but occurs along different axes

- administrative, political, commercial, religious and educational - giving rise to several types of urbanisms. These different axes give rise to different types of contact which the city has with the villagers leading to distinct patterns of urbanization.

He distinguishes three kinds of situations of social change in rural areas resulting from urbanization: villages near an industrial town, villages with a sizable number of emigrants working in towns and cities, and villages on the metropolitan fringe. Rao believed that through the study of migration, one could observe the similarities, dissimilarities and continuity between villages and towns. Rao's sociological approach is the most complete approach to the study of urbanization because he tries to examine them in all their different facets and relate these facets to one another and to a sociological understanding of urbanism and urbanization.

Ashish Bose's demographic classification emphasizes quantitative factors like demography rather than qualitative factors in defining urbanization. For him, urbanization, in the demographic sense, is an increase in the proportion of the urban population (U) to the total population (T) over a period of time. As long as U/T increases there is urbanization. The process of urbanization is a continuing process which is not merely a concomitant of industrialization but a concomitant of the whole gamut of factors underlying the process of economic growth and social change.

Bose outlines the characteristic features of urbanization in India. He made a decade-wise differentiation in terms of percentage of urbanization. Here urbanization is affected by trends in migration. He recognizes the push-back and turn-over factors of migration. He considered four variables affecting urban growth:

- a) Proportion of new towns to total urban population;
- b) Proportion of declassified towns to the total population;
- c) Proportion of declining towns to the total population;
- d) Proportion of rapidly growing towns to the total urban population.

Only when these are combined, it will be possible to analyze the process of urbanization in India. Bose used the concepts of towns and cities interchangeably.

25.6 Social Effects of Urbanization in India

Urbanisation has far reaching effects on larger societal process and structures. Let us capture some of these change and effects in the following sub sections.

Family and kinship

Urbanization affects not only the family structure but also intra and inter family relations, as well as the functions the family performs. With urbanization, there is a disruption of the bonds of community and the migrant faces the problem to replace old relationships with new ones and to find a satisfactory means of continuing relationship with those left behind. Several empirical studies of urban families conducted by scholars like I.P. Desai, Kapadia and Aileen Ross, have pointed out that urban joint family is being gradually replaced by nuclear family, the size of the family is shrinking, and kinship relationship is confined to two or three generations only. In his study of 423 families in Mahuva town in Gujrat, I.P. Desai (1964) showed that though the structure of urban family is changing, the spirit of individualism is not growing in the families. He found that 74 percent families were residentially nuclear but functionally and in property joint, and 21 percent were joint in residence and functioning as well as in property and 5 percent families were nuclear.

Kapadia (1959) in his study of 1,162 families in rural and urban (Navsari) areas in Gujrat found that while in rural areas, for every two nuclear families there were three joint families; in urban areas, nuclear families were 10 percent more than joint families.

Aileen Ross (1962) in her study of 157 Hindu families belonging to middle and upper classes in Bangalore found that

1. about 60 percent of the families are nuclear
2. the trend today is towards a break with the traditional joint family form into the nuclear family form into the nuclear family unit.
3. Small joint family is now the most typical form of family life in urban India.
4. Relations with one's distant kin are weakening or breaking.

Though intra-family and inter-family relations are changing, it does not mean that youngsters no longer respect their elders, or children completely ignore their obligations to their parents and siblings, or wives challenge the authority of their husbands. One important change is that 'husband-dominant' family is being replaced by 'egalitarian family' where wife is given a share in the decision-making process. I.P. Desai maintains 'in spite of strains between the younger and older generations, the attachment of the children to their families is seldom weakened'.

Sylvia Vatuk maintains that the ideal of family "jointness" is still upheld although living separate. The extended family acts as a ceremonial unit and close ties with the members of agnatic extended family are maintained. Also, larger kinship clusters including groups of bilaterally and affinally related household within the same or closely adjacent mohallas exist. There is a tendency towards bilateral kinship in urban areas. In her study of Rayapur in 1974-1976, Vatuk mentions the increasing tendencies toward individualizing the marital bond and decline of practices such as levirate widow inheritance, widow remarriage, marriage by exchange, polygyny etc. The impact of urbanization is also seen in the urban pattern of increasingly homogenized values and ways of behaving.

Thus, gradual modification of the family structure in urban India is taking place such as diminishing size of the family, reduction in functions of family, emphasis on conjugal relationship etc. Kinship is an important principle of social organisation in cities and there is structural congruity between joint family on one hand and requirements of industrial and urban life on the other. In his study of nineteen families of outstanding business leaders in Madras, Milton Singer(1968) argues that a modified version of traditional Indian joint family is consistent with urban and industrial setting.

Urbanization and Caste

It is generally held that caste is a rural phenomenon whereas class is urban and that with urbanization, caste transforms itself into class. But it is necessary to note that the caste system exists in cities as much as it does in villages although there are significant organisational differences.

Caste identity tends to diminish with urbanization, education and the development of an orientation towards individual achievement and modern status symbols. Andre Beteille (1966) has pointed out that among the westernized elite, class ties are much more important than caste ties.

A noticeable change today is the fusion of sub-castes and fusion of castes. Kolenda (1984) has identified three kinds of fusion: (i) on the job and in newer

neighbourhood in the city, persons of different sub-castes and of different castes meet; (ii) inter-sub-caste marriages take place, promoting a fusion of subcastes; (iii) democratic politics also fosters the fusion of sub-castes.

Studies of many sociologists like Srinivas (1962), Ghurye (1962), Gore (1970), D'Souza (1974), Rao (1974), have shown that caste system continues to persist and exert its influence in some sectors of urban social life while it has changed its form in some other sectors. Caste solidarity is not as strong as in urban areas as in the rural areas. Caste panchayats are very weak in cities. There exists a dichotomy between workplace and domestic situation and both caste and class situations co-exist.

In respect to the change in the distribution of power, we find that in pre-British India, upper caste was also the upper class. But with education and new types of occupations, this correlation of caste and class is no longer true. Beteille (1971) pointed out that higher caste does not always imply higher class. This disharmony is most often found in the Indian cities where new job opportunities have developed.

The establishment of caste association again reveals the vitality of caste system. The most powerful role that caste identity is playing in contemporary period is in politics which governs the power dimension. Caste acts as a 'vote bank' in both rural and urban areas and because of this, it is being revived in urban areas. Caste also becomes a basis for organising trade union like associations, which serves as interest groups which protect the rights and interest of its caste members.

Certain aspects of behaviour associated with caste ideology have now almost disappeared in the urban context. The rules of commensality, or inter-dining among castes, have very little meaning in the cities. The frequency of inter-caste and inter-region marriages has increased.

Neighbourhood interaction in urban settlements is marked by a high degree of informality and caste and kinship are major basis of such participation. Lynch's (1967) study of an untouchable caste, Jatavs, in Agra showed that Jatavs had well-knit mohalla (ward) organization which resembled a village community in many respects. Doshi's (1968) study of two caste wards in the city of Ahmedabad also refers to the traditional community organization.

Urbanization and Status of Women

Women constitute an important section of rural urban migrants. They migrate at the time of marriage and also when they are potential workers in the place of destination (Rao). While middle class women get employed in the white collar jobs and professions, lower class women find jobs in the informal sector. Women are also found in the formal sector as industrial workers.

The onslaught of forces of rapid industrialization in a patriarchal social system led men to move out in order to qualify for the labour market by acquiring specialized skills. Women were traditionally relegated to the informal and family setting.

But many positive developments took place in the socio-economic lives of women as a result of increasing urbanization. Increasing number of women have taken to white-collar jobs and entered different professions. These professions were instrumental in enhancing the social and economic status of women, thereby meaning increased and rigorous hours of work, professional loyalty along with increased autonomy. The traditional and cultural institutions remaining the same, crises of values and a confusion of norms have finally resulted. The personally and socially enlightened woman is forced to perform the dual roles - the social and the professional roles (Gore (1968), Kapur (1970),

Ross (1983)).

In the cities of India, the high level education among girls is significantly associated with the smaller family size. Though education of women has risen the age of marriage and lowered the birth rate, it has not brought about any radical change in the traditional pattern of arranged marriages with dowry. Margaret Cormack (1961) found in her study of 500 university students that girls were ready to go to college and mix with boys but they wanted their parents to arrange their marriage. Women want new opportunities but demand old securities as well.

The status of urban women, because of being comparatively educated and liberal, is higher than that of rural women. However in the labour market, women are still in a disadvantaged situation. D'Souza (1963) reveals the psychological, household and social problems to which they are exposed.

Reflection and Action 25.3

While women in cities have more opportunities to find employment, both as white collar workers or in the unorganized sector, they are open to more vulnerabilities than the rural women

Find out from workingwomen in cities, both in organized and unorganized sector, what these added disadvantages and vulnerabilities are.

Thus, while rural women continue to be dependent on men both economically and socially, urban women are comparatively independent and enjoy greater freedom.

Urbanization and Rural Life

Urbanization through migration to urban centres is a global phenomenon. Many migrate to cities because of the availability of jobs there. Migration has become a continuous process affecting the social, economic and cultural lives of the villagers. Rao (1974) examined the social changes in a metropolitan fringe village (Yadavpur). He distinguished three kinds of situations of social change in rural areas resulting from urbanization:

1. In villages from where a large number of people have sought employment in far off cities, urban employment becomes a symbol of higher social prestige.
2. In villages situated near an industrial town with a sizable number of emigrants working in towns and cities, face the problems of housing, marketing and social ordering.
3. The growth of metropolitan cities accounts for the third type of urban impact on the surrounding villages. As the city expands, some villages become the rural pockets in the city areas. Hence the villagers participate directly in the economic, political and social activities, and cultural life of the city.

Srinivas (1962) outlined the general impact of both industrialisation and urbanization on villages. He showed how the different areas of social life are being affected by urban influences. He pointed out that emigration in South India has had a caste component as it was the Brahmins who first left their villages for towns and took advantage of western education and modern professions. At the same time as they retained their ancestral lands they continued to be at the top of the rural socio-economic hierarchy. Again, in the urban areas they had a near monopoly of all non-manual posts.

Holmstrom (1969) analysed the political network of leaders in a rural pocket within the Bangalore Corporation in the context of an election. Majumdar

(1958) in his study of Mohana village near Lucknow, noted that the village economy is influenced by the urban market, although in an indirect way. Eames' (1954) study of a village in U.P. showed that many emigrants have left their families behind, and they regularly send money home. Such a 'money-order economy' has enabled the dependents to clear off loans, build houses and educate their children.

R.D. Lambert (1962) in his extensive review of studies concerning the impact of urban society upon village life, points out different degrees of urban influence on the rural life. Social changes are maximal in areas where displacement is sudden and substantial due to urbanization.

Thus migration is a key process underlying the growth of urbanization. Far from being a mechanical process, it is governed by economic, social and cultural factors. This culture contact initiates certain processes of interaction and different modes of social adjustment in urban areas. Migration has acquired a special significance in the context of commercialization of agriculture; it has major implications for urbanization, slums and social change; it has notable feedback effects on the place of origin, as the migrants maintain different kinds and degrees of contact, thus increasing the continuity between rural and urban areas. Many cultural traits are diffused from area one to another. Also, new thoughts, ideologies are also diffused from the cities to the rural areas due to increase in communication via radio, television, newspaper etc.

Urban Politics

Rao (1974) has identified four problem areas in the study of political institutions, organization and processes in the urban context: 1) Formal political structure 2) Informal political organizations 3) Small town politics and 4) Violence.

There is the formal political structure, municipal or corporation government where national, regional and local political parties compete for positions of power. Lloyd Rudolph's (1961) essay on Populist Government in Madras outlines the struggle for power in the Madras Corporation and shows the decisive dominance of the D.M.K, a regional political party. It also reveals the control exercised by the party leaders in the context of the anti-Brahmin movement and the populist support the party has acquired. The study brings out clearly the relationship between urbanization and the changing power structure.

Besides formal structures of power, informal political organisations operate through caste, religious and sectarian groups, and occupational categories. Associations formed on these lines acquire political dimensions in so far as they act as pressure groups, and in some cases they even form part of organized political parties. Lynch's (1968) study of the *Politics of Untouchability* describes the processes by which the Jatavs become a politically viable group in Agra city. It is significant to note that they form part of the Republican Party to compete for position of power at the city, state and national levels.

A third aspect of politics in the urban context refers to the small town politics where elites, factions or ethnic groups, more than political parties, are significant in understanding the power structure. Ethnic groups get politicized and act as vote banks and pressure groups articulating their interests, and compete for various benefits of urban life. This results in a situation of conflict between ethnic groups and between the migrant ethnic groups and the locals. A.C. Mayer (1953) in his study of municipal elections in Devas in Madhya Pradesh analysed the networks and 'action-sets' of influential leaders. R.G. Fox (1969) showed that a Muslim-Bania conflict characterizes the politics in a small town in Uttar Pradesh. There has been a shift in the authority from the Muslim zamindars to enterprising banias (merchants).

Another important feature of urban politics is violence resulting from communal conflict, political disturbance, student strikes and regional armies such as the Shiv Sena in Bombay. Besides these problems of urban violence, Tangri (1962) and Kothari (1970) have drawn attention to the political implications of urbanization. Different conflict situations have arisen with the growth of urbanization such as unemployment and slums which contribute to political instability.

Owen M Lynch (1980) studied the political mobilization and ethnicity among the Adi-Dravidas in a Bombay slum, who are a low-ranking caste from southern India and who have migrated to Bombay. Here, different political parties compete for their votes. One party calls on them to identify as 'untouchables' on all-India basis; another party bids them to remember their South Indian roots. The way in which the Adi-Dravidas define themselves politically is thus related both to their position in Bombay as rural migrants from another region and to their caste.

25.7 Problems of Urbanization

The patterns of urbanization in India has been marked by regional and inter-state diversities, large scale rural to urban migration, insufficient infrastructural facilities, growth of slums and other allied problems. Some of the important problems of urbanization faced in different parts of India are as follows:

Housing and Slums

There is acute shortage of housing in urban areas and much of the available accommodation is qualitatively of sub-standard variety. This problem has tended to worsen over the years due to rapid increase in population, fast rate of urbanization and proportionately inadequate addition to the housing stock. Millions of people pay excessive rent which is beyond their means. In our profit-oriented economy, private developers and colonizers find little profit in building houses in cities for the poor and the lower middle class, and they concentrate in meeting the housing needs of the rich as it is gainful.

With large scale migration to urban areas many find that the only option they have is substandard conditions of slums. Slums are characterised by sub-standard housing, over crowding, lack of electrification, ventilation, sanitation, roads and drinking water facilities. They have been the breeding ground of diseases, environmental pollution, demoralisation and many social tensions.

With India's slum population standing at nearly 40%, slum dwellers form 44% of population in Delhi, 45% in Mumbai, 42% in Calcutta and 39% in Chennai

Over Crowding

In major cities in India like Bombay, Calcutta, Pune and Kanpur, the population between 85% and 90% of households lives in one or two rooms. In some homes, five to six persons live in one room. Over-crowding encourages deviant behaviour, spreads diseases and creates conditions for mental illness, alcoholism and riots. One effect of dense urban living is people's apathy and indifference.

Oscar Lewis' 'Culture of Poverty' (1965) was an attempt to develop a model of the behaviour of the poor in a variety of cultural settings. It is a distinct way of life that develops among the lowest stratum in capitalistic societies in response to economic deprivation and inequality. Once people adapt to poverty, attitudes and behaviours that initially developed in response to economic deprivation are passed on to subsequent generations through socialization.

Water supply, Drainage and Sanitation

No city has round the clock water supply in India. Intermittent supply results in a vacuum being created in empty water lines which often suck in pollutants through leaking joints. Many small towns have no main water supply at all and are dependent on the wells. Drainage situation is equally bad. Because of the non-existence of a drainage system, large pools of stagnant water can be seen in city even in summer months.

Removing garbage, cleaning drains and unclogging sewers are the main jobs of municipalities and municipal corporations in Indian cities. There is total lack of motivation to tackle the basic sanitation needs of the cities. The spread of slums in congested urban areas and lack of civic sense among the settlers in these slums further adds to the growing mound of filth and diseases.

Transportation and Traffic

Absence of planned and adequate arrangements for traffic and transport is another problem in urban centres in India. Majority of people use buses and tempos, while a few use rail as transit system. The increasing number of two-wheelers and cars make the traffic problem worse. They cause air pollution as well. Moreover, the number of buses plying the metropolitan cities is not adequate and commuters have to spend long hours to travel.

Power Shortage

Power supply has remained insufficient in a majority of the urban centres in India. The use of electrical gadgets has increased in cities, and establishment of new industries and the expansion of the old ones has also increased dependence on electricity. Conflict over power supply between two states often creates severe power crisis for people in the city.

Box 25.4 Garbage

Of about 3,000 to 5,000 tonnes of garbage generated in one day in a metropolitan city, hardly 50 to 60 percent is cleared. Out of 1,500-2,000 million litres of sewage generated in a day, hardly 1,000 to 1,500 litres a day is collected. This is when the total budget of municipal corporations of cities like Delhi, Calcutta, Mumbai and Chennai varies between Rs.1,000 and Rs.1,500 crore per annum.

(Source: India Today, October, 31, 1994)

Pollution

Our towns and cities are major polluters of the environment. Several cities discharge 40 to 60 percent of their entire sewage and industrial effluents untreated into the nearby rivers. Urban industry pollutes the atmosphere with smoke and toxic gases from its chimneys. All these, increases the chances of diseases among the people living in the urban centres.

According to UNICEF, lakhs of urban children die or suffer from diarrhoea, tetanus, measles etc. because of poor sanitary conditions and water contamination. As a long-term remedy, what is needed is using new techniques of waste collection, new technology for garbage-disposal and fundamental change in the municipal infrastructure and land-use planning.

All the above-mentioned urban problems are because of migration and over-urbanization, industrial growth, apathy and inefficiency of the administration and defective town planning. Solutions to urban problems lie in systematic development of urban centres and creation of job opportunities, regional planning along with city planning, encouraging industries to move to backward areas, adopting a pragmatic Housing Policy and structural decentralisation of local self government itself.

Reflection and Action 25.4

What do you think are additional problems of urbanization, which have not been mentioned in our unit?

In your opinion, what is the way out of the malaises affecting urban centres in India?

25.8 Conclusion

As you can see urbanization is an on going phenomena which is very difficult to capture through any single approach or analysis, especially in India. In this unit we have tried to capture different aspects of urbanisation-the history to present situation. the various approaches to study urbanisation and the problems and consequences of urbanization. And we find that it is a process which is linked to many larger structures and process. As globalization process is speeding up, connecting the world in unprecedented ways, there is a suggestion that cities throughout the world will come to exhibit organizational forms increasingly similar to one another as technology becomes more accessible throughout the global system. Some theorists suggest that increasingly divergent forms of urban organization are likely to emerge due to differences in the timing and pace of the urbanization process, differences in the position of cities within the global system, and increasing effectiveness of deliberate planning of the urbanization process by centralized governments holding differing values and, therefore, pursuing a variety of goals for the future .

25.9 Further Reading

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Unit 26

MIGRATION

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- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Understanding Migration
- 26.3 Explaining Migration
- 26.4 Types of Migration
- 26.5 Migration streams
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Learning Objectives

This unit will help you to explain

- what is meant by migration and various explanations on migration
- various types of migration and the factors which are involved in migration
- the streams of migration and their impact

26.1 Introduction

Human beings have tendency to move from place to place in search of better life or sometimes through compulsion. They have migrated from place to place throughout history. In this century where globalisation has made distant place more connected than ever migration has become an important feature. An attempt has been made here to develop an understanding of the phenomenon of migration. It is generally believed that migration is one of the most significant factors leading to population change. Human beings are on the move, even though the population has settled down in geographical space all over the world. Historical records show that people moved away from the age-old nomadism long ago and have been moving from one place to the other for various reasons. The reasons for migration may be different and specific to individuals and families.

This Unit deals with the meaning and origin of the migration process with special reference to India. The first section deals with the concept of migration in the context of economic development. In the second section an attempt has been made to classify migration into different types. The third section deals with examples of internal and external migration. The fourth section deals with a set of factors of migration. However, the migration is induced mainly by economic opportunities available in the cities. There are several social factors, which also play a role in migration. The best example is the migration of women from their parental home to the home of their spouse after marriage. There is a demographic factor for migration. The supposedly surplus labour force in a certain age group out-migrates from the place of their residence/birth to the nearby towns or far-off cities which seem to be holding a promise for a better future. The fifth section deals with the impact of migration on the places of origin and the places of destination. These regions register the impact of migration on the population structure. The last section deals with the migration trends in the world in general with special reference to India. Statistical material is available in the census records to indicate the volume and direction of intra-state and inter-state migration.

26.2 Understanding Migration

The term migration refers to the movement of organisms like animals and birds in geographical space. It also refers to the movement of people, as individuals or groups, from one place to the other. Migration thus means a change of residence. The distance, direction and duration of migration is not important, even though any of the three factors may play a role in defining the character of migration in a country.

There are several factors, which induce people to migrate. The reasons may be economic, social or political. When people migrate within the same country it is called *internal migration*. When migration involves crossing the boundaries of a given country, it is called *international migration*. In the recent history of the world large volumes of population have migrated to long distances. For example, the Jews migrated from Germany to other parts of the world to avoid persecution under Hitler's Nazist regime. Another example of large-scale migration in the recent world history is the movement of people following the partition of British India and independence in 1947. The Hindus and the Sikhs in the newly created dominion of Pakistan migrated to India. In return the Muslims of India migrated to Pakistan. It is estimated that during the period 1947-1950 ten million people migrated from Pakistan to India and 7.5 million Muslims migrated from India to Pakistan

As is generally known a census of population is taken every ten years. It is a convention followed by all countries of the world. In India a census of population has been conducted on a decennial basis since the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. The latest census was conducted in 2001. According to the census definition, a migrant is one who at a given census was enumerated at a place other than his/her place of birth. His/her stay at the present place of residence may be of any duration - short or long. Demographers generally refer to inward migration as *immigration*, and outward migration as *emigration*. It is obvious that migration is an important factor of change in the characteristics of population as distributed in geographical space.

As stated earlier most governments in the world conduct a census of population after every ten years. The data are collected on aspects, such as the place of birth, and the place of enumeration at a certain census. It is vital information for the study of migration within the country or outside. A migrant is a person who has crossed a certain boundary, be it a *mauza* [revenue village], a municipal boundary, a tehsil, a district, a state, or a country. The distance covered and a certain length of time spent across that boundary in a new area of residence, away from the place of birth, are important factors in defining the characteristics of the migrants.

26.3 Explanations of Migration

Sociologists, demographers and geographers have focussed their attention on the study of migration in order to understand the implications of a certain type of the movement of people from one place to the other. Migration results in multi-dimensional changes in the population composition - ethnic, ethno-lingual, religious, demographic, cultural and economic. The structural contexts of migrants itself has bearing in migration and what it means to be a migrant.

Most of the explanations on migration have concentrated heavily on demographic aspects. And have tended to explain migration in terms of push and pull factors. Ashish Bose for instance explains Migration in India from rural to Urban from a demographic perspective. The push factors which operate in places of origin, in this case the rural areas, is lack of resources, unemployment, overpopulation, drought or floods or such other natural calamities, essentially all such factors which makes a decent living standards impossible. The pull

factors of cities are many- employment opportunities, entertainment , education facilities, trade centres, institutional set ups, availability of opportunities , secular environment etc. Ashish Bose, argues that the push and pull factors should be interpreted in overall demographic contexts. Under conditions of high natural increase in population, not only in rural areas but in the urban areas as well (as a result of high urban birth rates and rapidly declining death rates), the push factor operates (Bose, 1963). He calls it as 'push back' factor. He showed that for every 100 persons who migrate to urban areas for better employment, 254 persons come in search of employment. Another type of urban push, which has been pointed out by Bose is the absence of social security in urban areas.

Most sociological studies on migration have analysed the related aspect of migration and how migration affects the geographical spaces and how it brings about transformation in social structures. Studies in India have been largely around the issues of identity transformation for immigrants , most of these studies are concentrated on the Indian Diaspora which moved across continents. As for internal migration, which has largely been rural to urban, the studies have dealt with issues that are the larger theoretical issues of whether there is continuity between social structures of rural India with Urban India or whether there are changes. Thus, Scholars such as David Peacock have argued that there is no dichotomy between urban and rural social structures. Reacting to this thesis, M.S.A. Rao argues that this "is an over simplification of the similarities between the village and the traditional city. The city in the past, he asserts provided the ground for maximum caste activity. Whereas Pocock was right in pointing out that urbanization is not co-terminus with westernization, he , however, oversimplified the similarity between the village and the traditional city. Although, religion, caste and kinship are the bases of social organization in both village and towns, there are significant difference in the working of these in the two contexts. For instance, while *jajmani* (hereditary services) relations were pronounced in villages, the *mahajan* or guild organizations were prominent in cities. In the traditional urban context, the institutional framework and the constraints in which religion , caste and kinship operated are not he same in villages.

Most scholars look at migration as essentially as a male dominated phenomena and so there have been very few studies, which look at migration from a gender perspective. Meenakshi Thapan in her recent book *Transnational Migration and Politics of Identity*, argues that 'any theory on migration...for a holtistic perspective...must account for it in terms of race, religion, nationality and on gender, which much of early literature on migration is silent. She asserts "that structural ramifications of women's migration extend beyond the lives of migrant women themselves, insofar as the labour of such women is an important factor in shaping gender relations found in societies of both , the immigrants and their hosts, thereby suggesting new ways of looking at issues such as gender equality, household division of labour and at the state policies regarding welfare positions"(Thapan, 2005:17).

These are some of the main approaches that we have discussed above, which discuss various aspects related to migration, In our next secion we will look at various types of migration.

26.4 Types of Migration

Migration is of different types. However, there is no consensus among the scholars about the typology of migration. These types can be ordinarily defined as cyclical or circulatory, forced, impelled, internal/external, early/primitive, seasonal or periodic. Trewartha has quoted Peterson who had suggested five general classes of migration. They were: primitive, forced, impelled, free and

mass (Trewartha, 1969, p. 144).

Cyclic or Circulatory Migration

Movements of individuals that involve only a temporary change of residence are generally not considered as migration. This type of movement is known as nomadism or pastoral nomadism. If this movement of the people is along with their animal stock - sheep, goats and cattle between two fixed points it is called *transhumance*. For example, Gujjar Bakarwals in Jammu and Kashmir move towards the foothills in winters and the highland pastures in summers. When the winter approaches they return to their settlements in the foothills. The movement of farm workers is also a kind of cyclical migration because they follow the growing season. Tourism and commutation are not generally considered as migration.

Some migrations are *cyclic* in nature, which means that they are like oscillations/circuits (Box 3). People migrate between two fixed points. It is an annual cycle, to be completed within the same year. Pastoral nomads move with their animal stock in a circulatory way: winters in the foothills and summers in the highland pastures. The routes and the destination sites are well defined. Here one can cite the examples of Gujjar Bakarwals of Jammu and Kashmir and the Gaddis of Himachal Pradesh. Similar types of migration are common in the mountainous regions of central Asia, Africa and South America. These nomads have grazing rights on a certain aspect of the mountain range, even though they do not own the land. Governments protect their movement and grazing rights.

Migrations differ in terms of direction, distance, duration and purpose/motive behind the movement. Migration may be classified as *free* or *voluntary* as opposed to *forced* or *impelled*. Some migrations are due to *push factors*, while others are in response to *pull factors*. In extra-ordinary situations people are forced to migrate. For example, natural hazards, such as floods, drought, forest fires, avalanches in mountainous areas and earthquakes force people to run away from their homes to safer places to save their lives. In other cases, labour force moves out of the home villages to a neighbouring town or city. These are typical push factors. The assumption is that the local rural labour force is in excess of the demand. As a consequence the eligible workers move out of the village. Ingrained in these examples is the role of the so-called pull factors. When the unemployed or partially employed village-folks, do not perceive any chance of improving their daily-wage incomes in the home villages, they move out to far-off cities, such as Mumbai, Delhi, Chennai or Kolkata. These cities act as magnets. We can define these movements as a response to pull factors. Many a time push and pull factors operate together.

It is common knowledge that the major cities of India, industrial and business centres, attract people. The urban nodes have derived their working class from the so-called out-migrating regions, such as eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand. The first generation in-migrants to the big cities become role models for the younger generation. Its demonstration effect induces them to migrate to the same urban place where their predecessors have already established their roots (Pathak, P., 1995, p. 30).

Internal and External (International) Migration

Migration is also classified as *internal* and *external*. When people migrate within the country of their birth/residence/domicile, it is called *internal migration*. The word internal here means movement within the bounds of the home country. When people move from one country to another, it is called *international migration*. Such migrations involve crossing the borders of the countries. Sometimes the driving force is a push factor. When people move

out they have a perception of relative advantages and disadvantages between the alternative places they want to migrate.

Sometimes migration is a well-considered step and there is a lot of planning behind it. For example, highly skilled engineers, including software engineers, medical doctors, nurses and paramedical personnel move out of India in search of better employment opportunities abroad. The idea is to earn more. While the home country does not have any scope for higher income, the country of destination attracts them and induces them to migrate. However, such migrations may prove to be a drain of the qualified personnel in the countries of origin. Thus their home country suffers a loss. On the other hand, the destination country is the gainer. The Gulf countries need qualified personnel, without spending money on their education and improvement of skills. It has been observed that the qualified/skilled personnel migrate on a contractual basis.

Primitive or Early Migration

Distinction has often been made between *Early/Primitive migration* and *forced/impelled migration*. Early migrations, particularly in the prehistoric and early historic times, were a sort of random movement and not a planned migration. People were moving out as a result of a kind of human wandering lust. But they were responsible for the peopling of the continents all over the world. These movements have also contributed to the process of inter-mixing of civilisations and cultures.

Forced or Impelled Migration

When individuals or groups decide to leave their home country in order to avoid devastation caused by drought, famine, epidemics, war, civil strife, or terrorising dictatorial regimes, it is called *forced migration*. A recent example of forced migration is the exodus of Afghans from Afghanistan to neighbouring Pakistan, Iran and India during the US-UK military operations including carpet-bombing in Afghanistan. Similarly, people migrated in large numbers to avoid persecution by the Nazi regime in Germany under Hitler before the Second World War. A comparable example of the forced migration is of the Irish people who fled away from Ireland to avoid starvation and death caused by the famine conditions during 1856-85. These migrations are described as forced because there is no choice before the migrants but to run away. When a state/country forces a section of its population to move out of the country, as they are not desirable, we call it *forced or impelled migration*.

In certain situations migration can be massive just as the migration of millions of people from India to Pakistan and from Pakistan to India immediately after independence in 1947. There are other examples of forced migration, such as deportation of criminals, political dissidents, and religious minorities. During the days of slave trade about twenty million black Africans were taken to America forcefully to work as labourers on the plantation estates in the United States of America (USA). It is estimated that about eight million people of European origin were pushed out of Europe under the forced labour policy of the Nazi regime before and during the Second World War.

Refugee Movements

What happened in history is not always old. In the world of today people are found leaving their homes and hearths, fleeing from one country to the other to avoid persecution and imminent death. They often take refuge in the neighbouring countries. In fact, refugee movements are so common these days that the United Nations (UN) has created a special fund for the rehabilitation of the refugees. These refugees are homeless and jobless. They

have lost all means of livelihood, which sustained them before migration. The UN Commission on Refugees helps them monetarily and pleads with the governments of receiving countries to find a place for them. Unfortunately, they are rehabilitated in impromptu shelters/camps. The so-called Bihari Muslims who migrated to East Pakistan immediately after the partition of British India in 1947 are still living in camps, even though fifty-seven years have passed.

Seasonal and Periodic Migration

Migrations are sometimes *seasonal* or *periodic*. This type of migration is very common among the nomadic people living on the margins of the deserts or semi-arid zones of the world. Trewartha noted 'that some one million migrants, along with their families, make the annual pilgrimage northwards across state lines as the harvest of various crops reached the peak'. They have their origin in the southern states of the USA, such as, New Mexico, Texas, Alabama, and Georgia. A study of this migrant labour-force shows that they are mostly young people, usually less than 25 years of age, 70 per cent of them are males, and 80 per cent are Whites. The return journey is completed in the autumn when harvesting activity comes to an end. However, things have changed now and this type of migration is on the decline due to mechanisation of agriculture. There is a difference between this type of migration and the temporary traveller. The short duration movement of population is also a type of seasonal migration. There is also a diurnal movement of workers. This type of movement takes place when people move from their places of residence to their places of work. As stated earlier, this type of movement is called commutation.

Thus migrations may be periodic, annual, or diurnal. Trewartha also refers to periodic movements, which are related to vacations, fun making or business. But such trips are specifically a characteristic feature of the affluent sections of population only. The poor cannot afford such movements. In India periodic movements of millions of people are a common phenomenon. These travels are related to pilgrimage to sacred places, large fairs, such as *Kumbh Mela* and *Pushkar Mela*. Millions of people in India go on pilgrimage for a holy dip in the rivers and lakes to perform religious rites.

Another type of periodic migration is the movement of an individual from his original place of residence for a period of few years. He visits his home periodically. The main aim of this type of migration is to earn more and to send remittances to the family in the native place to establish themselves after they return to their original homes. There are millions of migrant labourers in Africa who migrate periodically. W.B. Fisher noted that 'periodic migrations are sometimes tempted to settle permanently in their place of work. However, initially their intentions were to remain there only temporarily' (Trewartha, 1969, p. 144).

Reflection and Action

If you live in a city you will find that a lot of people from all walks of life have migrated from different parts of the country.

Find out from your neighbourhood who has migrated from where and for what purposes. Also, classify them in to different types of migration patterns.

26.5 MIGRATION STREAMS

While dealing with internal migration demographers and population scientists generally recognise four streams. The criterion is the direction of movement of population from the places of origin to the places of destination. The migration within the bounds of the same country generates four main streams as given below:

- a. rural-rural migration stream;
- b. rural-urban migration stream;
- c. urban-urban migration stream; and
- d. urban-rural migration stream.

Rural-Rural Migration Stream

In villages where economy is based on agriculture, people migrate from one village to another either for harvesting or sowing the crops or both. This is rural to rural migration. The problem is that the native village does not have a scope for work on agricultural farms. In other words, the supply of labour is more than the demand. The assumption is that the native village is over-crowded and agriculturally less productive as compared to the village of destination. In this form of migration, the migrants are mostly males. Sometimes, women also migrate along with the male members of the family. In countries like India, young women are married to a person living at a certain distance from their parental village. The reason is that the marriages cannot be contracted within a radius of 4-5 miles (6-8 kms.) This no-marriage field is treated as the taboo zone. However, this practice is a feature of North India only. There is no such practice in the south, where the girls are generally married to their paternal or maternal cousins. Thus a substantive proportion of the movement of women in North India is related to the marriage customs.

Women are often ignored in the migration studies. They are considered to be following their male counterparts in their capacity as mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives. But in recent years a change has been observed regarding the established myth about female migration. Now women move from one place to the other to seek higher education or in search of new economic opportunities. This reveals a favourable change in the pattern of female migration towards urban as well as long-distance destinations (Bhattacharya, 2003, p. 85-92; Premi, 1980; Singh, Thandani et al., 1984).

Rural-Urban Migration Stream

In the less developed countries, like India, Nepal and Bangladesh, rural to urban migration is a common phenomenon. In regions where the rural population densities are very high and the pace of urban-industrial development is fast, rural-urban stream is most common. These towns/cities attract the 'surplus labour' from nearby or far-off villages. In rural areas the burgeoning poverty, meagre employment opportunities, low and uncertain/irregular wages, lack of education and health facilities are the main push factors. These conditions induce people to migrate to the urban places. In some cases labour moves out of the village. They have no other alternative but to move out to the urban places in search of work, which can sustain them and their families. On the other hand, the pull of the urban places induces the rural population to migrate. This process is related to the expectations of the migrant labourers for better employment opportunities, regular and fixed wages and supposedly the better quality of life. But these expectations are often proved to be dreams only. A related problem is the out-migration of the educated youth for whom employment opportunities are rarely available in the native villages/towns. This forces them to migrate to the urban places. Such unguided migration to the city leads to the problems of housing in the towns/cities. The rural poor find a place in *bustees* and squatter colonies called slums in the city. For such migrants, habitat changes, but not the quality of life.

Box 26.1 The Plight of Rural Migrants

But a very substantial part, especially of internal migration, is distress-led, driven by the complete collapse of rural employment generation, the economic

difficulties of cultivation and also the inadequate employment opportunities in towns. This is why most migrant workers in India today are poor and with few of the resources or social networks that could smoothen what can be a traumatic and painful process. Yet public policy does little to alleviate this - in fact, most public interventions and regulations work effectively to make the process even more difficult and traumatic.

Consider the fate of a rural household in, say Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, a place where mass migrations for work were historically common but have now reached epidemic proportions. A landless labourer who is unable to find work, either within the village or in neighbouring villages is forced to search further afield, in nearby or even distant towns, in other agricultural areas with different crop seasons. If he or she is relatively lucky, there will be a link with a contractor who will arrange for group transport to the place of work. It may be gang work in a field for some activities such as harvesting, or work on a construction site, or some such work that requires a group of labourers for a certain fixed period. Of course, the journey will be arduous, the work will be demanding, the living conditions will probably be very meagre (in fact, the workers are often expected to make their own makeshift dwellings) without any amenities or facilities such as food being provided. In all likelihood, the workers will be exploited by the contractor even in monetary terms so that they receive very little income as savings from this entire exercise.

What is more, there are more women undertaking this type of insecure movement, with often dire consequences. Clearly, this kind of migration is fraught with hazards especially for women, who thereby expose themselves to the possibility of sexual exploitation and violence, in addition to other problems. There are many cases of women and even young girls being physically violated as they try to sleep in bus stands and similar places. Many of these go unreported, as the local police often do not bother too much to register alleged incidents in which the victims are poor people from other areas.

As migrants, these workers then do not have access to any of the public facilities for health care, since they are not resident in that area. They cannot buy their food requirements from the ration shops since they do not have ration cards valid for that place. If they have come with small children, they are unable to place them in local government schools, or even to access the local *anganwadi* for their legally recognised requirements. They are ignored by public schemes and programmes, including those related to such public health issues as immunisation drives.

And then there are the other sins of public omission and commission that directly affect such migrants. There are no public help centres, no information offices, no complaint cells where they can go to redress any grievances, whether these relate to non-payment of wages or terrible conditions of work or physical exploitation and violence. Rather, local officialdom in the destination typically views migrants as vagrants or nuisances, takes aggressive attitudes towards them and becomes another source of tribulation for the migrants.

Distress economic migration, of relatively short-term nature, is now a basic feature of social life in India. It contributes to macroeconomic stability even while imposing tremendous costs on those forced to undertake it. It is time for policymakers and the public became more sensitive to its manifold implications, and took whatever measures are necessary to ensure that something driven by distress did not create further trauma.

(Source: Jayati Ghosh, *Frontline*, volume 22 - Issue 10, May 07 - 20, 2005)

Urban-Urban Migration Stream

Urban to urban migration is a common phenomenon both in the highly urbanised

parts of the world as well as in the less developed countries. People move out from one urban place to the other. The motive is to find jobs to improve their economic status. It is a common feature that large cities attract people from small towns in their neighbourhood. This is especially true in the case of skilled workers. This practice is known as *step-wise* migration. The first step is to move out from a village to a small town; the second step is to move out from a small town to a large city. Urban to urban migration is due to multiple factors, economic as well as socio-cultural. It is the main channel of labour supply to the fast growing city.

Urban-Rural Migration Stream

Urban to rural migration is a kind of reverse flow. This is so because large metropolises/mega cities in developed countries attain a high degree of urbanisation, which widens the scope for absorption of rural labour in the informal sector of economy. This also leads to the problems of housing due to over-congestion of cities and the resultant problems of environmental pollution and poor health. This often forces the migrants to return to their native villages. It may be noted that the rural areas in the developing countries are generally underdeveloped. They lack infrastructure facilities to accommodate the rural poor. The story of developed countries is entirely different. Their cities have a developed network of transportation which functions efficiently. The people travel daily between the place of residence and the place of work without much difficulty. In India many of the retired persons tend to settle in their native villages or small towns where they own property or acquire it later.

It may be noted that the urban to rural stream is not very common. This generally happens when people run away from a metropolitan city, such as Kolkata or Mumbai, due to social insecurity or expulsion by hostile regimes.

26.6 FACTORS OF MIGRATION

There is a set of factors which cause migration. These factors are primarily economic, such as high income, better employment opportunities, and jobs in the informal sector, and the hope for a better quality of life. Marriages, social insecurity, civil strife and inter-ethnic conflicts are important social factors, which influence the decision to migrate. These factors drive people out of their countryside homes. The factors leading to migration vary from area to area and perhaps from person to person. As indicated above the push and the pull factors work together generating the streams of migration. The push factors operate to force the people to move out, while the pull factors attract the people to move to the urban nodes. It has been noted that migration is also caused by industrialisation, technological advancement and multifarious changes in the social, economic and political spheres of life of the ordinary people. Then there are other factors, such as regional disparities in economic development, perceived employment potential in a given region and the demand for services required in the city. Extra-ordinary episodes in history, such as war and terrorism also lead to migration. Studies have shown that the process of migration is not a simple but a complex phenomenon. The factors determining migration may be classified into three broad categories: economic, social and demographic.

Economic Factors

It has been observed that economic factors play an important role in the movement of population. The volume and the direction of migration depend on the economic conditions. The availability of agricultural land and the size of landholdings may also induce migration. The depressed economic conditions of the people and their state of poverty lead to out-migration. The economic

prosperity has a high employment potential and leads to in-migration. The industrial nodes have always proved to be more effective than the rural push in the industrial and agricultural countries. In developing countries, like India, agricultural development is progressing fast. These factors induce people to migrate to the agriculturally developed areas where adoption of extensive irrigation programmes, high yielding varieties of seeds and mechanical devices have brought about a green revolution. The green revolution areas in Punjab and Haryana have a high demand for labour. This labour is available in the relatively underdeveloped regions of northern India, such as eastern Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The availability of better means of transport and communication also encourage people to migrate.

Social Factors

Like economic factors, social factors also play a significant role in inducing migration. For example, women move out from their parental home to the place of residence of their spouses after marriage. This is due to the Indian traditions and values prevailing in the country. This type of migration has nothing to do with economic gains. Chandna suggested that religious freedom might also be a significant factor influencing the migration process. Other factors also operate, such as socio-economic status, information network, cultural contacts, desire of social uplift. The socio-economic potential has been considered as an important factor to determine the magnitude and direction of migration. In India people in a low socio-economic stratum are more mobile as they have no landed property to bind them to their native places. There is overwhelming evidence to show that the better educated, more skilled and economically better-off people have a tendency to migrate. The labour market for higher status jobs is universal. This does not mean that all high status groups would migrate. For example, doctors, engineers, lawyers, architects and teachers who have already established do not move easily. Similarly, the communities, who have strong communal ties with the family, follow ancient tradition and customs do not move easily. In the world today information network (INTERNET), e-mail and cultural contacts widen the scope of having employment opportunities. Sometimes, official policies also help the aspirants to migrate in a specific direction (Chandna, 1998, p. 92-97).

Demographic Factors

There are a number of demographic factors, which induce a person to migrate. For example, age of the migrant is an important demographic factor. Young people have a far greater desire to out-migrate than the elderly people. Likewise, regional disparities in economic development also play an important role. In fact, a high rate of natural increase of population provides the basis for out-migration. It has been suggested that the growth rate of population, among other things, determines the extent of population pressure in a given geographical area. The movement of European population across the Atlantic is an example of the gap in the potential for economic development acting as an important factor of migration. In contemporary India, redistribution of population is partly related to disparities in regional development. As noted earlier, large-scale out-migration from the thickly populated parts of Bihar and east Uttar Pradesh is largely due to the diminishing land resources in the native villages.

It may, however, be noted that factors affecting the migration process are many and it is not easy to establish a cause-and-effect relationship. Recent research has highlighted the role of multifarious factors at the macro level. The micro level studies may reveal a more comprehensive picture of the causes of migration.

Migratory Selection

The concept of *migratory selection* implies that some groups in a particular age and profession are likely to be more in favour of migration than others. 'In order to deal effectively with the causes, type and consequences of migration, it must first be pointed out why the migration process is a selective one. Some elements of population tend to be more migratory than others. This is termed as migratory selection. Age is one such factor, which influences the migratory selection. In fact, the young adults and late adolescents are likely to migrate more rather than elderly people'. 'Of the millions of immigrants entering United States during the nineteenth century, two-thirds to three-fourths were between 15-40 years of age'. 'Besides age, sex is also an important element of migratory selection. Although there are no universal laws, the out-migration is predominantly of males. The region of departure becomes more strongly female, while the region of entry is characterised by an unduly large proportion of males' (Trewartha, 1969, p. 137; see also Box 4).

It may be concluded that some occupational groups are more likely to migrate than others. This is an apt example of migratory selection. 'Ordinarily selection seems to depend more upon conditions at the place of destination than upon those at the place of departure' (Trewartha, 1969, p. 138-39).

Reflection and Action 26.2

1. What do you think is the main stream of migration pattern in India?
2. Do you think the state should have policy on migration, such that it alleviates the plight of migrants?
3. In what is internal migration in India different from international or external migration?

26.7 IMPACT OF MIGRATION

Migration is not a simple phenomenon. It brings about changes in the population composition in the home villages as well as in the regions of destination. It is generally known that migration of population has backward as well as forward linkages. In fact, it is a strong catalytic agent. It helps the migrants and their families to achieve a certain level of self-sufficiency and a better quality of life in the regions/countries of destination. In fact, depending on the volume of migration the composition of population changes both at home and abroad. More importantly, the demographic scene changes drastically leading to the synthesis of culture, language, quality of life, and the influx of knowledge. The immigrants adapt themselves to the conditions prevailing in the countries of destination. Migration brings about a cultural change and its ramifications are too many. Even the place names are carried to the regions of destination. For example, New London, New York (both in USA), New South Wales (Australia), New Plymouth (New Zealand), New Castle (Australia) are all examples of the human desire to preserve their memories of the places they have left behind. The Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after the partition of British India gave the names of their hometowns in India to the places of their settlement in Pakistan particularly, the Province of Sind.

It has been suggested that the regions of destination generally benefit, while the regions of origin suffer. When the educationally qualified personnel move out their migration is often referred to as 'brain drain'. This kind of migration is likely to play a major role in terms of economic development of the countries of destination. However, the regions of origin also benefit from the remittances of money by the migrants. For example, Turkish labour in Germany and the Philippino maids in Singapore have played a vital role in the economic development of the chronically labour-deficit regions. There are other dimensions of change. The movement of the qualified labour, such as scientists, medical doctors, engineers, particularly software engineers plays a significant

role in the reduction of unemployment at home and generating income through their services in the regions of destination. India has suffered a lot due to the on-going out-migration of the highly qualified personnel to other parts of the world, such as West Asia, particularly the Gulf region. The people move out because they are enamoured by the shining Euro-Dollar. They are obviously unhappy with their economic conditions in the home country. On reaching there they register changes in their family. Inter-ethnic marriages often take place in the countries of destination. A new class of NRI's (non-resident Indians) has emerged. They not only remit money back home but also bring new cultural influences with them. Ideologies change and the process of globalisation becomes a normal channel for the diffusion and synthesis of cultures and innovations.

Sometimes, the population movement is quantitatively strong. In this case the change is all embracing. For example, Muslims of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh migrated to the Sind Province of Western Pakistan after the Partition. The immigrants and their settlements in Karachi, Hyderabad and the neighbouring small towns became a threat to the *in situ* Sindhis. Soon the immigrants became a source of tension leading to inter-ethnic clashes and civil strife.

26.8 MIGRATION TRENDS

International Migration

The term international migration refers to the change of usual residence between one nation and the other. The overwhelming majority of such movers across the frontiers do not necessarily mean that they have decided to change their usual residence. Both international and internal migration involves a change of usual residence. Another interesting feature is that the recorded volume of international migration is much less than the undocumented/unauthorised migration. This is because people cross the international boundaries in a clandestine way. Whatever the case may be, the net international immigration has always been an important component of the population change in the country of entry. It may be noted that as a result of emigration significant change in population composition is registered in the countries of departure. A policy statement of the United Nations suggests that international movements within an intended stay of more than one year be classified as international migration. Unfortunately, there is no uniformity among the nations on the definition of international migration. Many governments, including the government of the United States of America, collect data on immigration but not on emigration. All data on immigration published by governments refer to legal immigration only while data on illegal or undocumented immigration is not tabulated (Bergatta, 1992, p. 986-87). This gap in information is a serious drawback in any study of international migration.

Trends of Migration in India

Trends of migration in India can be classified into two categories: intrastate migrations and interstate migrations. A few examples may be cited to show that the terminology used here may be confusing. When a family migrates from the Agra district of Uttar Pradesh to the neighbouring district of Bharatpur in Rajasthan, one has to describe it as interstate migration, even though distance covered is short. On the other hand, if a family or a single individual moves from Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh to Adilabad or Guntur in the same state, migration will be described as intrastate, although a long distance has been covered. It may, therefore, be concluded that distance is not a definitive criterion.

Intrastate Migration

Studies show that migrants in India do not generally cover long distances. They generally move within the state of their birth/origin. This type of migration is called intrastate. Estimates on the basis of census records show that people mostly move from one village to the other in the same state. There are about 200 million people who are normally on the move within the state. Within this group are included those who move from one village to the other. This category accounts for about 70 per cent of all migrants. On the other hand, only 9 per cent migrants move from small towns to cities. About 15 per cent of the intrastate migrants move from rural to urban areas, while 6 per cent move in the reverse direction, i.e., from urban to rural areas.

An interesting feature is that about 75 per cent of the total intrastate migrants are females. This shows that the bulk of the female migration in India is related to marriage. About 7 per cent of female migrants move from one urban centre to the other; about 12 per cent move from rural to urban areas.

Among the migrants, around 50 million consist of males. They move mainly in the rural to rural stream. This stream accounts for about one-sixth of the urban to urban category. About one-fourth is in the rural to urban and 8 per cent in the urban to rural stream.

Interstate Migration

Census data on migration show that interstate movement is much less in India as compared to the intrastate migration. In all about 27 million migrants cross the state boundaries. Of these, a little less than one-third belong to the rural to rural stream; another one-third belong to the urban to urban stream and another one-third move from the rural to urban areas. Those who move from urban to rural areas account for 7 per cent of all migrants. Data also show that in the category of interstate migrants, some 15 million women are also included. About two-fifths of them move within the rural areas; about one-third are in the urban circuit, i.e., they move from one urban centre to the other; about one-fourth of this category move from urban places to villages.

26.9 CONCLUSIONS

We have looked at various aspects of migration in India, we have tried to understand what is meant by migration and also looked at some observations made by sociologists and demographers to understand migration. We examined the various streams of migration, the trends and the factors, which go in to various kinds of migration. In the present global age migration is ever on the increase, especially transnational migration and this is altering the very nature of societies both in countries of origin and countries where people migrate to, making migration an important process that needs to be fully grasped and analysed.

26.10 FURTHER READING

Chandna, R.C. 1986, *A Geography of Population*, Kalyani Publishers: New Delhi,

Premi, M.K., et al. 1983, *An Introduction to Social Demography*, Vikas : New Delhi,

Trewartha, G.T. 1969, *A Geography of Population: World Patterns*, John Wiley and Sons Inc: London

UNIT 27

Industrialisation

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Learning Objectives



27.1 Introduction

In May 1851 queen Victoria opened the Great Exhibition, which was built from prefabricated iron and glass-called the crystal palace. The exhibition showcased Britain's achievements and industrial power. At that time, Britain was producing half its iron and coal and cotton. By late 19th century 75% of its population lived in fast emerging urban areas more than 80% of its population engaged in non agricultural activity. In 1900 other countries emerged as powerful industrial countries -USA , Germany and many more followed the path of industrilisation. You, of course, have an idea of what industrialization means and how powerful the industrilised countries are in their material wealth and how we all strive to be like the developed industrilised countries.

Industrialisation was such a wide-ranging phenomenon, involving every aspect of the economy and society, that there will always be scope for debate about its timing and speed, causes and consequences. The roots of change ran deep into the past, but from the final quarter of the 18th century industrialisation gathered pace. At first slow and patchy, by the time Victoria came to the throne in 1837, it had left few lives and few institutions unaltered.

In this unit we will try and under stand the process of industrilisation and the consequent changes in society. We will first look at the history of industrilisation in Industrial Revolution in England. Following this, we will examine the changes in society as a consequence of this far reaching revolution in technologies and production process. We will also try to understand this process through the eyes of different scholars who have analysed this process. We will then see what indutrilisation means for India and its implication for larger society. But first of all lets look at the term and understand the characteristic features of industrilisation.

27.2 Understanding Industrilisation

Industrilisation refer to a process of change in the technology used to produce goods and services. This basic economic process has also become the prime mover for cataclysmic changes in polity and society. This social and economic change is closely intertwined with technological innovation, particularly the development of large-scale energy production and metallurgy. Industrialisation is also related to some form of philosophical change, or to a different attitude in the perception of nature, though whether these philosophical changes are caused by industrialization or vice-versa is subject to debate. To understand why a change of technology should produce such far-reaching changes in society, it is essential to consider the essential features of the industrial form of production.

The three important features of industrilisation can be put as:

Factories: The Hallmark of industrial civilization is the large factory, which brings vast number of workers together under one roof and puts them to work on machines operated by inanimate sources of energy such as steam, gas or electricity. Industrial firm introduces a new form of division of labour- a technological division of labour within the firm. Large scale factory production requires the investment of vast sums of money as fixed capital in the form of machinery and equipment. This calls for a class of entrepreneurs who can raise the necessary capital and undertake the risk involved in operating the enterprise successfully. It also has the effect of separating the workers from ownership of his /her tools. He/she becomes a wage labours hired to work or means of production which are not his/her property. Mass production techniques typically leads to fragmentation of jobs into simple , monotonous and repetitive

skills. The large-scale industry has to be organized bureaucratically production has to be addressed to a large and impersonal market. This sets the process of monetization and commercialization going in the society. In turn impersonal market forces such as changing tastes and preference and fluctuations in demand being exact considerable influence on the production Process.

Urbanisation: the changes in the technologies of production led to social changes which were far reaching , as we mentioned earlier the very nature of production and labour relations changed from small crafts which are either family owned or guild owned to production processes concentrating in factories which were owned by the enterprising class of people. The mass production of factories created demand for labour which was location centers, so where ever factories were set up in the early days of industrialization centers of production grow which were distinctly different from traditional agricultural based production, People migrated to cities in large numbers and many urban centres grew as a result. In the 18th and 19th centuries, in England especially, such innovations as crop rotation , selective breeding of animals, and new tools in agriculture led to dramatic improvement in productivity. This meant a larger agricultural surplus was produced which meant urban populations could be supported.

Urbanisation is an important feature of all industrialised countries, the more industrial a country is more concentration there is of people in urban centres,

27.3 Historical Background of Industrialisation Process

In the 18th century a series of changes in society brought about a gradual change in the production process, powered machines were increasingly used in the production process, these series of changes were most accelerated in 18th century England and the changes were to have dramatic and far reaching influence not only for England but for Europe and for the rest of the globe. I am sure you have heard about Industrial revolution when you read history in school and elsewhere. Let us recapitulate what Industrial revolution meant and how it spawned a series of change in society, leading to industrialization.

Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution may be defined as the application of power-driven machinery to manufacturing. It had its beginning in remote times, and is still continuing in some places. In the eighteenth century all of western Europe began to industrialize rapidly, but in England the process was most highly accelerated. England's head start may be attributed to the emergence of a number of simultaneous factors. England had large supply of fuel and raw material that it would get from its colonies abroad. There were abundant labour supply to mine coal and iron. The merchants of tea and tobacco had money to invest in technical and scientific innovation, to add on to scientific revolutions that were already taking place.

Agricultural Innovations: England between 1760 and 1830 was also experiencing innovative changes in agricultural techniques. As we already mentioned there was crop rotation, which did not allow the land to lie fallow, follow each planting. The open field system gave way to enclosed compact farming. Jethro Tull introduced horse hoe and seed drill and Bakewell pioneered stock breeding. Bakewell showed how to breed for food quality. Bakewell selected his animals, inbred them, kept elaborate genealogical records, and maintained his stock carefully. He was especially successful with sheep, and before the century's end his principle of inbreeding was well established.

Technological Changes: The technological changes of the eighteenth century did not appear suddenly. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the

methods of making glass, clocks, and chemicals advanced markedly. By 1700 in England, and by 1750 in France, the tendency of the state and the guilds to resist industrialization was weakening. In fact, popular interest in industrialization resembled the wave of enthusiasm elicited by experimental agriculture.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century in England, the use of machines in manufacturing was already widespread. In 1762, Matthew Boulton built a factory which employed more than six hundred workers, and installed a steam engine to supplement power from two large waterwheels which ran a variety of lathes and polishing and grinding machines. In 1733 John Kay patented his flying shuttle and about the same time James Hargreaves came up with spinning jenny, where one operator could spin many threads. In 1779, Samuel Crompton invented a machine known as "crompton mule" which produced fine strong yarn. By 1812 the cost of making cotton yarn had dropped nine-tenths, and by 1800 the number of workers needed to turn wool into yarn had been reduced by four-fifths. And by 1840 the labor cost of making the best woolen cloth had fallen by at least half.

Advances in Transportation: Steam Engine developed by James Watt in 1773 was landmark of industrialisation. Other innovations and discoveries, which propelled industrialisation include the production of electricity the railroads. By 1936, England had built electric grid completely covering the entire country. Electricity was one of the chief factors which led to rapid industrialisation in Russia in 1930's. The railroads were another feature of rising industrial states in 19th 20th century. British success with steam locomotion, however, was enough to encourage the building of railroads in most European countries, often with British capital, equipment, and technicians. Railroads became a standard item of British export. After 1842 France began a railroad system which combined private and public enterprise. The government provided the roadbed and then leased it to a private company, which provided the equipment. In Russia, Canada, and the United States, railways served to link communities separated by vast distances. In Germany there were no vast empty spaces, but railroads did help to affect political and economic integration. The internal combustion engine used in motorcars completely revolutionized social patterns of mid 20th century. America took to motorcars in a great way. The growth of the automobile industry created large fields for investment, produced new types of service occupations, and revolutionized road-making. This was true in western Europe as well as in America after the Second World War.

The First World War saw the beginning of commercial aviation. Germany's geographical position and the ban on military aircraft imposed by the peace treaty led to the development of civilian airlines. By 1929 commercial planes were flying out of the European capitals to all important places on the globe. And the day was not far off when airplanes were to eclipse railroad trains as commercial passenger carriers

Communications: In 1876, transmitted human voice over the phone revolutionizing communication. "Although it was several decades before the telephone became popular. At the end of the century the wireless telegraph became a standard safety device on oceangoing vessels. Radio did not come until 1920; then it was commercially exploited in America to a much greater extent than in Europe. In Europe the broadcasting systems were either operated or closely controlled by the state and did not carry commercial advertising. The penny post on all letters was inaugurated in Britain in 1840 after it was discovered that handling, not the distance sent, was the critical cost in delivering mail. All letters weighing a half-ounce or less could be carried for an English penny (two cents). By 1875 the Universal Postal Union had been established to facilitate the transmission of mail between foreign countries.

In 1871 telegraph cables reached from London to Australia; messages could be flashed halfway around the globe in a matter of minutes, speeding commercial transactions. The world continued to shrink at a great rate as new means of transport and communication speeded the pace of life." (source:<http://mars.acnet.wnec.edu/~grempel/courses/wc2/lectures/industrialrev>)

Changing Social patterns: Industrial revolution with its attendant revolutions in the field of agriculture, transportation and communication brought in tremendous changes in the society. The consequences of this revolution would change irrevocably human labor, consumption, family structure, social structure, and even the very soul and thoughts of the individual. As we mentioned earlier, the production process itself changed substantially. Production at specified sites known as factories, which used machines changed the traditional production and manufacture process, which was largely family based and guild based. Earlier families owned their tools and procured the raw material themselves. Many such families moved to cities both in search of work because they were disposed of earlier land because of new acts which permitted lands that had been held in common by tenant farmers to be enclosed into large, private farms worked by a much smaller labor force. While this drove peasants off the land, it also increased agricultural production *and* increased the urban population of England, since the only place displaced peasants had to go were the cities. The English Parliament, unlike the monarchies of Europe, was firmly under the control of the merchant and capitalist classes, so the eighteenth century saw a veritable army of legislation that favored mercantile and capitalist interests. One of the major offshoots of industrial revolution is the emergence of new bourgeoisie class and the working class. The new class of industrial workers included all the men, women, and children laboring in the textile mills, pottery works, and mines. Often skilled artisans found themselves degraded to routine process laborers as machines began to mass produce the products formerly made by hand. Generally speaking, wages were low, hours were long, and working conditions unpleasant and dangerous. The industrial workers had helped to pass the Reform Bill of 1832.

Box. 27.1: Engels on the *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*

Fredrick Engels was often overshadowed by his co-author, Karl Marx but he was one of the first to experience the conditions of working class and founding father of a socialist philosophy. Engels worked as an agent in his father's Manchester cotton factory. He wrote about the working conditions of the working class with a strong sense of social consciousness. Here is an extract from his book *The Condition of the Working-Class in England in 1844*

"Here one is in an almost undisguised working-men's quarter, for even the shops and beer houses hardly take the trouble to exhibit a trifling degree of cleanliness. But all this is nothing in comparison with the courts and lanes which lie behind, to which access can be gained only through covered passages, in which no two human beings can pass at the same time. Of the irregular cramming together of dwellings in ways which defy all rational plan, of the tangle in which they are crowded literally one upon the other, it is impossible to convey an idea. And it is not the buildings surviving from the old times of Manchester which are to blame for this; the confusion has only recently reached its height when every scrap of space left by the old way of building has been filled up and patched over until not a foot of land is left to be further occupied... Such is the Old Town of Manchester, and on re-reading my description, I am forced to admit that instead of being exaggerated, it is far from black enough to convey a true impression of the filth, ruin, and uninhabitableness, the defiance of all considerations of cleanliness, ventilation, and health which characterise the construction of this single district, containing at least twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. And such a district exists in the heart of the second city of England, the first manufacturing city of the world. If any one wishes to see in how little space a human being can move, how little air - and *such* air! - he can breathe, how little of civilisation he may share and yet live,

it is only necessary to travel hither. True, this is the *Old Town*, and the people of Manchester emphasise the fact whenever any one mentions to them the frightful condition of this Hell upon Earth; but what does that prove? Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the *industrial epoch*" (Engels, 1892:48-53)

Another consequence was the growth of cities and urban centers which became trading centers as well as new political centers. Until the Industrial Revolution, most of the world's population was rural. However, by mid-nineteenth century, half of the English people lived in cities, and by the end of the century, the same was true of other European countries. Between 1800 and 1950 most large European cities exhibited spectacular growth. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were scarcely two dozen cities in Europe with a population of 100,000, but by 1900 there were more than 150 cities of this size.

By mid 20th century not only Western Europe but many other countries were fast industrialising. Replacing old feudal institutions with new ones whether it was in the economy, social life or politics. These tremendous changes were felt all over Europe and scholars tried to capture these changes and analyse them. In the following section we will look at some major thinkers and their views on Industrialisation and industrial capitalist society.

27.4 Social Thinkers on Industrial Society

Many social thinkers of late 19th century and early 20th century were seized with changes that were brought about by industrialisation and the characters that were part of these emerging societies. Thus, we find many early sociologists invariably contrasted earlier, pre-industrial societies with industrial societies resulting in classification and typologies of society, for instance Tonnies 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft', Durkheim's contrast of 'organic solidarity' and 'mechanical solidarity', Maine's 'status' and 'contract' and Spencer's 'militant' and 'industrial society'. Or Marx's more elaborate classification societies which was based on mode of production which included stages such as 'primitive communism', 'ancient', 'feudal' and 'capitalist'.

These theories and typologies tended to be evolutionary in their approach, as inevitable historical process was visualised. They all tried to look for fundamental organizing principles behind industrial societies which was then contrasted with non-industrial or pre-industrial society. For St. Simone (and Comte who followed him) industrial society was to be contrasted to military society. The latter was organized around plunder, waste, display, the former was organized around the orderly output of goods. For St. Simone there were four dimensions to an industrial society :

- It was concerned with production

- Its methods were those of order certainty and precision,
- It would be organized by "New Men" Engineers, Industrialists, Planners,
- It would be based on knowledge. For Tonnies it was impersonal relationships based on contract which characterized modern industrial society rather than the face-to-face interactions in smaller societies. Durkheim in a similar vein was looking at not only the basic principles of division of labour but he looks at various institutions which are held together by such elements as mechanical and organic solidarity. Let us examine some of these writings on industrial societies in detail, we will look at the writings of Marx, Weber and Durkheim as they are the most foundational of all thinkers in their analyses of industrial societies.

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

Marx theory is very elaborate and covers not only the contemporary situation of his time but attempts to reconstruct the political economy of human history. In his analysis, the present industrial economy is a capitalist mode of production.

It was Friedrich Engels who kindled Marx's interest in the working class situation; he deepens this interest with his philosophy of historical materialism.

According to Marx, what distinguishes capitalist mode of production from the previous feudal mode of production is that labour becomes a commodity. "When peasants became free to sell their own labor-power, and needed to do so because they no longer possessed their own land or tools necessary to produce. People sell their labor-power when they accept compensation in return for whatever work they do in a given period of time (in other words, they are not selling the product of their labor, but their capacity to work). In return for selling their labor power, they receive money, which allows them to survive. Those who must sell their labor power to live are "proletarians." The person who buys the labor power, generally someone who does own the land and technology to produce, is a "capitalist" or "bourgeois." Capitalists take advantage of the difference between the labor market and the market for whatever commodity is produced by the capitalist. Marx observed that in practically every successful industry input unit-costs are lower than output unit-prices. Marx called the difference "surplus value" and argued that this surplus value had its source in surplus labour. Marx believed that surplus value appropriated from labor is the source of profits. (Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Marx).

In essence, the working class is exploited for its labour, the wages they earn are enough to keep them at subsistence level. Because wage -worker sells their labour power to earn a living, and the capitalist owns the labour process, the product of the workers' labour is alien to the waged worker. It is not his or her product but the product of the capitalist. Marx calls this separation of labour process from oneself as alienation.

Alienation, Marx says is a feature of the industrial capitalist society where labour is not only a commodity but the process of production and the product which the worker has produced is estranged. The worker has no control over what she/he produces. Marx pointed out, workers are alienated in several distinct ways: from their products as externalised objects, existing independently of their makers; from the natural world out of which the raw material of these products has been appropriated; from their own labor, which becomes a grudging necessity instead of a worthwhile activity; and from each other as the consumers of the composite products. These dire conditions, according to Marx, are the invariable consequences of industrial society.

Marx's did not visualize this dehumanised existence of the worker in an industrial capitalist system to be inescapable. He, along with Engels came with revolutionary way out , they not only developed a critique of the conditions but a political action in *Communist Manifesto* (1848). Marx envisioned that workers who were exploited soon would rally together to overthrow the capitalists. And that increasing class antagonism would result in revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist and means of production would be wrested from them.

Marx is one of the most influential and inspiring thinkers of our times. His prescription for a world free of conflict was attempted, in a reformulated way, by Soviet Russia and other communist countries. The collapse of such economies has made Marxist more virulent. Even before that his critics have pointed out "that the increasing class antagonisms he predicted never actually developed in the Western world following industrialization. While socioeconomic gaps between the bourgeoisie and proletariat remained, industrialization in countries such as the United States and Great Britain also saw the rise of a middle class not inclined to violent revolution, and of a welfare state that helped contain any revolutionary tendencies among the working class. While the economic devastation of the Great Depression broadened the appeal of Marxism in the developed world, future government safeguards and economic

recovery led to a decline in its influence" (Ibid). Despite these criticisms Marx's basic propositions continue to inspire not only as a critique in academic circles but as an inspiration for all kinds of movements. And his views on industrialization and capitalism still hold sway. Let us now turn our attention to Max Weber who saw rationalization principles that inform modern industrial world.

Max Weber (1863-1920)

According to many scholars, Weber's attempt to analyse capitalism was meant to supplement Marx's largely economics oriented perspective. According to Zeitlin, "he set himself a special task, *viz.*, to examine the economic relevance of specific religious ethic, which he felt had not been given the consideration it deserved. Although he sometimes speaks of correlation and causal influence, he states clearly that he is deliberately treating 'only one side of the causal chain', i.e., the impact of religious values on economic conduct. He wanted to somehow assess the contribution of the protestant ethic in particular to the modern economic system and more generally to contribute to our knowledge of how "ideas become effective forces in history" (Zeitlin 2000:122-123).

The singular value, which defines all modern institution, according to Weber, is rationalization. This rational legal oriented value on which actions are based is different from value orientation, which is derived from traditions, whether it is in politics or economics. "Rationalization is the process whereby an increasing number of social actions and interactions become based on considerations of efficiency or calculation rather than on motivations derived from custom, tradition, or emotion. It is conceived of as a core part of modernization and as manifested especially in behavior in the capitalist market; rational administration of the state and bureaucracy; the extension of modern science; and the expansion of modern technology" (source: <http://en.wikipedia.org>) This rational value in protestant ethic, according to Weber propelled capitalist development in Occidental or western countries. He elaborates this thesis in his book *Protest Ethic and the Sprit of Capitalism*.

According to Weber the sprit of capitalism is such ideas and values which help in the pursuit of rational actions such as; rational permanent enterprise, rational accounting, rational technology and rational law and rationalization of the conduct of life in general.

"In order that a manner of life well adapted to the peculiarities of the capitalism... could come to dominate others, it had to originate somewhere, and not in isolated individuals alone, but as a way of life common to the whole groups of man" (quoted in *ibid*). Weber believes that certain sects of Protestantism, especially Calvinism encouraged worldly activities as pursuit of spiritual 'calling'. In Catholicism an individual was assured of salvation by following the sacraments of the church and its authority but Reformation severed this authority of the Church and therefore they had to look for alternatives of sign of salvation, according to Weber, Protestantism encouraged pursuit of any secular vocation as vocation of God, which was limited to the clergy earlier. Weber says that Protestantism ethic encouraged individuals to pursue vocations with zeal, thus work became worship. It also encouraged money to be invested in rational economic gains rather than being spent on luxuries and pursuit of happiness. This ethic, Weber believed helped the nascent capitalism. Weber cites the work of Benjamin Franklin which emphasise frugality, work and thrift.

"It should be noted that Weber maintained that while Puritan religious ideas had had a major influence on the development of economic order in Europe and United States, they were not the only factor (others included the rationalism in scientific pursuit, merging observation with mathematics, science of scholarship and jurisprudence, rational systematisation of government

administration and economic enterprise). In the end, the study of Protestant ethic, according to Weber, merely explored one phase of the emancipation from magic, that disenchantment of the world that he regarded as the distinguishing peculiarity of Western culture. The result, according to Weber, is a “polar night of icy darkness”, in which increasing rationalisation of human life traps individuals in an “iron cage” of rule-based, rational control”(ibid).

By extension therefore, Weber argues that in the Orient where rational ethic was missing in Hinduism or Confucianism the capitalist enterprise did not develop. Regarding Hinduism in India, he notes the idea of an immutable world order consisting of the eternal cycles of rebirth and the deprecation of the mundane world, and finds that the traditional caste system, supported by the religion, slowed economic development; in other words, the “spirit” of the caste system militated against an indigenous development of capitalism. He notes further, that the beliefs tended to interpret the meaning of life as otherworldly or mystical experience, that the intellectuals tended to be apolitical in their orientation, and that the social world was fundamentally divided between the educated, whose lives were oriented toward the exemplary conduct of a prophet or wise man, and the uneducated masses who remained caught in their daily rounds and believed in magic(ibid). There were lots of debates about Weber’s thesis on India. Some scholars explored his idea further in the Indian context to see if the work ethic and frugality of business communities such as the Marwaris and Jains fitted in with Weber’s thesis. Others like the historian Irfan Habib argued that India had potentials for capitalist development, which were thwarted by colonial rule and the flourishing textile industry was completely destroyed by the British. We will discuss aspects of Indian industrialisation in the following section. At this point it will be worthwhile to point out that Weber’s ideas of rationalization and disenchantment finds resonance in lot of social science thinking when visualising industrial societies, But before that let us examine Durkheim’s work and his ideas on industrial society. Durckhiem is a contemporary of Weber and like him was seized with analyzing changes that were brought about by industrialisation.

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917)

Durkheim’s primary interest was what happens as societies begin to industrialise and modernize. When they begin to industrialize and labor becomes increasingly specialized. Durkheim calls the new form of solidarity resulting from modernization *organic solidarity*. In modern, industrial societies, labor is tremendously divided. Individuals no longer perform the same tasks, have the same interests, nor necessarily share the same perspectives on life. But Durkheim quickly points out that this does not cause a society to fail or disintegrate. Organic solidarity is formed. Like the organs within an animal, individuals perform certain specific functions, but rely on the well-being and successful performance of other individuals. If one organ fails, the rest of them fail as well. A body—or in this case a society—cannot function at all if one part crumbles. This reliance upon each other for social (and even physical) survival is the source of organic solidarity, according to Durkheim.

Durkheim discusses social solidarity—the bond between all individuals within a society—in considerable depth, especially in his first major work, *The Division of Labor in Society*, first published in 1893. He first described the social cohesion particular to pre-industrial societies. This *mechanical solidarity* as he called it, occurred when all members of a society performed the same or nearly the same tasks as all others in a society. If one person were to die and not be replaced, the society would not change, because all other members did exactly the same thing as the member that died. The collective conscience of a mechanical society is identical among all members, and the bond derives not from dependence on other individuals, but from the dependence on the total social system(source: <http://durkheim.itgo.com>). For Durkheim the world of ‘organic solidarity’ was a world of specialization, complementarities and

independence. The ruling principle is “Structural Differentiation”. In industrial society, there is a separation of the economic system from the family system, the workplace from home. With the breakup of the traditional ‘Collective Conscience’ core beliefs are to be organized around occupational codes and mediated through professional ethics.

As you must be already aware, from your various readings on Durkheim, that he saw essential harmony in the way societies functioned. Modern society writes Durkheim “will be definitely in equilibrium, only when organized on a purely industrial basis” (quoted in Zeitlin, 2000:238) This equilibrium will be achieved because of positive consequences of division of labour; “it leads to exchange of services, reciprocity of obligations, interdependence etc. Contracts and other formal legal relationships governing these exchanges lead to what he defined as organic solidarity” (ibid:244). If this division of labour did not produce a solidarity, Durkheim claims, that it is because it is an abnormal condition, a consequence of pathological form that it had momentarily assumed. Marx accentuates the conflicting nature of modern industrial society where men are alienated from one another and from themselves: a condition in which exploitation, conflict and domination were normal and unavoidable so long as the existing “relations of production” prevailed. For Durkheim on the other hand, it is only its pathological form that division of labour produces negative consequences. Durkheim calls this pathology anomie. Durkheim defined the term *anomie* as a condition where social and/or moral norms are confused, unclear, or simply not present. Durkheim felt that this lack of norms—or preaccepted limits on behavior in a society—led to deviant behavior. Industrialization in particular, according to Durkheim, tends to dissolve restraints on the passions of humans. Where traditional societies—primarily through religion—successfully taught people to control their desires and goals, modern industrial societies separate people and weaken social bonds as a result of increased complexity and the division of labor.

We have examined three of the main social thinkers who have looked at industrialisation from various perspectives. A lot of theorizing which came about subsequently on industrialisation and modernity and contemporary society have been inspired and informed by these thinkers, in one way or other.

Reflection and Action 27.1

1. Do you think that Marx’s idea of alienation is still relevant in present society?
2. Is rationalization process that Weber talks of an inevitable process of modern world? Do you find any resistances to such rationalization?
3. Do you think extreme differentiation and specialization in industrial societies leads to chaos and anomie?

27.5 Industrialisation In India

Industrialization as we know is a term that is specifically employed to indicate the use of machines in the production process. It is also generally believed that Industrial Revolution in England has propelled industrialisation not only in England but elsewhere also. This easy connection with technological innovation and revolution to industrialisation makes one ask whether similar conditions existed in India and whether industries were developing in an indigenous fashion and what role colonization had on the development of industries or de-industrialisation of already existing industries. Post Independent India saw industrial policies being shaped by not only the aspect of colonialism but it was also informed by dominant paradigms of development discourse and by contemporary politics. Let us look at colonial phase of industrialisation before we examine the industrialisation in post-independence India.

Colonisation of India and Industrilisation

Whenever there is discussion on industrilisation in India, the colonial state is brought to the centre stage. It is held by many that the empire heralded development in India, the apologist of the Empire often cite examples of British investments in infrastructure etc as laying the ground for further industrilisation. The other arguments highlights the disastrous results of colonialism on the indigenou economies, completely taking it out of competitive edge it had in textile industry. This argument was particularly favoured by the nationalist who at that time argued for increased control of governance by the natives. Dadabhai Naoroji's *Drain of Wealth* and R.C. Dutt's work of *Economic History of India* had become works that were part of the nationalist historiography. The nationalists argued that competition with cheap British mill cloth drove Indians out of the handloom industry and into agriculture.

There is another argument which does not agree with notions that India was stagnant till the British came and took over. A view shared by people like Marx as well, though he pointed out to the exploitative nature of colonialism. Against this notion of oriental stagnation were arguments from historians like Irfan Habib who says that the economy was far from stagnant. Hamza Alvi writes, quoting historical sources, that the Indian society of the 17th century, except for its military and especially naval weakness, was fully equal, in the arts of manufacture and agriculture and culture, to the Europeans at the time. Contrary to the stereotype of the medieval Indian society as a stagnant rural backwater we find evidence of a high degree of urbanisation. Habib speaks of 'multitudes of artisans, peons and servants found in the towns ... in 120 big cities and 3200 townships (in the second half of the 16th century)' He adds that 'Agra and Fatehpur Sikri (twin cities) were each held to be larger than London. Delhi was held to be as populous as Paris, then the biggest city in Europe'. (Habib,1963: 75-76 quoted in Alvi, Source: <http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/sangat/Colonial.htm>) A high proportion of the Indian urban population was employed in industrial crafts. The manufacturing industry was geared not only to the luxury consumption of the aristocracy and the more modest needs of the population in general but also a rapidly growing volume of exports. Naqvi points out that since the 17th century there was a 'wide growth of cities and towns as centres of cotton manufactures'. (Naqvi, 1968:142 quoted in Ibid).

Hanza Alvi and many of the dependency theorist (see unit 9 of Course on sociology of development for a detailed discussion) argue that capitalism was a global phenomenon from the outset, not only by way of trade but also by way of extraction of resources from the colonies that underpinned capital accumulation in the metropolis like the British Empire. In other words, the resources from conies were used to fuel the mills and factories of Manchester and other places of England. What started off as unfair trade soon made way to plunder and greed. Not only did the British protect their domestic industry by imposing heavy duty of Indian textiles but once the started to rule India they collected revenues, taxes and other impositions. "Once the East India Company acquired a large local source of funds in the form of land revenue, it was no longer necessary for Britain to pay for India's textile exports in bullion and precious stones as it had so far done. It could now buy Indian textiles from the wealth that it extracted from Indians. Textiles for exports were bought from the huge amounts of land revenue that now accrued to the Company and its employees. It was now to be a one-sided flow of unrequited exports from India to Britain. It was to be spoken of by Indian nationalists as the 'Economic Drain' from India"(ibid).

In the early phase of colonialism, there was very little capital investment in India. However, to aid trade to England infrastructure like railways, telegraphs, post etc were introduced. The capital investment which followed eventually

was from English entrepreneurs and capitalist who wanted to be closer to raw material and cheap labour. They also enjoyed the patronage of the Empire. Very few Indian entrepreneurs started manufacturing business as British polices did not favour them and they were reluctant to enter in to unknown fields.

There were however several business communities who were initially the collaborators and middlemen with the British, like the Parsis and Marwaris who ventured in to setting up industries. The Marwaris of Calcutta moved from being traders to industrialist in the jute business. The transformation of a few Marwari families from 'traders to industrialists' was gradual. "This pattern can be described in the following steps: (A) They slowly increased their importance in the trade of raw jute and jute manufactures; (B) Some of the Marwari traders became members of the formal jute-trade organisations. Others became brokers to British managing agency houses, or, by buying shares got a place on the board of directors of British managing agency houses; (C) Finally, in the early 1920s, a few Marwaris entered the jute industries by setting up their own jute mills." The birlas started their first jut emill in 1919, whereas Goenka and Bangur started theirs after World War II (Oonk, 2004:4) The Parsis on the other hand did not face stiff opposition from the British like the Marwaris. They were the collaborators of the British and sympathized with them. "They partly financed the military defence of the Bombay fort; they were loyal to the British during the Mutiny (1857), financing the British military apparatus. Third, a part of the Parsee community was fast to recognise that is was very useful to learn English, to adopt British customs and to intensify their relation with the British in order to improve the socio-economic position of the community in West India. The Parsis were among the first to build up the Indian cotton textile industry in Bombay. Parsis owned nine of ten mills built in Bombay between 1854 and 1863. This included two mills of the Petit family. In the period between 1878 and 1915, the Parsis owned between 41 and 30 per cent of the mills in the city. " (ibid:9).Apart from this communities the bankers of Ahmedabad without any British intervention or association started setting up mills.

After this initial forays many trading families started to invest in industrial enterprise. This challenged the monopoly of British capitalist, the government started adopting discriminatory policies towards them. The tariff, taxation and transport policies were made favourable to the British capitalist. Thus there was stiff competition in the marketing of goods as well. The Indian capitalist organized themselves in to Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI).

The capitalists were aware that they would be better off in a free India and were active supporters of nationalist struggles. The leadership of the national movement were also aware of the need for industrialization of the country.

Industrilisation in Post-independent India

The colonial past very much played a part in the economic path India took, especially under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru the new Prime minister of India. The link between colonialism and underdevelopment was firmly established . This history made Indian leaders wary of international free trade. Nehru who was inspired by Fabian socialism and by the Russian example decided to adopt a socialist pattern of economic development. Much of early economic activity in newly independent India was state induced, and state controlled. Nehru wanted to adopt Harold Laski's idea of mixed economy, which he did. The state controlled major industries and public related services.

In setting a path for the economic policy after Independence, Nehru followed a development discourse and models which were current and popular at that time. He truly believed that like Russia India needed to develop its heavy

industries which were capital intensive. Thus in the initial phase of economic development saw setting up heavy industries and the construction of dams. He chose from a set of options considerably more limited than those available today, and followed to a large degree the conventional wisdom among Indian academic economists of the time. India's growth rate in GDP stayed moderately above 4% during all the years that Nehru was Prime Minister. It is hard to say definitively how much growth there might have been with different economic policies: predominantly capitalist Western Europe grew slightly faster than India during the Nehru years (especially during the decade after World War II); but so did the command economies of communist China and the Soviet Union. The strongly capitalist USA grew somewhat more slowly, as did most of the newly independent nations that followed WWII (with the exception of oil-producing nations) The Soviet Union was the only major power during Nehru's tenure to aid India in developing independent capabilities areas of heavy industry, engineering, and technology. This political fact, combined with Nehru's preference for state-led development, promoted suspicion about the sincerity of India's non-aligned foreign policy positions. In hindsight, the Nehruvian model failed in many of its objectives; however, many Indian economists—particularly among Nehru's contemporaries—believe Nehru's emphasis on central planning was the right policy for India of that time.

Some critics of Indian economic development believe that the economy of the Nehruvian and post-Nehruvian era, with inefficient public sector entities on the one hand, and crony-capitalist private sector entities on the other, that used the so-called license raj to carve out lucrative niches for themselves on the other, was a product of economic policy foundations laid during Nehru's tenure (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jawaharlal_Nehru).

Box 27.2: Five Year Plans

After independence, India opted to have a centrally planned economy to ensure an effective and equitable allocation of national resources for the purpose of balanced economic development. The idea of planning was taken from Russian centralized planning system. Indian Economy is based on the concept of planning. This is carried through her Five-Year Plans, developed, executed and monitored by the Planning Commission. After liberalisation, the emergence of a market economy with a fast growing private sector, planning has become indicative, rather than prescriptive in nature. The process of formulation and direction of the Five-Year Plans is carried out by the Planning Commission, headed by the Prime Minister of India as its chairperson (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_economy).

India followed policies of import substitution, industrialisation and state intervention in labour and financial markets, a large public sector, overt regulation of business, and central planning. Till 1980 this was the general tone of economy, the growth rate was steady but not substantially and it was generally referred to as the 'Hindu growth rate', because all other surrounding Asian economies, especially the 'East Asian Tigers' were growing at rapid pace.

In 1980 the first steps towards liberalization were taken up by Indira Gandhi and followed by his Rajiv Gandhi, this involved easing restrictions on capacity expansion for incumbents, removed price controls and reduced corporate taxes. The economic liberalisation of 1991, initiated by then Indian prime minister P. V. Narasimha Rao and his finance minister Manmohan Singh in response to a macroeconomic crisis did away with the *License Raj* (investment, industrial and import licensing) and ended public sector monopoly in many sectors, thereby allowing automatic approval of foreign direct investment in many sectors. Since then, the overall direction of liberalisation has remained the same, irrespective of the ruling party at the centre, although no party has yet tried to take on powerful lobbies like the trade unions and farmers, or

contentious issues like labour reforms and cutting down agricultural subsidies(ibid).

In our next section we will look at two main perspectives which have dominated Indian thinking on industrialisation. These perspectives are of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru's. In our course on 'Sociology of Development' we have detailed discussion on this perspective(see unit Unit 8 in MSO-003) . Here we will give you a brief introduction.

27.6 Gandhi and Nehru on Industrialisation

There many approaches, writings and opinions on the issue of development. The more dominant theories of development, which are top down and industry oriented, have been criticized and alternatives have been proposed. In the present age of increased awareness of environmental degradation caused by exploitation of earth's resources and heavy industries that have proved to be more than harmful, the consumerist-oriented approaches of development have come under severe criticism. In this context Gandhi's views on development have been especially lauded by many. Let us examine the two perspectives.

Gandhi: Swadeshi and Khadi

As we mentioned earlier, a lot of thinking on what is the best path for independent India's economy has been in some way or other informed and influenced by colonial experience.

Gandhi believed that India's progress was tied up with its villages. He was distrustful of the overarching powers of the state and conceived of a series of village republics for India. He was not for industrialisation which would destroy traditional handicrafts and artisans and industries associated with them. He strongly believed the concept of self reliance or *swadeshi*. This meant that we, as Indians should find sustenance in our efforts -labour and intellect derived from the people themselves. Khadi-the hand spun cloth symbolized to him the spirit of swadeshi. Gandhi believed that one need not take recourse to mass production for individual needs a lot of life's necessities can be met by production at village level and at individual level. He realized that the state of unemployment in villages can be improved with setting up of village industries. Though mass produced items may be cheaper , he believed if we really want the villages to prosper and the poor 's substance taken care then we are on the path to development.

Items such as the spinning wheel even more than a handloom was a symbol of self reliance of the individual and gainful labour and simplicity of living. He cautioned against the modern world's rush towards material wealth. He wondered if this could be seriously counted as human progress. He believed that material progress did not necessarily mean real progress or moral and spiritual progress. He cautioned against blindly aping the West in pursuit of wealth.

Gandhi's views are finding special resonance with people and development practitioners who are looking for alternatives to dominant paradigms of development, which have been top down approaches and which do not take in to consideration the real needs of people. The idea of decentralized, village level development that Gandhi advocated has special appeal in this context.

Nehru's Socialist Ideal of Industrialisation

We have already talked about Jawaharlal Nehru's vision of restructuring of India's economy was inspired by socialist ideals, especially the Fabian school of thinking who looked to democratic and gradual change towards socialist

society.

Box 27.3 The Fabians

The society was founded on January 4, 1884 in London, UK as an offshoot of a society founded in 1883 called The Fellowship of the New Life. The Fabian Society is a British socialist intellectual movement, whose purpose is to advance the socialist cause by social democratic, rather than revolutionary, means. It is best known for its initial ground-breaking work beginning in the late 19th century and then up to World War I. Fabian socialists were also critical of free trade and embraced protectionism in the interests of protecting the realm from foreign competition. In the period between the two World Wars, the "Second Generation" Fabians, including the writers R. H. Tawney, G. D. H. Cole and Harold Laski, continued to be a major influence on social-democratic thought. It was at this time that many of the future leaders of the Third World were exposed to Fabian thought; most notably, India's Jawaharlal Nehru. (source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fabians>)

Jawaharlal Nehru played a vital role in the formation of the Congress' economic policy during the National Movement. Unlike Gandhi, Nehru's approach for the Indian economy was based on a firm belief in modern western ideas of development. He was all for developing India into a modern state. He considered industrialisation as a crucial prerequisite for Indian development. He was instrumental in identifying economic goals for India in the resolution passed at the Karachi session of the Congress in 1931. The resolution, among other things, suggested state ownership of major industries, mineral resources, railways, waterways etc. He wanted the state to take major responsibility for development work, the public sector in free India was an outcome of this thinking. As we already mentioned, the planning of the economy was inspired by the Russian system.

Nehru was opposed to landlordism and the feudal set-up. One of the major steps he had taken in his tenure is to abolish the Zamindari system in free India. He was for a scientific temper and a rational secular outlook and works towards trying to make a path for India in this direction.

Though there are drastic differences in the approaches of Gandhi and Nehru, it is clear that they both wanted India to come out of the legacy of colonialism towards a path of self-reliance and progress.

We have discussed a great deal on the history of industrialisation in England and in India but things have been changing since the traditional notion of factories and industries, which employed people on subsistence level wages for long hours. The production process may have remained the same to some extent, but new technologies—especially communication technologies, have dramatically altered not only economies but lifestyles and geographies of the globe in a big way. Many social thinkers have been pointing out to a post-industrial society that we live in. In our next section, let us have a brief look at what is meant by post-industrial society.

27.8 Post-Industrial Society

Daniel Bell, a professor of sociology, was the first to use the term post-industrial society. In fact, it was the title of his book *Post-Industrial Society* (1973). As far back as 1973, Bell predicted that we are fast moving towards a society where services and knowledge-related technologies would dominate rather than industrial production that was conventionally viewed. He held that post-industrial society would replace the industrial society as the dominant mode. There are three components to a post-industrial society, according to Bell:

- a shift from manufacturing to services
- the centrality of the new science-based industries

- the rise of new technical elites and the advent of a new principle of stratification

Another term used for post-industrial society is 'information age', as another characteristic feature of post-industrial societies is the domination of information technologies and industries related to it.

The crux of difference between industrial and post-industrial lies in what Daniel Bell calls the axial principle, the fundamental logic of economy and society was theoretical knowledge (axial principle in industrial society was technical knowledge) which is a strategic resource of the new society, the university, research institutions are the axial structure where this resource is located. Intellectual Technology i.e. problem solving system using electronic gadgetry which allow for rational macro planning, forecasting monitoring with every responsibility of society become important than machine technology. White collar jobs replace blue collar jobs. Within this society there is increase of professional technical and scientific groups.

Bells prediction of post-industrial society was based on already emerging patterns in America in the 1970s. and these are:

- 1) Employment figures in 1950's: US became the first country to have a majority of its working population in services i.e. trade, finance, transport, health, recreation, education, government. Within service there was a rapid growth of professional and technical carders.
- 2) Evidence showed that contribution to service sector to GNP was steadily mounting.
- 3) Increase in Financial allocation towards higher education i.e. theoretical knowledge is central organizing principle in society.

To bell post industrialization offers a solution to many problems in industrial society such as :

- Individual talks to individual rather than interacting with machines.
- Vision of new worker
- Performs interesting and varied jobs in pleasant surroundings
- Is engaged in production of a service and not in production of good.
- Interacts with life people and not mindless machines.
- As customer demands vary, offers personalized service
- Service not fragmented to which there was lack of identification with product - there is a certain unity in service provided by worker
- Finally new work places is a pleasant office room and personal shop floor.

Some argue that post industrialism is unlike industrialism in its consequences for people. Industrialism promoted alienation as it made material affluence possible. Post industrialism in contrast allowed individual to set its own pace, instead of being paced by machines, by offering work i.e. varied and interesting. Worker does complete jobs instead of fragmented bits of work. Hence post industrialism offers solution to the alienation of man. The critics say that it is too rosy a picture. Marxist would not agree that is alienation can be solved within the frame work of capitalist system of production. To them root cause of alienation is private ownership i.e. what robs worker of his control over tool and production. Employment in service class implies that it is at the cost of agriculture. It's fallacious to equate industrial employment with blue collar manual job services with white. Many tasks involved in the provision of services such as catering, cleaning, entertainment, and transportation or of manual or even menial kind are not very different from

general run of industrial jobs. If industrial employment has remain stationary and many of the new jobs created by the services are manual, the optimistic claim that the alienating condition of industrial work now applies to fewer people would appear to be totally misplaced. The argument that whitecollar workers in the service sector perform varied jobs in a pleasant atmosphere and has come under severe attack. Vast bulks of service sector employees are clerks who have been handed into large impersonal offices. The repetitiveness, division of labor, fragmentation of tasks and monitory that characterize industrial employment are to be found here as well.

Finally, Bell's assertion that there is a growing proportion of professionals within the white collar has been questioned. The expansion of professionals in the service sector is taking place at lowest levels. These people are assigned impressive littlest such as engineer and technologist. However, they hardly enjoy freedom on their job. Their actual job is to perform according to someone else's specifications. They are more providers of information production of scientific knowledge itself has become an industry. With vast number of people performing fairly simple and regulated jobs for a coordinator who alone knows how the pieces fit together to make a whole.

While there are many critiques to Bells's arguments and his prediction, we are indeed moving from a industry oriented economy to a post-industrial one. The new technologies have definitely altered social structures, they have speeded up the globalization processes, of which we will read in our next unit.

27.9 Conclusions

In this unit we have tried to understand what is meant by industrilisation, by try to identify its central features. We have traced industrilisation to Industrial Revolution in England , which definitely propelled industrilisation, not only in England but Europe to be followed by rest of the world. Many scholars were trying to understand the far-reaching changes that were brought about by industrilisation, which has drastically changed the social structures besides, changing production processes. Some of the thinkers, who are important figures of sociology, have commented on these social changes and their implications can still be seen in our present society. The development and progress and quality of life in some of the wealthy nations became a shining model for countries which were left behind-theThird World countries. India too adopted development models from the West. Modernisation which accompanied industrilisation westernization had its impacts on Indian society that have been extensively chronicled. We have tried to cover some of these issues of modernization in many of our other units in this course. We have however tried to present you with two fundamental perspectives on industrilisation, that of Gandhi and Nehru. In our concluding section, we have tried to show that in our fat changing society we are moving even beyond traditional industrialism to processes which involve information technologies.

27.10 Further Reading

Gill, K. S. 1986, *Evolution of Indian Economy*, N.C.E.R.T : New Delhi

Zeitlin, I.M, 2000(7th edition), *Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory*, Prentice Hall:NJ

Unit 28 Globalisation

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- 28.1 Introduction
- 28.2 Different Ideas on What Constitutes Globalisation
- 28.3 Globalisation and the Ideological Positions
- 28.4 Features of Globalisation
- 28.5 Conclusion
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Learning Objectives

Globalisation as a phenomenon has been discussed, debated, criticized, glorified very frequently and passionately by different scholars. After reading this unit



you will be able to:

- Explain the different aspects of globalisation;
- Discuss globalisation and different ideologies behind it, in terms of which it is understood;
- Describe the process of globalisation in terms of its features;
- Critically assess the interrelation between globalisation, culture and identity.

1.1 Introduction

You must have found that your city has more labelled clothes than ever before, brand like Nike, Reebok and others which used to be not available in India are now available. In big cities fashion trends are very similar to other big cities of the world. Even TV programs have their global imports, which are localised such as Kaun Banega Karore Pati, Indian Idol. The global influences are being felt everywhere and all over the world. Bangra and Yoga are popular in the West, as cheese, pizza and burgers have become part of our eating habits, at least in big cities and among the younger generation. Big corporations now have offices in different parts of the globe where they carry on activities, so corporations have gone global and in that sense the production processes. There are people who work in India but who don an American accent and keep American time because they work for international call centre. People are travelling evermore on work, in search of work, or migrating to seek better lives. There is definitely lot more movement of people and communication between people. A mother whose son lives in America not only is regularly in contact with her son and daughter-in-law but might travel to stay with him a good part of the year.

These changes that we are witnessing is being termed globalisation. While there are many debates on what exactly constitutes globalisation, what are its chief characteristics and where does it stem from, the changes that we are witnessing are palpable and real.

In this unit we will try and understand the process of globalisation through the various changes that are occurring in society and by following the different analyses offered by various scholars. There are many debates concerning globalisation we will also try and critically evaluate them. We will understand the term and process through the way globalisation is revealed to us in its characteristics. Lastly we will see globalisation process in the context of India.

28.2 Different Ideas on What Constitutes Globalisation

The term Globalisation has entered almost as a part of the vocabulary of all major disciplines, languages, cultures and nations in contemporary times. Given the increasing appeal of the term, numerous public debates and discussions on its constructive and destructive affects have been taking place in academia, political circles and in the civil society. There is an on ongoing controversy over the term Globalisation. Both enthusiasts and critics emphasise the broad range of its impact.

In this section we will take a broad sweep across a range of aspects that have been highlighted by scholars before we come on to some major debates. Let us see if we can separate some of these strands of discussion.

- One aspect which has been debated about is whether globalisation is unique to present age, wasn't the world always global? David Gordon (1988) refers the recent globalisation not as an unprecedented world

transformation but as a relatively minor phase in long term processes of capital accumulation, where as Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson (1992) comment on recent economic transformations as creating larger trade blocs rather than forming an anti-state or non-state global economy. Almost all observers agree that global connections have been thickening for several decades, but the significance of that thickening remains contestable.

- The most common conceptualisation of globalisation is as a one-dimensional process of economic integration/interdependence that has been occurring on a very rapid pace in the current times. In this sense, R.G. Harris defines it as an economic process, i.e. 'The increasing internationalisation of the production, distribution and marketing of goods and services' (cited in Streeten 2001 :167). The two-dimensionality of the process covers economic integration facilitated by the new technology. As an example, for Thomas Friedman globalisation is 'that loose combination of free trade agreements, the Internet and the integration of financial markets that is erasing borders and uniting the world into a single, lucrative, but brutally competitive market place' (ibid: 171). Another aspect of this overwhelming economic view is that globalisation is nothing but liberalisation. Liberalisation refers to a process of removing government imposed restrictions on movements between countries in order to create an open borderless world economy. The evidence for such globalisation in recent decades can be found in the widespread reduction or even abolition of regulatory trade barriers, foreign exchange restrictions, capital controls etc.
- An aspect that many scholars are beginning to acknowledge is how globalisation involves many dimensions of society. Taking it as a multi-dimensional process, Streeten states, 'Globalisation is transforming trade, finance, employment, migration, technology, communications, the environment, social systems, ways of living, cultures, and patterns of governance' (2001 : 8). Holm and Sorensen (1995, cited in ibid) view it as 'the intensification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across borders'. A World Bank publication defines globalisation as 'the growing integration of economies and societies around the world'. This is 'a complex process that affects many aspects of our lives' (World Bank 2002: ix). A recent study by the United Nations (2002: 17), conducted by ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) specifically highlights the multidimensional nature of globalisation. It is noted here that the economic dimension of globalisation 'acts concomitantly with non-economic processes, which have their own momentum and therefore are not determined by economic factors' (ibid). One of the non-economic dimensions include ethical and cultural aspects which ECLAC terms as the 'globalisation of values' and refers to the gradual spread of shared ethical principles as manifested in declarations on human rights which has two main concerns: a) civil and political rights, and b) economic, social and cultural rights. The 'globalisation of values' is increasingly manifested in the aspirations and formation of a 'global civil society' whose capacity for mobilisation and the exchange of information has multiplied by the new information and communications technologies (ibid: 21).
- Some scholars see globalisation as an essential post-industrial society, where communication technologies are the defining feature. Castells looks at the present global age as essentially a net-worked society. The Sociologist Manuel Castells has distinguished a network of society in which a new space of flows exists alongside the old space of places(1989;348;1996-7). What Castells intends to explain is that due to technologically mediated conditions there will be different types of interactions possible vis-a-vis the existing interactions within the given society, such as through satellites, internet, telecommunication linkages and other digital technologies. Castells' analysis overlooks and treats the process in a

segmental manner rather than in a holistic way its nature and consequences. Invariably, in a segmental approach, analysts have studied 'financial or capital globalisation', 'telecommunication or media globalisation' and 'cultural globalisation' as separate developments, and then try to view the impact of the one on the other, for instance, 'financial or capital' globalisation upon other segments such as the 'media', 'communication' or 'culture'. This approach has two weaknesses: first, it fails to help us in comprehending the role of the residual social structural realities and their emergent properties and the way they interact with anyone of these three aspects of globalisation, be it capital, communication or culture.

- Many scholars look at globalisation as a process emanating from the West and therefore another form of westernisation. They equate globalisation with Westernisation or modernisation. This view propounds that globalisation is a dynamic process whereby the social structures of modernity are spread the world over, normally destroying pre-existent cultures and local self determination in the process (Spybey, 1996; Taylor, 2000). Globalisation in this sense is sometimes described as an imperialism of McDonald's Hollywood, Cocacolonisation, MTV generation and CNN (Schiller, 1991). As Martin Khor (1995) aptly comments that globalisation is what we in the third world have for several centuries called colonisation (Khor, 1995).
- Another aspect, which has been looked at by scholars, identifies globalisation as deterritorialisation. Following this interpretation, globalisation entails a reconfiguration of geography so that social space is no longer wholly mapped in terms of territorial places, territorial distances and territorial borders. This usage provides new insights and relatively new conditions whereby globalisation can be referred as supraterritorial relations between people. Deterritorialisation refers to a far reaching change in the nature of social space. Further, the proliferation and spread of supraterritorial - or what we can alternatively term transworld or transborder- connections brings an end to what could be called territorialism, that is a situation where social geography is entirely territorial. current history has witnessed a proliferation of social connections that are at least partly- and often quite substantially- detached from a territorial logic of the kind just described. Such phenomena cannot be situated at a fixed territorial location. They operate largely without regard of territorial distance. They substantially bypass territorial borders. The geography of these global conditions can not be understood in terms of territoriality alone; they also reside in the world as a single place- that is, in a trans world space.

Box 28.01 My family and Other Globalisers

In 1992, I wrote a book titled To-wards Globalisation. I did not realize at the time that this was going to be the history of my family.

Last week, we celebrated the wedding of my daughter, Pallavi. A brilliant student, she had won scholarships to Oxford University and the London School of Economics. In London, she met Julio, a young man from Spain. The two decided to take up jobs in Beijing, China. Last week, they came over from Beijing to Delhi to get married. The wedding guests included 70 friends from North America, Europe and China.

They may sound totally global, but arguably my elder son Shekhar has gone further. He too won a scholarship to Oxford University, and then taught for a year at a school in Colombo. Next he went to Toronto, Canada, for higher studies. There he met a German girl, Franziska.

They both got jobs with the International Monetary Fund in Washington DC, USA. This meant that they constantly travelled on IMF business to disparate countries. Shekhar advised and went on missions to Sierra Leone, Seychelles,

Kyrgyzstan and Laos. Franziska went to Rwanda, Tajikistan, and Russia. They interrupted these perambulations to get married in late 2003.

My younger son, Rustam, is only 15. Presumably he will study in Australia, marry a Nigerian girl, and settle in Peru.

Readers might think that my family was born and bred in a jet plane. The truth is more prosaic. Our ancestral home is Kargudi, a humble, obscure village in Tanjore district, Tamil Nadu. My earliest memories of it are as a house with no toilets, running water, or *pukka* road.

My father was one of six children, all of whom produced many children (I myself had three siblings). So, two generations later, the size of the Kargudi extended family (including spouses) is over 200. Of these, only three still live in the village. The rest have moved across India and across the whole world, from China to Arabia to Europe to America. This one Kargudi house has already produced 50 American citizens. So, dismiss the mutterings of those who claim that globalisation means westernization. It looks more like Aiyarisation, viewed from Kargudi.

Globalisation for me is not just the movement of goods and capital, or even of Aiyars. It is a step towards Lennon's vision of no country.

You may say I'm dreamer, but I'm not the only one. I hope one day you'll join us. And the world will be one.

(Source: SWAMINOMICS, Times of India, New Delhi, April 3, 2005)

As we can see there is no agreed upon view as to what exactly constitutes globalisation. Globalisation literature is rife with different and contesting views. David Harvey has put some of these arguments in three categories which we will discuss, but before that think about what you have read so far and try and answer the questions in our box on Reflection and action.

28.01 Reflection and Action

Reflect upon your own experiences of day to day life. List at least 10 ways in which your life is influenced by what is happening in other parts of the world. Write an essay of about two pages on "My Definition of Globalisation". You may discuss your essay with other students at your Study Centre.

Conceptualising Globalisation: Three Tendencies

The three tendencies that have been captured and categorized by David Harvey are as follows, we are adapting it from the way they are presented by Anthony Giddens

The sceptics: The sceptics, like Hirst and Thompson (1999), Boyer and Drache (1997), think that globalisation is not a new phenomenon; there have been economic interdependence earlier too. They point out to statistics of world trade in 19th century and contend that the present global trade differs only in intensity and therefore it is not new. They say that the world economy is not sufficiently integrated to constitute truly global economy. If anything, they argue trade is between three regional groups of countries- Europe, Asia-Pacific, and North America. The countries of European union, for example trade predominantly among themselves. This invalidates the notion of global economy, they argue. Many sceptics focus on the process of regionalisation. They also reject the notion that national governments and states are weakening. According to sceptics national governments play a key role in their involvement in regulating and coordinating economic activity.

The hyperglobalisers: The hyperglobaliser take an opposing view to that of the sceptics. They feel that globalisation is very real and its effects can be felt

everywhere. They think that globalisation sweeps across unmindful of borders and territories. A leading thinker belonging to the hyperglobaliser's camp, Kenichi Ohama believes that globalisation is leading us to a "borderless society"- a world in which market forces are more powerful than national governments (Ohama, 1990, 1995). The hyperglobalisers focus their discussion on the decreasing influence of national governments, they are not only challenged by international market forces and big corporations but also by regional and international regional institutions such as European Union, World Bank, WTO etc. These shift according to Albrow (1996) where national governments decline in influence, signals the dawn of a "global age". hyperglobalisers are also the advocates of globalisation with a neoliberal ideology with their prescription and focus on its homogenising nature. The sceptics are mainly the neo-Marxists and radicals who focus on the negative aspects of globalisation and also notice the hybridising cultural side of the process. Neo-Marxists! Marxists highlight the hegemonic character of globalisation.

The Transformationalist: The transformationalist take a middle position. They see globalisation touching a wide spectrum of changes that we are witnessing in modern societies. According to them while the global world is transforming many old patterns continue to exist. They see globalisation as an open and dynamic process which does not have any single source of origin or tendencies, in fact it breaks down established boundaries between internal and external, international and external. The changes many times are contradictory encompassing tendencies which operate in opposition to each other. Kellner seems to take a transformationalist view of globalisation. He does not stress on the aspect of integration. Rather, he focuses on the transformation currently occurring in different spheres of life and the emergence of webs and networks of global relations. He sees globalisation as having both negative and positive consequences, and also both homogenising and hybridising impact plus emergence of identity based defences.

28.3 Globalisation and The Ideological Positions

As you can see from our preceding discussion that there are varying dimensions of globalisation that have been highlighted. There are debates as to where it is leading to whether it is new or extension what has been happening for many years and as to what constitutes the core of globalisation. We discussed some of these orientations in our previous section. The process of globalisation has also generated various ideological positions. A range of ideologies, such as neo-Marxism-Leninism, post-modernism, critical theories of development, particularly those related to the impact of globalisation on ecology, human rights of the weaker sections such as women, minorities, working classes and other marginalized groups, have generated a strident debate on the social, cultural and economic consequences of globalisation. Martinelli (2003:96) places the growing literature on globalisation conceptually along three main axes which (ideologically/ politically) are put under two broad categories viz. advocates and opponents of globalisation. His categorisation is as under **Hyperglobalisers vs. sceptics**

Here, the key distinction between the two positions relates to the degree of novelty of globalisation and its impact on nation-states. **Neoliberals vs. neo-Marxists and radicals**

Here, the key points of differences are the balance between positive and negative impacts of globalisation and its truly global or western hegemonic character. **Homogenization vs. heterogeneity/ hybridization**. The focus here is on the cultural dimension of globalisation.

Here, the first axis of categorisation is regarded as the main, and the other

two as specifications. It is noted that the varied conceptualisations on globalisation differ in terms of the type and number of aspects analysed - causal dynamics, periodisation and trajectory, major actors, (differential) social impact on people, and political implications for state power and world governance. Analyses also differ in terms of the type of countries, social groups, institutions and cultural phenomena under investigation (ibid).

Broadly speaking, Further, there is another important view on globalisation which is known as 'transformationalists'. It stands somewhere in between the other two i.e. the hyperglobalisers and neo-Marxists! Marxists.

Hyperglobalisers conceptualise globalisation mainly with a focus on the economic aspects. It is affirmed that people are getting increasingly integrated into the global marketplace. Economies are being increasingly denationalised due to the formation of transnational networks of trade, finance and production. This is regarded as 'a novel condition, hardly reversible'. This process limits the range of choices of nation-states and individuals, and compels them to follow neoliberal economic policies to be able to compete in the world market. Moreover, the global economy reshapes the existing division of labour between the centre and periphery countries and between the 'North' and the 'South' in the world. It is replacing the existing relations with 'more complex patterns of hierarchy of inequality', which has winners and losers both among and within countries, and with new tacit transnational class allegiances. It is held that the benefits of globalisation outweigh the costs. The neoliberals view globalisation as the triumph of economic liberalism, i.e., the application of economic rationalism to 'nation societies'. It is affirmed that (i) markets provide the most dependable means of setting values on all goods, and (ii) economies and markets can deliver better results than states, governments and the law (see Hudson 2002 :102).

Further, there is proclaimed, in a philosophical vein, the 'end of history' and the triumph of the Western economic and political liberalism to a complete exclusion of any alternative to it (Fukuyama 1992). It is affirmed that there would be no more deep conflicts or ideological divisions in the world. The 'new world order' interdependence based on economic liberty and democratisation created both wealth and solidarity. The spread of market-oriented policies, democratic polities, and individual rights promoted the well-being of all. It did not produce only greater economic efficiency and prosperity, but also extended the idea of liberty. Globalisation is good for the poor as, besides growth, it generally raised their income and reduced the inequality between rich and poor countries (see Dollar and Kraay, in Lechner & Boli eds. 2004). There is emphasised the potential benefits of global integration, though it also had unjust consequences that need to be addressed (see Sen, in ibid). Globalisation is presented as 'a moral imperative with certain economic freedoms as basic to prosperity. Markets are seen as force that propel production, provide means of sustenance outside government and thereby also strengthen democracy (Bhagwati 2004). For the third world, participation in the ILE (interlinked economy of USA, Europe, and Japan) is considered key to prosperity, where there were no absolute winners or losers (Ohmae 2002).

But critics/sceptics view the neoliberal version of globalisation as a prescription/ideology, not a reality. Sceptics of globalisation include Neo-Marxists/Marxists and radicals. They do not consider globalisation as either beneficial to all or being irreversible. They paint a gloomy picture of increasing inequalities and dominance by the stronger economic actors. There is expressed a fear of a world ruled by profit seeking global corporations. Economic interdependence is found to make countries more vulnerable to the destructive consequences of market shifts. The social fabric/ties also get strained as the winners in the global game become detached from losers. The whole process is lopsided. It

is repressive, exploitative, and harmful to most people in most countries. Globalisation is considered a 'false dawn' (see Gray, in Lechner and Boli eds. 2004). There is loss of sovereignty and autonomous power of nation-states. Market forces are getting more powerful than the states (Strange 1996). The main concern of governments now is to compete for attracting investments. 'National governments are torn between the need to foster economic competitiveness and that of enhancing social cohesion' (Martinelli 2003).

The opponents fault the hyperglobalist thesis of demise of the nation-state for not distinguishing among states with quite different power and influence. They do not consider globalisation a novel phenomenon. They regard it as another wave of internationalisation, involving interactions among predominantly national economies. The patterns of inequality and hierarchy are continuing to prevail and the most 'third world' countries remain marginalised. The governments continue to play a key role, particularly the powerful western states, in determining economic relations. Moreover, transnational corporations are not truly global, because they have their own home state and also regional base. Some sceptics interpret the current phase of internationalisation as the byproduct of the US-initiated multilateral economic order after the Second World War (Gilpin 2000). Callinicos et al (1994) call it a new phase of western imperialism with governments operating as agents of monopoly capital. It is believed that the current process of globalisation is 'incomplete and asymmetric'. Even Soros (2004), a stalwart in global finance, regards the current global capitalist system as 'unsound and unsustainable', in fact, disintegrating due to the increasing distress at the periphery,

imminent breakdown in the global financial system/ international trade. In his view, 'market fundamentalism' is invading even non-economic spheres of life, and hence, it is felt by many scholars that there is an urgent need to 'rethink and reform the global capitalist system'.

The current phase of globalisation is labelled by neo-Marxists/Marxists as neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is affirmed by Paul Krugman. He has highlighted the doctrinal and normative/prescriptive nature of the views of the advocates of globalisation, for instance, the 'Washington consensus'. He affirms that conclusions with little basis are constantly put forth and provide the doctrinal support for policy (cited in Chomsky 1999:25). Chomsky mentions two varieties of neoliberal doctrine which characterise the modern history. "The first is the official doctrine imposed on the defenseless. The second is what we might call 'really existing free market doctrine': market discipline is good for you, but not for me, except for temporary advantage" (1991 :34,39). Further, the contemporary process of worldwide change is treated by Marxists/ neo-Marxists as the latest phase of capitalism, and variously characterised as 'global capitalism' (Kurien 1995) 'pancapitalism' (Tehrani, in Lamberton 2002:xv), 'transnational capitalism' (Rivero 2001 :40), and 'technocapitalism' (Kellner 2002:289). Amin (2003) diagnoses (the current phase of) globalisation as the third phase of imperialism - the 'collective imperialism of the Triad' (US, Europe and Japan), wherein comprador bourgeoisies are 'acting as transmission belts for transnational capital that remains a monopoly of the Triad'. Moreover, he differentiates 'active peripheries' from marginal peripheries forming part of the system. The uniqueness of the late 20th century is seriously questioned by Wallerstein (see Lechner & Boli eds. 2004). He affirms that capitalism was always global, but it is not yet fully globalised. The core of the world economy is only over 30 of the world's 200 countries.

The 'transformationalist' view represents another perspective. It differs from the understanding of both the advocates and opponents of globalisation. Sociologists generally tend to interpret globalisation as a 'process at a new level of social reality'. The term 'global society' is sometimes used to describe this 'new reality'. In the opinion of M. Albrow (1990, cited by Hudson 2002),

globalisation refers to all those processes that involves incorporation of the peoples of the world into a single society, a society in which 'humanity' emerges for the first time as a 'collective actor'. The latter aspect is connected with the concept of 'globalisation' defined as 'those values that take the real world of five billion people as the object of concern, the whole earth as the physical environment, everyone living as world citizens, consumers, and producers, with a common interest in collective action to solve global problems (ibid: 1 01).

Further, for Martinelli (2003:96) globalisation implies deep transformation in the spatial organisation because of relations becoming more stretched and more intensively interconnected. There is occurring transcontinental and transregional flows and networks of activities and exchanges. This generates power relations which has major implications on decision making processes. 'New patterns of hierarchy and inequality of inclusion and exclusion are shaped, that cut across national borders'. Kellner also seems to take a transformationalist view of globalisation. He does not stress on the aspect of integration. Rather, he focuses on the transformation currently occurring in different spheres of life and the emergence of webs and networks of global relations. He sees globalisation as having both negative and positive consequences, and also both homogenising and hybridising impact plus emergence of identity based defences.

Transformationalists seem to take a middle position on globalisation. They view it as a multifaceted process with multiple causes like economic, technological, cultural, political.

This perspective does not stress on global integration. It focuses on the emergence of webs and networks of relations among individuals, groups, communities, states, international organisations and transnational actors. Globalisation is seen as leading to an 'unbundling of relationships between sovereignty, territoriality and state power'. It involves a basic restructuring of the nation-state. Moreover, 'globalisation reinforces old patterns of inequalities, but also forms new social hierarchies which penetrate all regions of the world, thus recasting the traditional patterns of inclusion and exclusion. However, significant opportunities for empowerment of individuals, communities and social groups also exist' (Martinelli 2003:98-99). It is accepted that global corporations have homogenising impact on lifestyles and consumption patterns. However, there is also observed increasing hybridisation of cultural traits and the staunch defence of specific identities. Moreover, it is affirmed, 'Globalisation brings about a variety of adjustment strategies by national policies that require a rather active state - not the neoliberal minimum government, but the 'developmental' or 'catalytic' state' (Martinelli 2003). Nation-states are one of the major actors in the emerging 'global governance as a polyarchic mixed-actor system'. There is suggested the need for democratic global governance based on the principles of universal rights and responsibilities (ibid).

Thus, it is observed that globalisation is a highly contentious concept. On one hand it is viewed as a real process of integration, interdependence across countries and peoples in the world. On other hand, it is regarded as a normative prescription, a myth. Similarly, there are widely diverging interpretations of globalisation. On one hand, there are strong advocates professing neoliberal ideology pushing forward economic/financial integration through private sector/market-led development which, according to them, would be most efficient and dependable yielding more benefits than loss to all, in the long run. On other hand, the bitter critics/sceptics holding neo-Marxist/Marxist ideology call it a new phase of western imperialism/global capitalism which, in their view, would adversely affect the weaker nation-states and peoples. There is

also a middle position adopted by the transformationalists. Their focus is on the emerging new level of social reality (global/single society) that is happening due to increasing transnational/regional flows of networks/exchanges and growing global values like human rights, world citizenship etc. But the process has, in their opinion, both positive and negative implications for different countries and peoples. What is advocated here to redress the problems is a democratic global governance and a catalytic state. These contrasting conceptualisations and theoretical paradigms need to be kept in view in the analysis focussing on any particular country and peoples, including India.

The fact that globalisation has not yet resolved some of the basic contradictions in the realms of culture, economy and human relationships and in some cases it is supposed to have contributed to internal social conflicts goes only to lend credence to such ideologies. According to the contemporary Marxist-Leninist critique, globalisation is only another manifestation of cosmopolitan capitalism with its classic imperialistic orientation remaining intact. Instead of contributing to trans-nationalism, it exposes societies and nations to endemic 'disasters' such as the recent food crisis in Africa and the onset of fundamentalism and communalism, both at the global and national levels. The acute social distresses, cultural conflicts and alienation (see, Patnaik, 1996) of the weaker and marginalized communities contribute to this process. No doubt, globalisation with its emphasis on the supremacy of the market, quest for optimization of profits by the multinational corporations, continual unemployment due to the fluctuations in economy and capitalism-friendly labour laws and control over the management or governance of globalisation by the Bretton Wood inspired institutions of the rich capitalist nations who set the agenda, policies and practices of globalisation lends credence to this critique. In fact, the Human Development Report (2002) echoes this despair and calls for reforms within the international institutions of development such as the WTO, World Bank, IMF, etc., by making them more accountable and representative.

It is said that, "nearly half the voting power in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund rests in the hands of seven countries. And though all countries have a seat and a vote in the WTO, in practice, decisions are taken in small group meetings and heavily influenced by Canada, the European Union, Japan and U.s. In 2000, 15 African countries did not have a single trade representative stationed at the WTO" (The Hindu, July 25, 2002). This political domination contributes to the acute differences in the perception as to the extent that globalisation decrease or increase the levels of economic and social inequalities within a society.

The Marxist-Leninist critique of globalisation is based on a theoretical paradigm which recognizes the role of the historical forces, systems of political economy and social structure. Yet another ideology, the post-modernist criticism of globalisation, is essentially cultural. It derives sustenance from an epistemology which rejects the idea of a system or structure, and posits human social and cultural realities in a perpetual state of symbolic transience or flux, continually in the process of making and unmaking. "It challenges the postulate of rationality (the foundation of market economy) on which most social science categories such as, 'structure', 'system' and 'change' are anchored"; Social systems, according to the post-modern reckoning, are not based on grand theories, and centralised logic and unilineal theories and history but many micro orders, (Singh, 1998: 1). Thus, in the logic of its analysis, history has no role or significance. It treats the conjuncture of events and processes largely in terms of space as 'co-happenings' and not in order of temporal succession. The diversity of existence of identities is recognized but the causality of the same is rejected.

We also witness yet another ideology about globalisation which emanates from the assorted movement of the NGOs. These NGOs represent a variety of 'interest

groups' and many institutionalized forms of activism. The issues of their concern are as diverse as human rights, ecology and sustainable development, rights of the minorities, women, tribes, working classes, etc., which seem to converge upon their opposition to globalisation for reasons some of which have a common basis, and others which are contradictory.

Their ideology in some parts may seem eclectic with the underpinnings of Marxism, post-modernism, ecological and developmental humanism and focus on human rights etc., which are articulated in a generalized form.

We do realise that at the end of this discussion that globalisation is, indeed a very complex process, which arouse very passionate discussions which either condemn it or laude it. To understand it a little better and past all this discussions let us examine the process of globalisation in the way it exhibits itself. In the following section we will look at the characteristics of globalisation in general but also in the context of Indian society.

28.4 Features of Globalisation

Not only is globalisation difficult to capture conceptually, but it is a complex phenomenon which touches many aspects of society. "Although globalisation is associated within big systems such as the world financial market, production and trade and telecommunications, the effects of globalisation are felt equally strongly in the private realm" (Giddens, 2001:61). Let us see if we can capture some of the important characteristics., which not only highlight the important features of globalisation but how the touch many aspects of our every day life.

Information and communication technologies: The use of satellites, internet, telephones , computer networking, television known as information and communication technologies-ITC -have revolutionised the way the world communicates. The traditional cable earlier on could carry less than a hundred voices but by 1997, a transoceanic cable is capable of carrying some 600, 000 voice paths, Communication satellites are expanding too, today there are 200satellites in place facilitate transfer of information around the globe. The internet has emerged as the fastest growing communication tool-some 140 million people worldwide were using the internet in 1998. more than 700 million people are projected to be using the internet by 2001. You can see this proliferation in our own country by the number of cyber cafes computers not only in big cities but also in small towns, though we lag behind some of the more developed countries. ITC is the dominant force in the global system with ramifications in all other spheres of human existence.

The expansion of ITC has brought about a **time-space compression**. You could be chatting online, through the internet, with your friend or family, who is thousands of miles way, and feel that you share your everyday travails much more than a person who is closer home like your neighbour. You could be working in India for company that is located in the US through telecommunication technologies. Although IT industry has existed in India since 1980s, it is only after the new telecom policy of 1999, which introduced private players that communication has been on the rise. The reduced rates in international calling and outsourcing by big corporations has made India on of the leading to Business Process Outsourcing (BPO), which resulted in call-centres and data processing centres.

Box 28.2: Outsourcing

It is a process where company contracts out part of its functions, especially the company's IT related functions and operations, to outside agencies or companies, often outside the country. Many times this is done to save cost, very often the jobs are contracted out to agencies in such countries where labour and other

costs are less expensive.

Apart from this, we can see that world is ever more connected by the fact that world events, entertainment, issues are beamed to you in your living room through TV. Though you don't participate in it directly one becomes apart of global community of audience and participants. According to Anthony Giddens (2001) this shift to global outlook has two dimensions: first, "as a global community people increasingly perceive that social responsibility does not stop at national borders". One can see this global participation, in the case of recent disasters such as the Tsunami which hit India, Sri Lanka and Indonesia or similar such disasters. People express their responsibility and concern through voluntary work, donations, relief work etc. This can also be seen in people's participation, however virtual, on campaigns which concern larger human issues be it human rights or ecology and environmental concerns or political issues. Secondly, people are forging their identities through communication network, across boundaries, many scholars have pointed out this transnational identity forging whether it is among the Hindus spread across the globe or pan-Islamisation.

Globalisation of Trade and Finance : An important feature of globalisation is the increasing trade flows between countries. There are many dimensions to the globalisation of trade and finance- breaking down of national barriers of trade, rise of multinational companies and the rise of international financial agencies and regulatory bodies such as WTO.

Liberalisation for India essentially involved relaxation of restrictions on import duties, export restrictions, promotion of foreign investment and permissions for free flow of foreign technology and skills. Along with this, there was considerable loosening of licensing system as well as lifting of reservation on certain products. More importantly, under the dictates of World Bank and IMF, India had to reduce the role of government in many operations. Changes included cutting down subsidies for farming, cutting down fiscal deficit, disinvestment equities in public sector companies, reducing expenditure on social sector and facilitation of foreign direct investment or FDIs. Through all these measures India joined the global economy.

Box 28.3 FDI and MNCs

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is the movement of capital across national frontiers in a manner that grants the investor control over the acquired asset. Thus it is distinct from portfolio investment which may cross borders, but does not offer such control. Firms which source FDI are known as 'multinational enterprises' or Multinational Corporations (MNC or TNCs). In this case control is defined as owning 10% or greater of the ordinary shares of an incorporated firm, having 10% or more of the voting power for an unincorporated firm or development of a greenfield branch plant that is a permanent establishment of the originating firm.

The largest portion of FDI approvals in India has been in the infrastructure and core structures such as power, telecommunication, energy exploration, chemical metallurgical industries. FDI flows in India have increased substantially.

Economic liberalization and financial liberalization centers on capital movement of which FDI is major form and the major players in these flow of capital is the MNCs

An MNC is a corporation that operates in a number of countries, and has production operation facilities outside the country of their origin. Since end of World War II. According to United Nations estimates there are nearly 5000 such companies with investments outside the country. Like e-business concerns MNCs are also motivated by profit concerns, but some do believe that they are beneficial for domestic markets for generating employment opportunities, transfer technology, providing competition thereby by improving standards, quality etc. and also by paying taxes to the host country.

There are several ways in which these companies can be detrimental to host countries and people within. Very large multinationals have budgets that exceed those of many countries. They can have a powerful influence in international relations, given their large economic influence in politicians' representative districts, as well as their extensive financial resources available for public relations and political lobbying. As a result of these, they may have undue influence in the function and policy formulation of governments, which is detrimental to democracies. There is also the concern that they repatriate the profits their own countries rather than invest in host countries. MNC provide jobs but they also drive out small enterprises and jeopardise livelihood of small business. These many others make the MNC operations suspect.

Another aspect of growing trade flows in globalised world is the increasing role of trade regulating bodies such World Trade Organisation-WTO. Let us examine the role of Wto and the implication for Third World in the box below.

Box 28.4 WTO and the Third World

The WTO was established on January 1, 1995 to replace the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a series of post-war trade treaties intended to facilitate free trade. The GATT principles and agreements were adopted by the WTO, which was charged with administering and extending them. Unlike the GATT, the WTO has a substantial institutional structure. The WTO aims to foster dialogue between nations, where governments come together and sort out the trade problems they encounter with one another, rather than engage in trade disputes. Consultation, negotiation and agreement are what the WTO emphasizes. Many WTO decisions, such as adopting agreements (and revisions to them) are determined by consensus. This does not necessarily mean that unanimity is found: only that no Member finds a decision so unacceptable that they must insist on their objection. Voting is only employed as a fall-back mechanism or in special cases. Richard Steinberg (2002) argues that although the WTO's consensus governance model provides law-based initial bargaining, trading rounds close through power-based bargaining favouring Europe and the United States, and may not lead to Pareto improvement. The most notable recent failures of consensus, at the Ministerial meetings at Seattle (1999) and Cancun (2003), Doha (2004) were due to the refusal of some developing countries to accept proposed.

The stated aim of the WTO is to promote free trade, stimulate economic growth and hence make people life more prosperous. As with any economic development, if growth proceeds in a fast or unbalanced way, it will cause structural unemployment and thus worsen poverty. The WTO also promotes economic globalization and free trade, which anti-globalization activists consider problematic. WTO treaties have been accused of a partial and unfair bias toward multinational corporations and wealthy nations.

While the WTO provides equal opportunities for nations to speak, shields governments from lobbying, and encourages good governance, small countries in the WTO are capable of wielding little influence. The WTO itself is criticized as being the tool of powerful lobbies. And while membership is voluntary, critics say that not joining places the non-participating nation under a de facto embargo, creating an international system of forced economic rules discouraging change and experimentation. Despite the WTO aim of helping the developing countries, the influential states in the WTO do focus on their own commercial interests. The needs of the developing countries are often perceived to be ignored. In addition, the issues of health, safety and environment are not principle concerns.

(Source:<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/WTO>)

Migration , Multiculturalism and Ethnic identities

People have always migrated since centuries. People migrate due to several reasons (see the unit on migration); for economic reason, to escape persecution, for personal or sentimental reason. The migration in the global age has increased exponentially. The current phase of global movement of

people is compelled by all these reasons but mainly economic. If we look around in our own country we find that it is not so rare any more to find that there is some member of the family or other who has moved for a better life.

Countries like USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand have actively been encouraging immigration. Immigration policies of some of the countries where there is huge Indian population seems to affect the economic status of the country and the people directly connected with migrant population. This can be witnessed in the recent deportation of Indian workers in the gulf or anxiety over the scaling down of H1B visas, which are the visas that Indian technocrats go on.

There are varying perspectives on immigration in the globalisation era. The liberals, especially MNCs advocate liberalisation of immigration laws and policies. They believe that it encourages global prosperity and true completion. The protectionist who oppose them think that corporations are motivated by profit interest, wherein they exploit cheap labour. Then there are xenophobes who fear foreigners and use various arguments to thwart too liberal an immigration policy.

“The November 2005 riots in France have led some to conclude that, although reasonable immigration numbers are welcome in most societies, large numbers can cause immigrants to form closed ethnic neighborhoods that lead to social confrontation and seclusion. Most European countries have not yet limited immigration and immigrants (legal & illegal) range between 7% -20% of the population” (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration>).

There is such mass movement of people across the globe, with preferred destinations of Western European countries, US and Australia by the poorer Third world inhabitants. This has significantly changed the composition of the host society, and often immigration is a controversial issue for some of these countries. There is a fear that cheaper workforce, who are willing to work for less than the prescribed wages, are replacing the locals, which they claim makes them unemployed and cuts down the standard of living etc. The other fear is that of cultural nature; it is heard most strongly in some homogenous old world (European) nations where citizenship was long tied to a person having deep historical roots in the country. Western European nations, Japan, and other countries have long been deeply concerned about their national culture being subsumed. This concern can be especially high when the immigrants are of differing race or religion than the majority.

Despite these fears and incidents of expressions of such fears (the periodic racial riots in UK and the more recent ones in France being an example) at official level and at an ideological level, countries such as Canada, UK France have tried to adopt multicultural policies.

Box 28.5 Multiculturalism

Looked at broadly, the term is often used to describe societies (especially nations) which have many distinct cultural groups, usually as a result of immigration. This can lead to anxiety about the stability of national identity, yet can also lead to cultural exchanges that benefit the cultural groups. Such exchanges range from major accomplishments in literature, art and philosophy to relatively token appreciation of variations in music, dress and new foods. On a smaller scale, the term can also be used to refer to specific districts in cities where people of different cultures co-exist.

(Source:<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multiculturalism>)

In terms what it constitutes in terms of government policies or approaches in dealing with immigrants, the approaches can be viewed as following

- Monoculturalism: Here the immigrant is expected to assimilate with the

national culture, in such countries the idea of cultural and nationa are conflated. Many Europeans nations thought on this lines, except UK for along time but in the recent decades some of this philosophy is under dilution because of actual presence of many immigrants who differ from them substantially- racially, ethnically and culturally.

- **Melting Pot:** In the United States the traditional view has been one of a melting pot where all the immigrant cultures are mixed and amalgamated without state intervention. However, many states have different language policies within the union.
- **Multiculturalism:** In comparison to the above two approaches, multiculturalism is a view, or policy, that immigrants, and others, should preserve their cultures with the different cultures interacting peacefully within one nation. Today, this is the official policy of Canada, Australia and the UK. Multiculturalism has been described as preserving a “cultural mosaic” of separate ethnic groups, and is contrasted to a “melting pot” that mixes them. This has also been described as the “salad bowl” model.

No country falls completely into one, or another, of these categories. For example, France has made efforts to adapt French culture to new immigrant groups, while Canada still has many policies that work to encourage assimilation. Some, such as Diane Ravitch, use the term multiculturalism differently, describing both the melting pot, and Canada’s cultural mosaic as being multicultural and refers to them as pluralistic and particularist multiculturalism. Pluralistic multiculturalism views each culture or subculture in a society as contributing unique and valuable cultural aspects to the whole culture. Particularist multiculturalism is more concerned with preserving the distinctions between cultures.

Immigration into European countries is a rather recent trend, though until the 1970s and 1980s the levels were relatively modest. Recent increases in immigration have led to the development of political parties in Europe that are almost solely concerned with limiting immigration. (source: <http://en.wikipedia.org>).

The diasporas, who leave their homeland but who still identify themselves with their cultural roots and countries of origin, have proliferated even more so in the recent past. Their attempts to preserve their cultural roots and identity has brought to fore many ethnic identity efforts. With the world being globally connected now it has become easier for communities with a sense of similar identity, however dispersed to come together. There are many transnational organization which feed in to this ethnic consciousness, be it Hindu, Muslim or sub national identities such as Telugu , Bengali etc. (you will read about this in grater detail in our elective course on Diaspora and Transnational Communities).

As you can see, Technology and changes in economy have implications for all aspects of society. We will try and understand another feature of globalization that is much debated-the cultural globalization.

Homogenisation and Hybridisation of Culture

A very significant feature of globalisation as we mentioned earlier too is the flow of several things technology, money, people and culture, which is highly mediated by global technology and media. So we have Bollywood influencing fashion in UK, as much as MTV and other American programs influencing not only the Indians but world at large. This confluence of influence has raised questions such as; whether the world is getting homogenised by Western influences, especially America? Terms such as McDonaldisation, Coco-colaisation are used to point out dominance of giant corporation of America influencing

the cultures of the world and taking over local market.

Griffin (2004:262) takes note of the argument that globalisation has strong homogenising influences that weaken and destroy existing cultures, move towards a world culture under US hegemony. 'The American way of life, or more likely a pale imitation of it, will become the world's way of life'. However, he thinks that the emergence of a single 'world culture' is highly unlikely. 'Instead, globalisation and the associated cultural interpenetration are more likely to lead to new permutations, new combinations, new options, and new cultures' (ibid: 254). With increasing pace of globalisation, in his opinion, the idea of 'global citizenship' would gain support. But it would not pose a threat to the existing loyalties and identities - local, national, regional. It would neither supersede existing loyalties nor represent the creation of a global culture. But 'It would be a step towards recognition of the fact that globalisation affects us all and we should all have a voice in determining how the effects are managed' (ibid: 262).

Appadurai (1997) is also strongly predisposed to the view that globalisation is not the story of homogenisation. In his view, globalisation is a deeply historical, uneven and even 'Localising' process. 'Globalisation does not necessarily or even frequently imply homogenisation or Americanisation'. The geneology of cultural forms, in a theoretical vein he says, is 'about their circulation across regions, the history of these forms is about their ongoing domestication into local practice' (p.17). In case of India he talks about how history and geneology inflect one another, and how global forms take local forms. Another important phenomenon he is concerned with is that of the diaspora which is part of the cultural dynamic of urban life in most countries in the world. In this connection, the joint force of electronic mediation and mass migration 'coconstitute new sense of the global as modern and the modern as global' (p.10). The diasporic phenomenon of today, he observes as explicitly transnational - even postnational.

Singh (2002) recognises that globalisation was bound to put pressures on the Indian culture. He envisages some degree of acceleration towards homogenising of cultural forms and activities (lifestyle, dress, food etc) in the country. However, he asserts that 'the social structure and cultural system in India are intrinsically based on pluralism and diversity'. The Indian society (both caste and tribe) is segmented in communities which enjoy 'enormous cultural autonomy'. 'This provides enormous cultural resilience to communities in India to filter the effects of globalisation through refractory and prismatic adaptations' (p.64). Moreover there is observed an enhanced sense of self consciousness and awareness of identity. Those elements of globalisation are resented that encroach upon or does not promote the core cultural values of society. So, globalisation has both facets - homogenisation and (cultural) identity enhancement. In case of the Indian diaspora, he finds the trends of cultural fusion. Also in India, at the level of popular culture of music, dance, dramatic, cinema etc., the new trend is one of fusion of traditional Indian forms/ styles and western/global forms/styles. This emergent popular (fusion) culture, he regards as posing 'a threat to the indigenous local, regional or ethnic identity of cultural traditions in so far as it abstracts culture from people's rhythm of life and its natural expressiveness or vitality, and converts its new packaging into a commodity' (p.103). In this process the traditional identity deeply embedded in community life (caste, class, tribe, principles of hierarchy and reciprocity) are "metamorphosed into a faceless 'audience' ". This, he thinks, is not entirely due to globalisation, but rather 'germane in the very paradigm of modernization which we along with the rest of humanity wilfully celebrate' (ibid). As regards modernisation, Gupta (2000) talks about the process of westoxication in India.

Global Civil society and Nation-State

Civil society is viewed as a sphere of society distinct from the state, with forms and principles of its own. The institutions of civil society include the church, education, trade unions and work and other organisations which act to a lesser or greater degree independently of the state. Therefore, civil society has been the arena of social and political protestation movements, particularly movements such as human rights, animal rights, environmentalism, trade unionism and peace movements. With global interconnectedness civil society initiatives, be it human rights or environment organizations or movements have gone beyond the local. They have created a global space. These spaces are delineated by networks of economic, social and cultural relations, and they are being occupied by conscious actors, in physically separated locations, who link together in networks of particular political and social purposes. There many international organization which network over distance traversing international boundaries. "In 1909, there were 176 private international associations, by 1951 they had multiplied to 832 and in 1985 there were at least 4615. However, such a high figure can be misleading because INGOs can be anything from the International Bottle Collectors Society, the International Committee of Catholic Nurses, to Friends of the Earth International (FOEI) and Amnesty International. But the important point is that each organisation has created a global arena, outside of purely national interests, in which common values, aims, concerns and even ideologies are discussed and acted upon. But it is the larger and better organised INGOs such as FOEI, Greenpeace, Oxfam and Amnesty which can be seen as having the greater influence on national governments and therefore the autonomy of nation-state actions" (source: www.suite101.com/article.cfm/sociology/).

By undertaking campaigns beyond their own frontiers that help to change the global agenda, INGO members can bypass their own governments and act directly in global politics and thus open up new arenas for political participation. In this way, governments loose their traditional role as the sole external representatives of those they govern and this weakens, in part, their claim to legitimacy. Also, global actors, such MNCs, international regulatory organizations like WTO and financial organizations like IMF and World Bank have all produced arenas which exert influence on nation -states and function both within and without states.

This has raised questions whether the nation-state's legitimacy and authority are eroded. The extreme positions on this issue have pronounced nation states as dead. Rosenau ,does not take this extreme position but argues that there has been a shift from industrialism and international politics, where the nation-state dominated global relations, to an era of post-industrial and post-international politics where the nation-state has to share global relations with international organisations, transnational corporations and transnational social movements, making the state and its local needs subservient to global forces.

Robert Gilpin argues that the process of globalisation is the result of a permissive political order, which generates the stability needed to encourage connections, by the exercise of power between hegemonic nation-states. Therefore, the present era of global interconnectedness has been achieved due to the existence of a stable and secures world order, in which the hegemonic liberal democracies utilise military power and supremacy for economic and political purposes. Gilpin's primary factor is therefore of a political logic which views the process of globalisation as depending upon the rise and decline of hegemonic powers and the existence of a secure world order that political equilibrium produces (ibid).

Do you think the process of globalisation taking place in India is positive or negative in nature?

Write a report of one page on “the Nature of Globalisation in India.” You have to give clear explanation for choosing one or the other point of view. Discuss your note with other students at your Study Centre as well as your Academic Counsellor.

28.6 Conclusion

The experience of Globalisation has a mixed feeling, both of enchantment as well as disenchantment. There are as many pro globalisation arguments as there are anti-globalisers. The “anti-globalisation” (a term that is preferred by the media), group constitute many activist and public interest group who do not necessarily oppose globalisation per se , but seek to ‘globalise justice’, as Noam Chomsky one of the leading critics of globalisation policies, says. We have tried to present to you the different ideological positions from where various aspects of globalisation are argued. We have loosely summarised some important features of globalisation, which they we have categorised under different sections all influence and lead in to each other. As a process that is on going , globalisation literature is ever expanding and there are revisions and new perspectives that are brought forth.

28.7 Further Reading

Giddens, A. (1990) *The Consequences of Modernity*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge, Polity Press