METROPOLITAN CITIES OF INDIA AND JAPAN:
A COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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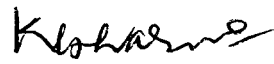NEW DELHI - 110067,
INDIA
1995

21st July,1995

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify the dissertation entitled, "Metropolitan Cities of India and Japan : A Comparative Sociological Study", submitted by Ms. Noriko Nasukawa, in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil.), J. N. U., has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. To the best of our knowledge this is an original work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have great pleasure to express my deep gratitude to my guide Prof. C. N. Venugopal of the Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for his valuable guidance and encouragement.

I am also greatly indebted to my supporters, Mr. Anil Pacholi, Mr. K. P. Singh, Mr. Takeuchi, Ms. Mari Minamino, Ms. Pema and Ms. Jose, without their help this dissertation could not have been written.

I extend my thankfulness to the staff of Jawaharlal Nehru University Library, Nehru Memorial Library, Teen Murti, Japanese Culture and Information Centre, New Delhi, who have been cooperative to me in providing materials.

Above all, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude and respect to my father, Mr. Atsushi Nasukawa, my mother and my sister in Japan who always encouraged me and showed me the way of my life.

JNU, New Delhi
21st July, 1995

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Early sociological writing about the city located the urban dimension within the broader compass of sociological theorizing. Ferdinand Tonnies[1], Georg Simmel[2] and Max Weber in the 1890's addressed such issues as the characteristic forms of association and social life in urban environments, and the role of urban development in social change. In fact, Tonnies' concepts, and aspects of his thesis[3] of a loss of community in modern societies, are not dissimilar from those of Weber. With the establishment of the Chicago School of sociologists in the 1920's, urban studies emerged as a distinct area of research. Focusing upon the issues of social order and organization, members of the Chicago School conducted empirical research into the social characteristics of different areas within the city. A number of writers associated with the University of Chicago from the 1940's especially Robert

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[1] Tonnies, Ferdinand (1855-1986), German sociologist and founder of the German Sociological Association.

[2] Simmel, Georg (1858-1918), German sociologist and philosopher, whose extensive and stylish writings and brilliant lectures have ensured his place as one of the influential classical sociologists.

[3] Tonnies, Ferdinand (1887), Gemeinshaft und Gesellschaft, (Community and Society), Routledge, London.

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Park[4], Ernest Burgess, and Louis Wirth, developed ideas which were for many years the chief basis of theory and research in urban sociology. Two concepts developed by the Chicago School are important. One is the so called ecological approach to urban analysis, the other is characterization of urbanism as a way of life, developed by Louis Wirth.

Ecological Approach to Urban Analysis

Human ecology was the first comprehensive urban social theory. Ecology is a term taken from a physical science. In the natural world, organisms tend to be distributed in systematic ways over the terrain, werein a balance or equilibrium between different species is achieved. The Chicago School believed that the siting of major urban settlements and the distribution of different types of neighbourhoods within them, can be understand in terms of similar principles. Cities do not grow up at random, but in response to advantageous features of the environment. For instance, large urban areas in modern societies tend to develop along the shores of seas and banks of rivers, in fertile plains or at the intersection of trading routes or railways.

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[4] Park, Robert (1864-1944), influential US sociologist and Professor of Sociology at University of Chicago. He is best-remembered for his contributions to urban sociology as well as writing, with Ernest Burgess, a major general text book on sociology.

In Park's ontological assumptions regarding the 'human nature' and the relationship between the individual and society, Park has derived from Emile Durkheim's methodological framework. Park has written :

"The fact seems to be that men are brought into the world with all the passions, instincts and appetites uncontrolled and undisciplined. Civilization, in the interests of the common welfare, demands the suppression sometimes, and control always, of these wild, natural disposition[5]". Just as Durkheim sought the conditions for social stability and cohesion in the subordination of the individual to the moral authority of society. Park takes as his starting point, the tension between individual freedom and social control. Like Durkheim, Park explains personal and social disorganization in terms of the erosion of moral constraints.

Park recognized that the social control of human nature was not, and never could be total. In the same way, Durkheim noted that social disorganization within limits was the necessary price to be paid for human progress, and too much moral constraint was as bad as too little.

On the one hand, Park saw that the growth of the cities had undermined the social cohesion once maintained by the family, the church and the village. Yet, on the other, he saw the potential for individual freedom and self expression the city represented. He

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[5] Park, Robert (1952), <u>Human Communities : The City and Human Ecology</u>, Free Press, New York, p. 49.

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noted how disorganization could be seen as a prelude to reorganization at a new level of human organization, involving new modes of social control.

Park states that human society involves a double aspect. On the one hand, it's an expression of human nature, and this is revealed in the competition for survival in which relationships with others are entirely utilitarian. On the other hand, it's an expression of consensus and common purpose. On one level individual freedom is supreme, on the other level individual will is subordinated to the 'collective mind' of society as a superorganism, to what Durkheim termed the 'conscience collective'. The first level, Park terms 'community', and the second 'society'. He says "the word community more accurately describes the social organism as conceived by Spencer[6] by Comte's conception, on the other hand, comes nearer to describing what we ordinarily mean by society[7]".

This distinction between community as the biotic level of social life and society as its cultural level proved highly problematic. The distinction is basic to his ecological approach, for it enables Park to identify the peculiar concerns of human

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[6] Spencer, Herbert (1820-1903), British social theorist, chiefly remembered for his contribution to the study of social change from an evolutionary perspective.

[7] Park, Robert (1952), <u>Human Communities : The City and Human Ecology</u>, Free Press, New York.

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ecology in relation to the other social sciences. According to Park, 'Ecology is concerned with communities rather than societies, though it is not easy to distinguish between them[8]'. The ecological approach to social relation was characterized by an emphasis on the biotic, as opposed to the cultural aspect of human interactions. But this did not mean that human ecology denied the relevance of consensus and culture in the study of social life, only that it concentrated on the unconscious and asocial aspects as the specific area of interest.

By thus delimiting the field of ecological inquiry, Park was able to draw upon the work of Darwin in order to show how the forces that shape plant and animal communities also play a significant role in the evolution of human communities. Central to Darwin's thesis was the notion of a 'web of life' through which all organisms were related to all others through ties of interdependence or symbiosis. This balance of nature was a product of the tooth and claw struggle for survival, which served to regulate the population size of different species, and to distribute them among different habitats, according to their relative suitability. Competition for the basic resources of life thus resulted in the adaption of different species to each other and to their environment, and hence to the evolution of a relatively balanced ecological system, based upon competitive co-operation among differentiated and specialized organisms.

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[8] Ibid., p. 251.

According to the ecological perspective, patterns of location, movement and relocation in cities have a similar form. Different neighbourhoods develop through the adjustments made by inhabitants as they struggle to gain their livelihoods. A city can be pictured as a map of areas with distinct and contrasting social characteristics. In the initial stages of the growth of modern cities, industries congregate at sites suitable for the raw materials which they need, close to supply-lines. Population clusters around these workplaces. And as the number of the city's inhabitants grows, these workplaces come to be more and more diversified. So the amenities were developed and become correspondingly more attractive and competition develops for their acquisition. Land values and property tax rise, making it difficult for families to carry on living in the central neighbourhood, except in cramped conditions or in decaying housing in which rents are low. The centre becomes dominated by businesses and entertainments, with the more affluent private residents moving out to newly forming suburbs around the perimeter. We can see this example easily in Delhi and Tokyo. This process follows transport routes, since these minimize the time taken in travelling to the workplaces. And the areas between these routes develop more slowly.

Cities can be seen as formed in concentric rings, broken up into segments. In the centre are the inner-city areas, a mixture of big business prosperity and decaying private houses. Beyond these

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are older established neighbourhoods, housing regularly employed lower class workers. Further out still are the suburbs in which higher income groups tends to live. Process of invasion and succession occur within the segments of the concentric rings. Thus, as property decays in a central or near-central area, ethnic minority groups might start to live there. As they do so, more of the pre-existing population start to leave, precipitating a wholesale flight to neighbourhoods elsewhere in the city, or out to the suburbs.

Although for a period the urban ecology approach fell into disrepute, it was, however, later revived and elaborated in the writings of a number of Sociologists. Amos Hawley emphasizes the interdependence of different city areas rather than concentrating on competition for scarce resources[9]. Differentiation here implies the specialization of groups and occupational roles, and this is the main way in which human beings adapt to their environment. Groups on which many others depend will have a dominant role, often reflected in their central geographical position. For example, business group like large banks or insurance companies, provide key services for many in a community, and are usually to be found in the central areas of settlements.

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[9] Hawley, Amos (1950), <u>Human Ecology : A Theory of Community Structure</u>, Ronald Press Company, New York.

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However, the ecological approach has been an important approach for the amount of empirical research that it has helped to promote for its value as a theoretical perspective. Many studies of cities as a whole, and of particular neighbourhoods, have been prompted by ecological thinking. However, various criticisms can justifiably be made. The ecological perspective tends to underemphasize the importance of conscious design and planning in city organization, regarding urban development as a natural process.

The models of spatial organization developed by Park, Burgess and others were drawn from American experience. As such these models are not necessarily applicable to other countries.

Urbanism as a Way of Life

As a student of Park's on the other hand, Louis Wirth[10] also drew upon some of the insights developed by the Chicago human ecologists as regards the effects of density on human organization, and the dominance achieved by the city over its hinterland. He saw human ecology as one of the three significant perspectives on the city, and argued that all three should complement each other. He said, "Human ecology is not a substitute for, but a supplement to,

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[10] Louis, Wirth (1897-1952), a German - American sociologist and member of the Chicago School.

the other frames of reference and methods of social investigation[11]". It was his intention to develop a theory of the city that could account for the ecological, organizational and social-psychological characteristics of urbanism. Put another way, he set out to synthesize Park's human ecology and Simmel's analysis of the forms of association and development of urban personality.

According to Wirth, the definition of urbanism is the culture of towns and cities[12]. It is concerned less with the internal differentiation of cities than with what urbanism is as a form of social existence. Wirth observes : "The degree to which the contemporary world may be said to be 'urban' is not fully or accurately measured by the proportion of the total population living in cities. The influences which cities exert on the social life of man are greater than the ratio of the urban population would indicate", for the city is not only increasingly the dwelling-place and the workshop of modern man, but it is the initiating and controlling centre of economic, political and cultural life that has drawn the most remote communities of the world into its orbit and woven diverse areas, people and activities into a cosmos[13]. He offers an ordered and coherent framework of theory which accounts for urban ways of life, by discussing the

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[11] Wirth, Louis (1945), 'Human Ecology', American Journal of Society, Vol. 50, p. 488.

[12] Wirth, Louis (1938), 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44.

[13] Ibid., p. 342.

major social characteristics of the city. These social characteristics are size of population , density and heterogeneity. The size of population promotes a greater social differentiation, expressed geographically in the form of different neighbourhoods according to social class, ethnicity, etc. The size of population in cities has also made relationships impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental.

In cities, large numbers of people live in close proximity to one another, without knowing most others personally, a fundamental contrast to small, traditional villages. Most contacts between city-dwellers are fleeting and partial, and are means to other ends rather than being satisfying relationships in themselves. Interactions with sales clerks in shops, cashiers in banks, passengers or ticket-collectors on trains, are passing encounters, entered into not for their own sake but also as means as other aims. All urban relationships tend to be utilitarian, producing one of the central paradoxes of urbanism - the tendency to create individual loneliness in the midst of huge crowds.

Wirth drew from human ecology the view that increasing physical contact are due to increasing population density, when combined with decreasing social contact, would produce increasing social conflict in cities. The effects of density on social relationship are a function of the growth of differentiation. Wirth follows Durkheim and the Chicago ecologists, by arguing that

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differentiation is the way in which any population responds to an increase in numbers in a given area. The effects of an increase in density are therefore clearly related to those of size.

Wirth notes : 'Density thus reinforces the effect of numbers in diversifying men and their activities and in increasing the complexity of the social structure[14]'. Also, Wirth pointed out the urban population is more heterogeneous due to the increasing division of labour and greater mobility. Within this 'fluid mass' the individual is more likely to seek out other similar individuals in order to partake in collective action to effect social change. These characteristics of urbanism were regarded by Wirth as becoming culturally hegemonic and would eventually characterize the culture of even those who live in rural areas.

Since those who live in urban areas tend to be highly mobile, there are relatively weak bonds between them. People are involved in many different activities and situations each day. In the urban areas the 'pace of life' is faster than in rural areas. Competition prevails over co-operation. Wirth accepted that the density of social life in cities leads to the formation of neighbourhoods having distinct characteristics, some of which may preserve the characteristics of small communities. For example, in immigrant areas, traditional types of connections between families are found, with people knowing most others on a personal basis. The

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[14] Wirth, Louis (1938), 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', <u>American Journal of Sociolog</u> Vol. 44, p. 14.

more such areas are absorbed into wider patterns of city life, however, the less these characteristics survive.

If Wirth's discussion of density relies on Park, his analysis of the effects of heterogeneity leads him to return once again to Simmel. The analysis of social heterogeneity is couched largely in terms of Simmel's geometry of social circles. Individuals participate many different circles, none of which can command their undivided allegiance. These circles are tangential and interesting in contrast to the concentric totality of the rural community. And individuals enjoy a different status, and perhaps even a different identity, in each of them with the result that instability and personal insecurity becomes a norm. The urban personality easily becomes disorganized, and rates of mental illness, suicide and so on increase accordingly.

Heterogeneity also leads to a process of social levelling in which the individual is subordinated to the mass. He says, 'If the individual would participate at all in the social, political and economic life of the city, he must subordinate some of his individuality to the demands of the larger community and in that measure immerse himself in mass movements[15]'. Action, to be effective, has to be collective, and political participation is achieved through representation. The individual is 'reduced to a

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[15] Ibid., p. 18.

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state of virtual impotence[16]', and official agencies assume responsibility for a wide range of provisions and services on which the urbanite increasingly depends.

Wirth regarded 'urbanism as a way of life in modern society as more salient than industrialism or capitalism, since the development of large cities and towns had created a break with 'society's natural situation'. The process of urbanization had rendered ties of kinship less important and replaced them with relationships of an instrumental, transitory and superficial character. As it has already been mentioned that urban settlements are characterized by size, density and heterogeneity, which in combination provide the basis for a complex division of labour and fundamental changes in the nature of social relationships.

The impersonality of many day to day contacts in modern cities is undeniable, and to some degree this is true of social life in general in modern societies. Wirth's theory is important for its recognition that urbanism is not just part of a society, but also expresses and influences the nature of the wider social system. Aspects of the urban way of life are characteristic of social life in modern societies as a whole, not just the activities of those who happen to live in big cities.

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[16] Ibid., p. 22.

Yet, Wirth's ideas also have marked limitations. Like the ecological perspective, with which it has much in common, Wirth's theory is mainly based on observations of American cities, yet generalized to urbanism everywhere. Urbanism is not the same at all times and places. For instance, ancient cities were in many respects quite different from those found in modern societies. Life for most people in the early cities wasn't much more anonymous or impersonal than for those who lived in village communities. As it has been mentioned that Wirth's ideas remain a benchmark for the discussion of urbanism, but they have been revised by subsequent research. There are three kinds of criticisms.

(a)   Wirth is describing not the culture of urbanism but the culture of capitalist industrialization, which is made most manifest in cities. This line of attack on Wirth is common among recent Marxist urban sociologists, like Manuel Castells etc.

(b)   Wirth's characterization of urbanism is misfounded since urban neighbourhoods form a basis for Gemeinschaft, groups consisting of personal, stable, face-to-face, meaningful relationships - in Herbert Gans's term, 'urban villages'.

(c)   The distinguishing feature of urbanism is the strong separation of the Public and the private social world

of the inhabitants of cities, according to Richard
Sennett.

Wirth also exaggerates the impersonality of modern cities.
Communities involving close friendship or kinship links are more
persistent within modern urban communities than he supposed. Groups
such as those Herbert Gans calls 'the urban villagers` are common
in modern cities[17]. His 'urban villagers' are Italian Americans
living in an inner-city Boston neighbourhood. Such white ethnic
areas are probably less significant in American cities than was
once the case. But they are being replaced by inner-city
communities involving newer immigrants. More importantly,
neighbourhoods involving close kinship and personal ties seem often
to be actively created by city life[18]. They are not just remnants
of a pre-existing way of life which survives for a period within
the city.

1960s Urban Sociology

Although the Chicago School established a rich empirical
tradition, even its theoretical deficiencies led to a decline in
urban sociology between the 1940s and 1960s, with the exception of

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[17] Gans, Herbert (1962), <u>The Urban Villagers : Group and Class
in the Life of Italian-Americans</u>, Free Press, New York.

[18] Whyte, William Foote (1958), <u>Street Corner Society : The
Social Structure of an Italian Slum</u>, University of Chicago
Press, Chicago.

a number of community studies showing urban neighbourhoods possessing characteristics commonly associated with rural communities. The theoretical poverty of the rural/urban typologies and the metropolitanization of society made urban sociology indistinguishable from the sociological analysis of advanced, industrial, capitalist societies. However, in the late 1960s urban sociology was revived under the influence of a new generation of Weberian and Marxist scholars.

J. Rex and R. Moore published a study of housing and race relations in Sparkbrook, Birmingham which combined Burgess's insights into the dynamics of the zone of transition with Weber's ideas about the sociological significance of the meaningful actions of individuals[19]. This work relocated urban sociology within the sociological mainstream and in turn stimulated the discussion of Weberian stratification theory through the concept of the housing class. Because the housing market is structured around different forms of tenure, it gives rise to new status groups or consumption classes whose interests do not necessarily coincide with economic class interests.

Their analysis of access to desirable housing suggested that, while the white middle class could generally gain entry to the owner-occupied sector in the suburban areas through the market

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[19] Rex, J., Moor, R. (1967), <u>Race, Community and Conflict,</u> Oxford University Press, London.

mode of allocation, the white working class could only secure access to council housing on suburban estates. There was, nevertheless, a residual group in the population which was effectively deprived in entry to either of these desirable housing tenures. This third category could not fulfill the general aspiration for suburban life, and was instead obliged to seek accommodation in the inner-city zone of transition. Housing is a scarce resource whose distribution is influenced by a political group which R. Pahl termed urban managers[20]. Here urban managerialism is an approach to the study of social and spatial inequality associated with the work of R. Pahl and others. The degree of autonomy they possess vis-a-vis the central state, private capital and the local consumer of social goods is an empirical question, but according to Pahl, their operations give rise to forms of social inequality and political struggle which are independent of the sphere of production.

Urbanism as an Ideology

Since the late 1960s, there has been a tendency in Western Marxist theory to broaden its traditional horizons in order to take account of various radical movements. For example, the growth of the feminist movement has spawned a considerable literature on the role of women and the family in capitalist societies, and on the relationship between the women's movement and the labour movement.

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[20] Pahl, R. (1975), _Whose City_, Penguin, London.

Similarly, the rise of black movements and the explosion of student radicalism in the 1960s, both have undermined the narrow concepts of Marxist theory and political practices and sought to reduce all political struggles to that between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

It is in this context that Marxist theory has rediscovered the problem of the city : the development of radical movements related to issues such as the decline of urban public services, environmental degradation and so on. The argument of Marx and Engels to the effect that the capitalist city is not in itself theoretically significant has been reconsidered in recent years. Marxist work on the city began with a critique of urban sociology as ideology. Henri Lefebvre[21] argued that urban sociology is an apology for capitalism because it has failed to examine the ways in which space is actually produced and distributed in capitalist societies. Space is itself a commodity, a scarce and alienable resource, in this view. The contradictions between profit and need, exchange and use value, the individual and the collective, are exemplified by the conflicting need of capital to exploit space for profit and the social requirements of the people.

Like Lefebvre, Manuel Castells has developed a critique of existing theories of urbanism as ideological. He explains that the functional aspect of theoretical ideologies is itself due to the

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[21] Lefebvre, Henri (1967), 'Neighbourhoods and Neighbourhood Life', in Le quartier et la ville, Cahiers de I'IAAURPA, Vol. 7.

failure of existing theories to transcend the ideological relations through which individuals live their relation to the real world. In other words, existing theories are ideological and they merely elaborate rather than break with the ideological forms of capitalist society. And, therefore, they fail to establish the basis for a scientific analysis of the social reality of that society.

Castells stresses that the spatial form of a society is closely linked to the overall mechanisms of its development. To understand cities, we have to grasp the process whereby spatial forms are created and transformed. The lay-outs and architectural features of cities and neighbourhoods express struggles and conflicts between different groups in society. In other words, urban environments represent symbolic and spatial manifestation of broader social forces. For example, skyscrapers may be built because they are expected to provide profit, but the giant buildings also symbolise the power of money over the city through technology and self-confidence and are the cathedrals of period of rising corporate capitalism[22].

In contrast to the Chicago School's sociologists, Castells observes the city not only as a distinct location, that is, the urban area, but also as an integral part of processes of collective

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[22] Castells, Manuel (1983), <u>The City and the Grass Roots :</u>
<u>A Cross-cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements</u>, Edward
Arnold, London.

consumption, which in turn are an inherent aspect of industrial capitalism. Homes, schools, transport services and leisure amenities are ways in which people consume the products of modern industry. The taxation system influences the people who are able to buy or rent or build the houses. Large cooperations, banks and insurance companies, which provide capital for building projects, have a great deal of power over these processes. However, the government agencies also directly affect many aspects of city life by building roads and public housing, planning green belts[23]. The physical shape of cities is a product of both market forces and the power of government.

But the nature of the created environment is not just the result of the activities of wealthy and powerful people. Castells emphasizes the importance of the struggles of under-privileged groups to alter their living conditions. Urban problems in the recent years have stimulated a range of social movements, concerned with improving housing conditions, protesting against air pollution, defending parks and green belts and combating building development that changes the nature of an area.

He takes cities as almost wholly artificial environments, constructed by ourselves. Even most rural areas do not escape the influence of human intervention and modern technology, for human

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[23] Lowe, Stuart (1986), <u>Urban Social Movements : The City After Castells</u>, Macmillan, London.

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activity has reshaped and reordered the world of nature. Food is not produced for local inhabitants, but for national and international markets, and in mechanized farming, land is rigorously sub-divided and specialized in its use, ordered into physical patterns which have little relationship to natural features of the environment. Those who live on farms and in isolated rural areas are economically, politically and culturally tied to the larger society. Some of their modes of behaviour may be drawn from those of city dwellers.

In other words, Castells begins his analysis with conventional interest in spatially significant social phenomena but he does not regard space as a theoretically important issue[24]. What significant is the role of the urban system in the mode of production. Castells concentrates upon the reproduction of labour power which he observes as being increasingly concentrated within particular spatial units where the provision of social goods and services is dependent upon the state. Centralization of services results in the collectivization of consumption. He considers the city as an important element in the struggle against capitalism, because urban crises cut across class boundaries and give rise to social movements with a specifically urban base, which can, in turn, create the conditions for new political alliances. These ideas stimulated discussion of collective consumption, an

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[24] Castells, Manuel (1977), <u>The Urban Question : A Marxist Approach</u>, Edward Arnold, London.

underdeveloped concept in Marx's work, and the political economy of housing and rents. Marxist critics have argued that these approaches must not replace class struggle with consumption and accumulation as the main factors in the analysis of capitalism.

Issues Arising in Indian Urbanization and Urbanism

As there are many issues to be discussed in the study of Indian Urbanization. M. S. A. Rao[25] detected four sets of specific theoretical problems. They are -

(a) A conclusive distinction can not be made between urban and rural sociologies as the cities and villages have the same characteristics of castes and kinship, and are parts the of same civilization.

(b) Whether the nature of urbanization in India is concurrent with westernization.

(c) Urbanization is related to social change but it has been argued that there is no real social convert is associated with urbanization.

(d) A view that expresses urbanization as a means to emerge new forms of social organization and association.

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[25] Rao, M. S. A. (1974), Urban Sociology in India, Orient Longman, New Delhi, p. 15.

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Prior to these issues, to explore the nature of urban life in India, it is important to talk about the nature of urbanism and urbanization as a factor of social change.

Indian Urbanization

No statistical study of urbanization is possible unless adequate note is taken of the definition of an 'urban area' or city or town, which varies from country to country and from one census year to another. International comparisions of the level of urbanization based on national definitions of different countries can be unsteady in the absence of definitional adjustments, as different countries have different definitions for their urban area[26]. For example, in Greenland a place with 300 or more inhabitants is called an urban area while in the Republic of Korea, an urban area must have at least 40,000 inhabitants. Even in the same country, there are frequent modifications of the definition of 'urban' which call for numerous adjustment to attain comparability over time.

The process of urbanization is a continuing process which is not merely a concomitant to industrialization but a concomitant of the whole gamut of factors underlying the process of economic growth and social change. In much of the urbanization literature on

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[26] Bose, Ashish (1978), India's Urbanization 1901-2001, TMH Pub. Co. Ltd., New Delhi.

more developed countries there has been an overemphasis on housing, slums and urban renewal, recently the focus has shifted to the environment. In a country like India, however urbanization must be studied in the context of the overall process of economic growth and social change.

Urbanization is usually measured by referring to the proportion of the total population which is urban (U/T). In a country like India, however, this measures has severe limitations: and in fact, the trend of urbanization measured in this way can even be misleading.

Urbanization is the social processes and relationships which are both the cause and consequence of the urban rather than rural way of life. The process of urbanization had rendered ties of kinship less important and replaced them with relationships of an instrumental, transitory and superficial character. Urban settlements are characterized by size, density and heterogeneity, which in combination provide the basis for a complex division of labour and fundamental changes in the nature of social relationships. It has been considered not only as a token of economic growth but also as an important factor of social change. Some discussions on the grounds of western experience show that the urbanization means a break down of traditional social institutions and values.

Urban Sociology in Japan

Today, Japanese urban sociologists emphasize that the comparative study is quite helpful to understand the urban society. The reason why it is important is because the comparative study leads sociologists to put the concepts of various cities in order, and integrate them to compare with one another. Consequently they are able to make their points clear. Another reason is that the comparative study constructs the base of the urban theories which are not misguided by particular case studies. There are two types of comparison studies[27]. Firstly, the study which compares the cities within Japan. As there exist various characteristics within Japanese cities, the sociologists classify them by using a certain scale and then they compare those classified ones. As a result, the condition of the city will be clear and that will work in the Japanese society as a whole. Secondly, this analysis of the Japanese city after the comparison should then be compared with the other cities of the world.

As the Chicago group was the main stream of the urban sociology in the world, thus the Japanese urban sociology also followed it. In the beginning, sociologists were engaged to understand the logic, concepts and methods of the Chicago School.

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[27] Takahashi, Yuetsu et al. (1985), <u>Atarashi Toshi-Shakaigaku</u>, (New Urban Sociology), Gakubun-sha, Tokyo.

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But after 1955, Japanese sociologists, especially Suzuki[28] took an important role, by adjusting them into the Japanese society.

Suzuki[29] defined the urban cities as the institutes where people come and communicate with each other, he tried to examine the urban cities by its population and their lifestyles. Though this theory is very common with the sociologists to analyze the urban cities in Japan. But his theory has been appreciated because it has more prudent for the social structure to examine Japanese urban cities than Wirth's theory, though this theory was much influenced by the Wirth's model. Suzuki's theory has been succeeded by Takeo Yazaki, Susumu Kurasawa[30] and Hiroshi Suzuki[31], it is one of the crucial theories to be examined in the urban cities today.

Objectives of this Study

This dissertation entitled "Metropolitan Cities of India and Japan : A Comparative Sociological Study", embodies the attempt to study the metropolitan cities, namely, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta,

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[28] Suzuki, Eitaro, 1894-1966, A rural and urban sociologist. He contributed the concept of "Spontaneous Villages and Administrative villages", and the urban city as an institute.

[29] Suzuki, Eitaro (1957), Toshi-Shakaigaku Genri, (Theories of Urban Sociology), Yuhikaku, Tokyo.

[30] Kurasawa, Susumu (ed.) (1973), Toshi-Shakaigaku, (Urban Sociology), University of Tokyo Publication, Tokyo.

[31] Suzuki, Hiroshi (ed.) (1978), Toshika no Shakaigaku, (Sociology of Urbanization), Seishin-Shobo, Tokyo.

Madras, and Tokyo and Osaka from the view-point of human ecology. There are eight cities in India and eleven cities in Japan, where the population is over one million. My attempt is the ecological approach towards people who live or work in these cities of both countries. How did people come into the urban cities, and their life? Their family structure, kinship, neighbourhood and the life styles, so on. And what problems do they face in the urban cities? etc.

The first thing I did was I chose some urban cities as samples, eight major cities from India and 11 cities from Japan. Consequently, I have selected four metropolitan cities from India and two metropolitan cities, Tokyo and Osaka metropolises, from Japan. I included the capitals of both the countries for a better result. Since the Japanese studies of urban sociology is in a position to compare with the urban cities only within Japan, but not sufficient to compare with the cities of foreign countries. Though only few attempts have been made so far, most of studies were concerned with the developed countries such as West Europe and U.S.A. I believe that it is a quite bold attempt to compare the metropolises and their people between India and Japan as their background are so different. I will try to examine the case of India and Japan as I have seen and experienced in both the countries, being a native of Japan and a student in India.

This dissertation begins with the introductory chapter on theoretical perspective on urbanization, mainly as a way of life in the urban centres. The primary concern has been an analysis in terms of urbanization with ecological approach. I have shown the impact of urban theories not only from West but also from Asia, on India and Japan. Since each society has its own characteristics and is different from each other, one also needs to consider its own theories, in addition to the western theories to analyze own society. The second chapter is a review of the urban life in the metropolitan cities in India, namely, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. It starts from migration which is a main factor of the population growth in the urban centres, and shows the size and nature of these four metropolitan cities. Also, the households of these metropolitan cities are concerned in this chapter. The third chapter deals with the case of the Japanese metropolitan cities, mainly the capital city, Tokyo. The fourth chapter focuses on the urban problems, which are the main problems for the urban dwellers in India and Japan. Characteristics of the urban problems of both countries would help us to understand the nature of the metropolitan cities of India and Japan. Housing, land problems, the urban poor, the traffic problem, pollution and the immigration problem are referred in this chapter. The last chapter is concerned with the concluding observations. The pattern of urbanization, urban settlements and the nature of urban life in India and Japan, are compared in this section.

CHAPTER II

Metropolitan Cities in India

Urbanization is the movement of population from rural to urban areas and resulting increasing proportion of a population that resides in urban rather than rural places. Urbanization is not a one-way process but it is a two-way process. It involves not only movement from villages to cities and change from agricultural occupation to business, trade, service and profession, but it also involves change in the migrants' attitudes, belief, value and behaviour patterns. In India, population growth in the metropolitan cities is mainly because of migration itself. People come to the metropolitan cities from their regions for education and jobs, for their livelihood.

In this chapter, we will examine that, how and why people migrate from their native places to cities. It will also emphasize on their household family structure, kinship and neighbourhoods in the urban centres.

Concept of Migration

Today, it is a fact that migration is contributing to social and economic development throughout the world. Migration consists

a variety of movements which can be described as an evolutionary and development-fostering process operating in time and space to correct rural-urban, inter-urban and inter regional imbalances[1].

Migration, is in fact a voluntary movement through physical or socio-cultural space, permanently or for a considerable period of time. Behind such movement, there is conscious effort on the part of the individual to settle down at new places. But there are exceptions too, when the individuals and groups make mobility to new regions under the conditions like war or natural calamities. These migrations are due to stress or apprehension of danger to their life and property. Also, authoritarian political regimes have compelled some groups of people to leave one's own place and to settle in another. Such migrations are called involuntary.

On the other hand, economic activities could induce people to move to the centres of developmental growth. Migrants with technical skills and expertise can contribute to the growth of a nation, through sharing their technical knowledge and consequently expanding the resources or having better control of the environment. In other words, migration apart from being an independent variable affecting the socio-economic development of a nation, can also be a consequence of economic development, This may lead to the population - redistribution of an area or region along

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[1] Brown, Allan A. & Neuberger Egon, (ed.) (1977), <u>Internal Migration : A Comparative Perspective</u>, Academic Press, New York.

with its natural increase or growth. Economic development as such may intervene in-between migration and population structure of a nation. Thus, migration may impinge upon population through the process of socio-economic development.

Internal migration within a country has been considered an important factor accelerating the process of social change and development. Faster movement of the population, in response to quicker development and growth of urban areas, can be observed in many developing countries. Migrants' majority in urban centres of the developing countries are of young people. It shows that, after they got married, their younger age structure may contribute towards the higher fertility pattern in due course of time. As such, the cities are affected both by migration as well as by the consequent natural increase in the population growth.

Migration takes place in many forms. It can involve local moves of little economic importance or it may encompass vast, temporary population movements like seasonal jobs. Further, as I have mentioned, it may involve the permanent shift of individuals and groups from one economic system to another, due to the changes in economy and social structure.

Migration Status in India

Normally people migrate to towns because of the relatively better employment opportunities available there. In India, the process of migration can be classified basically into four streams of migration. Ashish Bose has classified them as i) rural to rural migration ii) rural to urban migration iii) urban to urban migration iv) urban to rural migration[2]. Though rural to rural migration is by far the most prevalent form of movement but rural to urban and urban to urban migration is equally important.

Table 2-1: Patterns of migration in India

Migration patterns	Percent
Rural to rural	71.3
Rural to urban	15.0
Urban to urban	8.8
Urban to rural	4.9

Source : Ahuja, Ram, Social Problems in India, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 1992, p.261.

And we can categorize in three types of migration. These are short-distance migration, medium-distance migration and long-distance migration. Short-distance migration means intra-district migration, medium-distance migration is inter-district or intra-state migration, and long-distance migration is inter-state

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[2] Bose, Ashish (1978), India's Urbanization 1901-2001, TMH Pub. Co. Ltd., New Delhi.

migration in general. In India, short-distance migration is the most common and followed by medium-distance long-distance migration is quite rare.

The entrance of the rural poor into the city depletes source of revenue. On the other hand, the rich people prefer to live in suburban areas recently. This movement of the rich causes financial loss to the city. This migration to the city and away from the city creates some problems.

In India, though the urban proportion of urban population to the total did not change much till the 1921 Census, it had increased fourfold according to 1971 Census. This Census shows that the urban population was 19.9 percent of the total population in India[3]. There has been a slow pace of urban growth in India, yet there has been a great increase in the urban population since 1940 onwards, due to migrations and reclassification of population categories for rural-urban areas. For example, in 1971 population of Delhi increased from 40.66 lakhs to 62.20 lakhs in 1981, that is, an increase of 21.54 lakhs or by 53 percent in the 1970[4]. And according to 1981 Census, 1.81 lakh migrants had migrated into

[3] Mehta, S. R., 'Some Observations on Migration and Population Change in the Indian Setting', Relevant Sociology in A Journal of Contemporary Sociology, Vol. V ; VI, Nos. 2 & 1, 1988-89.

[4] Puri, P. K., 'Problem of Migration into Delhi', in Manpower Journal, Vol. XXII, No.1, April-June 1986, Institute of Applied Manpower Research (ed.), pp. 29-46.

Delhi during one year. This data shows the enormous growth of population in metropolitan city, Delhi.

In India, most of the migration takes place within the political boundaries of the country and there are two further categories of intra-state and inter-state migration. The inter-state migration means migration across the boundaries of states, is called long-distance migration, as I have mentioned. And it is found in India, only among the migrants to metropolitan, like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, or big industrial areas in general. In fact, in India most of the migration takes place within the frontiers of a state. They are, Marriage migration of females and Short distance migration which people prefers.

In the case of Delhi, the migrants from other states and union territories of India during 1971-81 were numbered 12.3 lakhs, the half of them were from Uttar Pradesh, followed by Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab and Bihar.

Table 2-2: Delhi migrants from Other States (1971-81)

Name of State	Percent
Uttar Pradesh	50.1
Haryana	12.9
Rajasthan	7.6
Punjab	6.4
Bihar	5.8
Others	16.9

Source : R. K. Puri, Problem of Migration into Delhi in Manpower Journal, Vol. XXII, No.1, April-June, 1986 p.31.

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Among them 6.95 lakhs migrants had come into Delhi from the rural areas and 5.28 lakhs had come from the urban centres. Majority of the rural migrants were from Uttar Pradesh, followed by Haryana, Rajasthan, Bihar and Punjab. The migrants from urban areas were, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and from Bihar.

Table 2-3: Rural-Urban Origin Migrants in Delhi (1971-81)

Rural origin migrants (%)		Urban origin migrants (%)	
Uttar Pradesh	57	Uttar Pradesh	42
Haryana	14	Haryana	11.5
Rajasthan	9	Punjab	10
Bihar	7	Rajasthan	6
Punjab	3.7	Bihar	4

Source : R. K. Puri (1986), Ibid.

On comparison, we can see that the proportion of migrants from rural areas was higher in the case of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan and Bihar. While the proportion of migrants from the urban areas was much more from Punjab.

It may be worth mentioning, in passing, that migration analysis based on push and pull factors tends to over-simplification. Actually, there exists a "push-back" factor in the urban areas. For example, in India, the urban labour force is sizable, the urban unemployment rates are high. These factors act in combination as deterrents to the fresh flow of migration from

rural to urban areas. It is called "push-back" factor. If new employment opportunities are created in the urban areas, people who already have resided in the urban areas can get a job first. Thus, rapid population growth becomes a factor in slowing down the rate of migration from rural to urban areas. In India, the predominant form of migration is still rural to rural migration accounts for over half the total migration.

Table 2-4: Percent of Total Migrants by Migration Type

Migration Stream	Total	Male	Female
Rural-rural	73.7	56.7	81.3
Rural-urban	14.6	25.7	9.7
Urban-urban	8.1	13.0	5.8
Urban-rural	3.6	4.6	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Ashish Bose, India's Urbanization 1901-2001 ; TMH Pub. Co. Ltd. New Delhi, 1978, p. 188 (Based on 1961 census).

However, Urban to urban migration, especially migration from small towns to big cities like the metropolitan cities is becoming increasingly important. People form rural areas first migrate to towns, and then they will shift to the urban centres. It means that they migrate to the metropolitan cities indirectly from their village.

Migration of rural to urban metropolitan centres, including indirect migration from rural areas, is an event of socio-economic, psychological and cultural significance. It is at once a consequence as well as a pre - condition of industrial development too, as the migration from rural areas to urban centres does not involve simply a movement in physical space. As they leave their family and community centred village with its agricultural base to go to the town or city with its large, relatively impersonal aggregate of people who are primarily engaged in administrative, commercial and industrial activities, the migrants are moving from one form of organization of social life to another. The migrant who lives in the metropolitan city has some cash which he can send home. As a result, he raises himself and his family in the esteem of his village. In this sense, the movement to the city from rural areas itself means a movement up in the 'social ladder' for the migrants. It is important that to the extent that he judges himself by the standards of his village people. The migrant has not really migrated, but he has moved out of the village, and formed his own urban frame of reference.

Rural-urban migration is not only an integral part of economic development but it may also become a major instrument of social change. Though, rural to urban migration generally keeps the educated person at an advantageous position by providing them with better job opportunities, but owing to economic hardship the less educated and illiterate migrants also move towards the urban

centres. Thus, the process of migration affects people of all socio-economic categories. Usually the younger age groups predominate in rural to urban migration[5].

The process of migration is complicated, that for many of the immigrants, their shift to the urban centres involves not only the transcendence of long physical distances, but also of the additional cultural barriers associated with a different language, region, etc[6].

Reasons for Migration into Delhi

During 1971-81, more than half of the male migrants from other states had migrated into Delhi, for employment.Other reason were due to family movement and for education. And the same way, male migrants from rural areas, also in the same order, though the more migrants had come for employment. However, less than half of male migrants from urban areas had come for employment. It is clear here that the majority of male migrants came to Delhi for employment. Of course though there are several reasons behind the decision to leave the village for the urban areas, generally migration reflects an expectation that the individual will be better off at the point of destination rather than at the point of

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[5] Joshi, S. C. (1994), Migration to a Metropolis, RBSA Publishers, Jaipur.

[6] Gore, M. S. (1970), Inmigrants and Neighbourhoods, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

provenance. In rural areas, wages are almost universally low, job opportunities are limited and the economic framework is arduous. Naturally it is expected that a migrant will obtain better paid employment, better living conditions in the city.

Table 2-5: Reasons for Migration to Delhi from Other States

Reason	Percentage to total migrants					
	All areas		Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employment	56.78	5.49	62.52	5.74	49.37	5.20
Education	3.29	1.80	3.17	1.59	3.45	2.01
Family Moved	27.74	45.93	23.98	45.27	32.69	46.66
Marriage	8.39	35.90	0.37	37.90	0.42	33.96
Others	11.80	10.88	9.96	9.50	14.06	12.17

Source : Puri P.K., "Problem of Migration into Delhi" in Manpower Journal, Vol. XXII, No.1, April-June 1986, Institute of Applied Manpower Research (ed.), p.43

In the case of females migrants from other states, the majority had come to Delhi due to family movement, followed by for marriage, employment and education. Most of the female migrants from rural areas as well as urban areas have come into Delhi either due to marriage or family movement[7].

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[7] Puri, P. K., "Problem of Migration into Delhi", in Manpower Journal, Vol. XXII, No.1, April - June 1986, Institute of Applied Manpower Research (ed.).

Urbanization in the Metropolitan Cities

The metropolitan cities in India, primarily a size term is usually a primate in its region, a magnet in a larger catchment area and more often a combination of administrative entities. Economists use to emphasize the preponderance of manufacture and trade in the metropolitan cities in relation to its hinterland. However, in the Indian context, it does not employ the term metropolis but takes into account urban agglomerations which are formed of core town and their contiguous urbanized areas. Almost all state capitals are now such urban agglomerations. In India, it appears appropriate to define the metropolis as a size term to designate cities and urban agglomerations of more than a million people. A million is an appreciable size mark by Indian Standards.

There are nine such metropolitan cities now. Calcutta is the largest, followed by Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Kanpur and Poona. These nine metropolitan cities account for a little over a quarter of the India's total urban population.

Table 2-6: Housing per Household in the Metropolitan Cities
(1971)

	Calcutta	Bombay	Delhi	Madras
Housing per household	0.90	0.91	0.82	0.76

Source : Racine, Jean, Calcutta 1981, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1990, p. 83 (Based on Census of India 1971, Series 1 , Part II A. Union Primary Census Abstract 1974, Census of India Paper 2, 1981, Provisional Total Population)

Table 2-7: Population and Demographic Growth of Metropolises
(1971-1981)

Urban Agglomeration	Calcutta	Bombay	Delhi	Madras
Population (1971)	7,031,382	5,970,575	3,647,023	3,169,930
Demographic growth (1961-71)	+23.6%	+43.7%	+54.6%	+35.3%
Population density (1971)	12,364	9,901	8,172	5,972
Population (1981)	9,165,650	8,227,332	5,713,581	4,276,635
Demographic growth (1971-81)	+30.35%	+37.8%	+56.6%	+34.9%

Source : Racine, Jean (1990), Ibid., p. 83.

The metropolitan cities have been great centres of production and the main contributors to their region's and Indian economy. Calcutta, until recently, accounted for 42 percent of Indian exports, a quarter of its imports and about a third of the total volume of India's trade and finance[8]. Bombay's role has been more prominent recently. It accounts for about a third of the total income. Madras has been less of a primate in the region accounting for 13 percent of the state's income. Delhi has been transformed from administrative into major manufacturing and trading cities only in recent years. Although these metropolitan cities contribute sizably to the state and national income, they receive less for their upkeep. All of them share poor levels of services, an increased percentage in the birth-rate and immigration a preponderance of the urban poor, high day time populations, grossly inadequate circulation systems and administrative fragmentation. However, these cities have been making efforts to grapple with the issue. Now I would like to focus on the four largest metropolitan cities named Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras.

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[8] C.M.P.O. and Government of West Bengal (1966), Basic Development Plan for Calcutta Metropolitan District, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta.

Table 2-8: Working Population and Sectors (1971)

(%)

	Calcutta	Bombay	Delhi	Madras
Working population compared with total population	32.52	36.82	30.63	28.32
Primary sector workers	1.56	1.24	1.59	3.99
Secondary sector workers	41.19	45.32	29.47	34.18
Tertiary sector workers	57.20	53.39	60.53	61.78

Source: Recine, Jean, _Calcutta 1981_, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1990, p. 83.

Calcutta

India's largest city Calcutta has been frequently cited by journalists as an example of urban pathology, or of what the future may hold for other cities in developing countries that fails to control rapid urban growth. Numerous articles have discussed the scores of thousands of pavement dwellers on the Calcutta streets, the visible evidence of widespread unemployment and absolute poverty, and the severe congestion and infrastructure deficits. Certainly, Calcutta has many complex problems. Industrial stagnation has been quite severe in recent years more than two thirds of the population have monthly incomes of less than Rs. 1000 and at least 1.5 million persons are unemployed. More than one third of the city's inhabitants live in 3,000 unregistered slums or

squatter settlements. The city's water supply system and sewerage network are inadequate and obsolescent, and severe drainage problems make much of the city impassable during the monsoon season. Because of its limited road space and the large number of slow-moving vehicles, traffic problems are among the worst in India. All these problems are made more acute by the city's very high population densities and by its very low income levels. Now we will observe people's way of living in Calcutta.

In Calcutta, as a result of migration from various places, there are various communities, and except the Bengali, they built up separate residential concentrations of their own. And different language groups are normally engaged in different kinds of occupations. For example, there exists Hindu and Oriya speaking labourers; Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati and Sindhi speaking upper commercial classes; Bengalis and South Indians in bureaucratic and commercial employ; small traders who are Hindus and Muslims of this State or Hindu emigrants from Bangladesh[9]. In fact, there are few voluntary institutions in which several communities can meet frequently for their cultural communication.

Comparison between Bengali and Hindi Communities, it seems that Bengalis belong to all the upper, middle and lower income groups. The middle income group have been inspired by political

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[9] Bose, Nirmal Kumar (1968), <u>Calcutta : 1964 A Social Survey</u>, Lalvani Publishing House, Bombay.

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idealism, and their education's literature and institutions have been strongly tinged by it. The Hindi Community is divided into the poor or the rich. Both of groups don't have much of a political ground. The upper classes have been drifting towards westernization as well as business reorganization.

The Gujarati community forms a section of the prosperous commercial upper class. But they don't adopt a western way of life on the other hand, the Punjabi rich have been drifting towards western way of life like the Hindi rich. Interestingly, the more westernized communities become in their way of living, they tend to develop a reconstitute love for the specific traits of their own communal culture which gave them a distinct identity.

As I have mentioned, the various communities live in Calcutta in separate quarters, practise different professions, and also separate types of social institutions. Yet, we can find a certain amount of overlap in some sections as well.

Usually old type of Muslim social life centred round mosques in this city. With the rise of a westernized upper class and a nationalistic professional middle class among the Muslims, this old form have tended to remain, yet a new kind of organization is also appearing. This shows that the present generation of Muslims sits side by side in the same educational institutions.

In spite of this overlaps, it is noteworthy that there exists enough differences between the various language groups in Calcutta. When the communities are taken as a whole. Each community tends to split into economically or culturally distinguishable classes. However, these communities do not completely become identified with their parallels across boundaries of language.

The city of Calcutta arose out of the need of British commerce and trade. As a result, in the present context, Indian industrial enterprise did not gain a free scope for expansion. As trade advanced and some new industries arose, while large-scale migrations took place from the other places of India into the city, it failed to keep pace with the growing demand of employment which arose from among the migrants.

Some of these migrants came from the surrounding districts like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The commercial classes came from more distant lands like Gujarat, Delhi, Rajasthan. Because of these migrants, the commercial Bengalis caste like Gandhbanik or Subarnabanik faced much for the competition in the same city. Consequently, some of them changed their occupation to bureaucratic professions, etc. The net result was that there was not enough mobility of labour because of the handicaps under which capitalism of Calcutta works in a colonial situation.

A migrant from Bihar tried to gain the help of his comrades from home to find a job. A Rajasthani supported a Rajasthani more than anyone else. This low order of opportunities which left many people unemployed even while they were eager to work made everyone seek the support of his co-villagers or his cast-men.

Regarding caste system, generally, Calcutta has thrown up new occupations which has no relations with caste. However, some communities preferred particular sets of occupations. There exists something like caste in the residential concentration of language groups as well as in their preference for particular ways of making a living. Unlike caste, these new occupations are not actually ranked into high and low, although one class of occupations may be regarded as more respectable than another. But in spite of this growth of classes, Calcutta has developed a kind of rural arrangement which is strongly reminiscent of caste in the villages.

Bombay

Bombay is India's major industrial and financial centre and the country's second largest metropolitan area in populations size. Also Bombay's rate of population growth has been decelerating gradually for about three decades and a spontaneous process of decentralization has been under way. Although it has the strongest and most diversified economy of any of Indian metropolitan cities, and higher levels of income and a lower incidence of poverty.

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Bombay continues to have serious infrastructure deficits. The housing situation is very critical, with about 50 percent of the population of the city residing in slums that are growing much more rapidly than the city as a whole. Moreover, some 400,000 persons reside in 20,000 deteriorating tenements in the southern part of Bombay Island, while there are at least 200,000 pavement dwellers. Bombay's water supply network is grossly inadequate, with supply rationed for from. Two to eight hours daily. Similarly the sewerage network needs to be modernized.

In the extreme south of Bombay is situated the central office and financial district, which employs the white-collar workers. To the north of it is located the principal business quarter, which gradually shades off into a commercial-cum-residential area. Beyond it and in the geographical centre of the city is located the main industrial area, which is gradually succeeded at first by a working class residential area. In fact, Bombay has grown beyond all reasonable proportions. As Calcutta, Bombay is also suffering from the enormous growth of population. Bombay has multiplied its population to the extent of 200 percent between 1901 and 1951. Though this abnormal increase is attributed to the influx of displaced persons. While it is true that war and post-war conditions have contributed in a large measure to this increase, it must be admitted that the natural increase, resulting from excess of births over death has been a factor of no mean

importance[10]. Consequently a vast majority of the inhabitants are forced to live in such environment as some of the closely built-up sections, which are old and dilapidated lacking in essential amenities and devoted to a variety of purposes, dark and narrow streets without open spaces.

As I have already mentioned, the growth of population makes such environment which people should live. Apart from contributing to the growth of population, the phenomenon of migration generates a series of problem peculiar to itself. Most of immigrants came into the city for employment. The decentralization of the city's economic structure would appear to be a fundamental pre-requisite for the deconcentration of its population.

Closely allied to the population problem, there exists the housing problems the majority of people live in the houses with the lack of adequateness and satisfaction. It not only affect the health and morals of the community, but in course of time also exerts a cumulative influence upon the biological make-up of the population. Actually, the housing problem is peculiarly of the lower and middle classes. Because of the absence of any incentive for private enterprise to invest money in the construction of houses for them. On the basis of the estimated population in 1958, the number of persons per room works out to about five. If we

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[10] Rajagopalan, C. (1962), <u>The Greater Bombay</u>, Popular Book Depot, Bombay.

further assume that an average single room is of the size 10'x 10', the standard of accommodation per person works out to 20 square feet, which is only 5 square feet less than the minimum standard prescribed by the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act. Showing the data, 21.2 percent of all the residential buildings are temporary structures consisting of huts and sheds, and another 18 percent are semi-temporary between 1901 and 1951[11].

The consequences of overcrowding are terrible to contemplate. Louis Winnick[12] has pointed out that overcrowding has been assigned a major role in the etiology of a large number of social disorders ranging from the creation of slums to capital crimes. It is believed to be a factor in the incidence of many personal illness such as tuberculosis. In recent years, family conflicts and even mal-formation of personality which lead to emotional and mental disturbance have been traced to the absence of sufficient privacy in the house. The extent to which overcrowding of persons within the houses is present in the area, the relationship of the places of residence to the work places of the industrial population, transport facilities and difficulties, cost of sites, extent of smoke pollution[13].

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[11] Rajagopalan, C. (1962), Ibid.

[12] Winnick, Louis (1957), American Housing and Its Use, John Wiley & Sons Inc., New York.

[13] H.M.S.O. (1940), Report of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Industrial Population, H.M.S.O. p. 157.

As Bombay is an unplanned city, there is no clear segregation of functional areas and where consequently residences, factories and shops are confusedly interspersed and where the volume of traffic to be carried through the old-fashioned streets by means of modern vehicles is excessively high, the congestion resulting from such high degree of overcrowding and over housing can very well be imagined.

The most important factor responsible for the growth of population in Bombay is the immense concentration of economic activities such as industry and commerce. A majority of employment is working in the organized sectors. Hear we should examine the location of the industries' workers, since they have an important bearing upon the life of the community in general.

The location of the industrial zone on the centre of Bombay has proved to be highly undesirable. The most important residential areas of the city are situated immediately to the north and south of the industrial quarter. Since the predominant character of the wind being north-northeast-east and south-southwest-west, the smoke, fumes and vapours emanating from these industries tend to exert a deleterious effect on the health of people living on either sides. The industrial workers themselves live in over-crowded and filthy slums in and around the industrial quarter. Those who move out to the distant suburb in search of cheap dwellings are compelled to commute daily to the city for work. Thus, the location

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of the industrial zone in the centre of the city raises the problem of housing the industrial workers. If the workers are tired from the long commuting by bus and train they must be housed near their place of work. But since the area surrounding the industrial zone is already fully developed, the only alternative appears to be to effect a shift in the location of the industrial zone.

Even from the economic point of view, there is a growing feeling that the advantages of local concentration of industries have been over-rated. Not only consideration of human health and happiness, but also on economic grounds don't favour such excessive concentration. The pace of social change is nowhere faster than in the cities. While the social and economic life of a city undergoes rapid transformation, its physical structure remains more or less static. The problem of circulation structure to change in tune with the changes in the social structures.

In Bombay the traffic problem has been further aggravated by two other factors, viz, the peculiar ecological structure and the physical aspect of the city. The separation between the residence and work-place of the white collar workers has resulted in the daily movement of population from the north to the south in the mornings and back in the evenings. Also, since it is difficult for the industrial workers to live near the industrial quarter, it will be necessary for them to house in the northern suburb, which will aggravate the traffic problem.

The city is situated on an island which is all length and no breadth. In addition to the two railways, there are only two important direct traversing the city form north to south for commuting. Most part of the city is already fully built up, it is no longer possible to add any more through roads.

The scope of improvements in the transportation facilities in Bombay is very limited. The number of vehicles on the road has been steadily increasing. Because of the uni-directional character of the traffic movement, the transport service is being maintained at a heavy loss. Therefore the transport service will not increase any more, and the increase of service will also result in greater congestion on the street and in slowing down the speed and increase the time element.

Delhi

Delhi is national capital of India and third ranking metropolitan area in population size, and the most rapidly growing of India's four largest cities and the only one of the India's twelve metropolitan cities to have had consistently high population growth since partition. During 1971 and 1981, the urban population of Delhi grew at an average annual of 4.7 percent, slightly higher than in the preceding census decade.

Delhi has a number of advantages over other large metropolitan cities in India. It has a relatively strong and diversified economy, one of the highest levels of per capita income of any of India's states or territories. Also newer building stock, a well-developed road network, and large expanses of green space within the city limits. Moreover, because Delhi is national capital, it has received somewhat greater attention and a larger share of funding from the Indian government, which believes that the city's orderly development should serve as a model for the nation.

Concern has been expressed, however, about Delhi's ability to absorb future population growth yet continue to maintain its image as capital. There is currently heavy congestion and poor environmental conditions in the old walled city and serious infrastructure lags like a shortfall in the supply of treated water, an inadequate sewerage network, and power shortage. Although housing has been the most impressive record, as of 1985 some 158,000 Delhi households were on waiting lists for various types of public housing and more than 200,000 households were living in the city's 600 unauthorized colonies[14].

For the past quarter of a century, attempts have been made to reduce congestion in central Delhi and to slow it rapid population growth. The Master Plan for Delhi in 1962, aimed at

[14] Delhi Vikas Varta (1985), Vol. 2, No.2, Special Issue.

promoting a polycentric pattern of development by establishing dispersed industrial and commercial areas, along with residential colonies. Plans were also put forward for the integrated development of a National Capital Region, based on the idea of decentralizing employment to medium-sized cities in contiguous states.

However, during the past two decades, the process of urban development in Delhi has diverged considerably from that envisioned in the Master Plan. Delhi has continued to grow at rapid rates. Employment has become more rather than less concentrated in the central city, whereas decentralization has proceeded slowly.

There are three major facts about the process of urbanization in Delhi[15]. Firstly, there has been the rapid, almost phenomenal growth in the population of Delhi since 1941, as we have seen already. Secondly, the relatively small proportion of its working population is engaged in industry. Thirdly, the relatively high proportion of its population is engaged in service as in white-collared job primarily in government offices, and in commerce.

The relatively minor place occupied by industry in the occupational structure of Delhi can be seen from the fact that only

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[15] Gore, M. S. (1968), Urbanization and Family Change, Popular Prakashan, Bombay. p. 62.

17.3 percent of its population is put in the livelihood category of Manufacture and Mining. This compares with the other metropolitan cities, 35 percent for Bombay, 31 percent for Calcutta, 21 percent for Madras[16]. Delhi is among the least industrialized of Indian metropolitan cities and its major economic base is in commerce and services. Also the government officer is one of the important elements of Delhi's population.

Table 2-9: Distribution of Population by Livelihood Classes (1951)

	In Percentage (%)				
City	Agr.	Mfg. & Min.	Comm. & Finance	Trans- port	Service
Calcutta	1.3	31.0	25.1	9.8	32.8
Bombay	0.5	35.0	24.3	8.4	31.7
Delhi	0.6	17.3	26.1	6.1	49.4
Madras	1.9	24.8	22.0	9.3	42.0

Source : Gore, M. S. (1968), Urbanization and Family Change, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, p. 64.

The white-collar group represented in the broad category of professional and administrative services becomes the main agent for the spread of new values. Their influence tends to be exercised not through the formal process of policy making and law-giving. The

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[16] Gore, M. S. (1968), Ibid.

dominant white-collar group is really looked upon as a member of the community, especially Delhi. The commercial class here does not have prestige of higher education. But they have the prestige and power of wealth.

Madras

Madras is the fourth largest city in India and relatively poor, with average per capita income below that of India's other large metropolitan cities. Although it faces many of the same problem as the other large Indian cities. For example, it has a small manufacturing base and has had virtually no growth in formal sector industrial activity in recent years. Like Calcutta, Madras has been severely affected by the Government of India's nationwide ban on heavy industry in the city. Moreover, Madras has found it difficult to attract new medium-size industry because of chronic power shortage and labour unrest. It has also experienced serious water shortage. More than 200,000 households live in unimproved slums and a further 360,000 households live in substandard conditions in the city's older areas[17]. Nearly 45 percent of the residents of Madras live below the absolute poverty line with average monthly incomes of less than Rs. 450, and are unable to pay for basic services. An addition of 26 percent of the inhabitants have monthly household incomes ranging from Rs. 450 to Rs. 800, but

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[17] United Nations (1987), <u>Population Growth and Policies in Mega-Cities : Madras</u>, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York.

are also considered poor and can hardly afford to buy even a bicycle[18].

The growth of Madras was mainly due to its emergence as a seat of higher education and as the provincial capital. On the eve of independence its population was close to a million and by 1981, the metro area's population exceeded 3.17 million. Migration has been a steady cause for Madras's growth. Migration has been predominantly from the rural areas. More than half migrants came into Madras from the immediately surrounding areas. This phenomenon is unlike Calcutta and Bombay. Also, unlike the exclusively male influx to Calcutta in the nineteen century, migration to Madras has often been of whole families. Madras has a higher female-male ratio than Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay[19].

The claims of Madras as a centre of industry are of recent origin. Of the 0.73 million workers in the metropolitan area, about a quarter are in the secondary sector engaged mostly in organized manufacturing[20]. The city has attracted a number of large

[18] Lakshmanan, S. and Rotner, E. (1985), 'Madras, India : Low-Cost Approaches to Managing Development' in Cities in Conflict : Studies in the Planning and Management of Asian Cities, Lea, John P. and Courtney, John M. (ed.), World Bank, Washington, pp. 81-93.

[19] Government of Tamil Nadu (1971), Madras Metropolitan Plan 1971-1991, Rural Development and Local Administrative Department, Government of Tamil Nadu, (January) Madras.

[20] Sivaramakrishnan, K. C. (1978), Indian Urban Scene, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

industries like transport equipment, electrical machinery and appliances and petroleum etc. Madras is not a centre for craft and artisans such as Madurai, Salem or Tiruchi. In fact, household industries account for less than 10 percent of the secondary sector employment, but similar to other metropolitan cities, Madras has a large tertiary sector employment.

Not withstanding a per capita income of Rs. 623 which is nearly twice that of the state average, Madras has a preponderance of the poor. Nearly 40 percent of the households have a family income of less than Rs. 200 per month[21]. According to the Slum Clearance Board[22], slums apart, the infrastructure at the core of the metropolis has been under severe strain due to increased population. In sharp contract to Calcutta, there has not existed any significant investment in the past few decades in Madras. The Madras metropolitan area have averaged about twenty crores investment annually since independence. Much of this investment has been in the construction of arterial roads, additions to public transport, improvements in water supply and drainage, and the augmentation of health and educational facilities. Yet the investment have failed to keep pace with population increases.

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[21] Sivaramakrishnan, K. C. (1978), Ibid.

[22] Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board (1975) Socio-Economic Survey of Madras Slums, Tamil Nadu Slum Clearance Board, Madras.

Family Structure and Household in Urban Centres

Family is the basic and universal social structure of human society. It fulfills needs and performs function which are indispensable for the continuity, integration and change in the social system. Also, family is a part of Indian cultural tradition. Though urbanization, industrialization, modernization have not been able to disintegrate the institution of family, some structural and functional changes have taken place. Rural - urban migration, that is a major force of change, has influenced the family pattern. Though the traditional joint family is the main stream in the rural areas, its place is taken by nuclear family in the urban areas. Sylvia Vatuk discusses evidence of a gradual change in the quality of family life and in the relationship among urban kinsmen of white collar migrants in North India[23].

Compared to a joint family the combinations of role structures in a nuclear family are fewer, and the authority system and networks of kinship relations are also different. A nuclear family itself is an example of structural differentiation from the more composite social structure of a joint family. At a given point of time the proportion of nuclear families is higher, but most nuclear families grow into extended family, and break up later into

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[23] Vatuk, Sylvia (1972), _Kinship and Urbanization : White Collar Migrants in North India_, University of California Press, London.

incomplete extended families or nuclear families[24]. It is rare to find members of two or three generations living together, especially in the urban centres. Actually, there are evident limits to the number of persons sharing the same house, because of the high rents of tenements or price paid for the house.

Gore[25] describes that industrialization depends upon and sustains motivation of the economy, a high degree of occupational specialization and a system of factory production based upon the individual rather than the kinship group. These changes in the economic system take place gradually and at a different pace in different segments of the economy. Also, he has mentioned that it breaks down the economy based upon kinship grouping. Chekki[26] also pointed out that among the Brahmans and the other caste groups in urban India, occupational roles are increasingly becoming different from kinship roles, removing the economic bands of kinship cohesion. The modern occupational structure demands person with special training and skills not normally provided by family and kinship. The differing family and economic roles break the traditional association between family and social status

[24] Dube, S. C. (1990), Indian Society, National Book Trust, India, New Delhi.

[25] Gore, M. S. (1968), Urbanization and Family Change, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, p. 41.

[26] Chekki, D. A. (1974), 'Modernization and Social Change : The Family and Kin Network in Urban India' in The Family in India - A Regional View, Kurian, George (ed.) Mouton, The Hague Paris, pp. 205-231.

ascription. This process shows an important factor in the transformation of urban kinship values and behaviour patterns. However, even as processes of economic modernization gain momentum, the traditional institutions, that is, the joint family system would give ground to modern form such as the nuclear family system. One should not forget processes of economic growth in India have received support from the joint family system[27].

Yogendra Singh points out in his book, <u>Social Change in India : Crisis and Resilience</u>, that the postulation of economic modernization leading to nuclearization of family system[28] is often based not on structural study of family system but on attitudinal data. A time-depth analysis of family system over successive generations by Desai revealed a cyclical rather than a linear movement from jointness to nuclearity[29]. In India, industrialization and urbanization are contributing to change in many rules of jointness in the family system, such as rules of residence, forms of marriage and authority system. But these changes are quite adaptive in character. Rule of residence is of

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[27] Singh, Yogendra (1993), <u>Social Change in India : Crisis and Resilience</u>, Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.

[28] These studies were by Ross, A. (1961), <u>Hindu Family in its Urban Settings</u>, University of Toronto Press, Toronto ; Davis, Kingsley (1958), <u>Population of India and Pakistan</u>, Free Press, New York ; Gore, M. S. Ibid.

[29] Desai, I. P. (1964), <u>Some Aspects of Family in Mahuva : A Sociological Study of Jointness in a Small Town</u>, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

prime significance for changes in family structure as a result of industrial and urban growth.

Migration to the urban areas for work has increased during the past decades, and depending upon the nature of work, it affects the joint family system. Also, migration from villages to cities and from one city to another city for technical and professional occupations result into setting up of nuclear families, that comprise husband, wife and children. They sometimes invite their father and mother or live with their nieces and nephews for their education. In most of such cases, the form that a family takes is that of supplemented nuclear family. Nuclearity is only residential and functionally the joint family obligations are maintained such as performance of rituals, kinship and marriage obligations. Likewise, jointness is noted in ownership of assets and properties and sharing of economic responsibilities.

Those who migrate to cities from rural areas for jobs in informal sectors of economy, the pattern is collective and rarely individual. Several members of joint family including wife, children and brothers migrate with them. Actually, earlier, mainly the male members of the joint family migrated to cities for work. However, there is a new tendency that the families migrate into cities for getting jobs. This results in urban-slums and hutments where families of workers establish settlements and continue with traditional family obligations, rituals, value and beliefs as in

their village. This migration pattern was quite common among those coming into Madras metropolitan area.

In another aspect, it is true that migration has promoted functional change in the family rather than structural changes. The role of family in urban areas has changed to a great extent as a result of the economic independence of individual members of nuclear families, even of joint families. Better education facilities and emergence of formal institutions of socialization have reduced the significance of family as primary socializing institution, migrants in urban areas find that the new institutions are more conducive to the urban way of life. Urbanization and industrialization have no doubt led to some breakdown in the traditional joint family and have contributed to the growth of supplemented and other varieties of nuclear families[30].

Household in the metropolitan cities

Gore[31] explains in his book, Immigrants and Neighbourhoods that the migrants in Bombay live in a variety of household groups. Some migrants live alone in rented rooms or in hotel and hostels. Some live in non-familial groups of persons belonging to the same caste or village and even in heterogeneous groups. It is not

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[30] Singh, Yogendra (1993), Social Change in India : Crisis and Resilience, Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi. p. 87.

[31] Gore, M. S. (1970), Immigrants and Neighbourhoods, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay.

necessary to eat food together for them. Sometimes they eat outside or even cook their own meals separately. According to Gore, there are two major types of familial households apart from non-familial grouping as above. Firstly, there are households in which the migrant and his conjugal family form a part and secondly, those in which the migrant is living with the family of his brother or cousin. These households are also grouped into several sub-categories[32].

(1) The nuclear household consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children.

(2) The nuclear household with husband, wife, younger unmarried siblings.

(3) The joint household consisting of more than one married couple and other relatives.

(4) The single person staying with his married brother or cousin.

(5) The person staying with other respondents with no female member in the group.

(6) The married person with his wife living with a friend's family.

In Bombay, the pure nuclear household is most common among Tamils and least common among the Hindi migrants. The Marathi migrants occupy middle. The family type variation among the three language groups is that the Hindi migrants and the Tamil migrants

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[32] Gore, M. S., Ibid. p. 71.

as groups represent different degrees of familial support and involvement in the process of migration, with the Marathi group occupying a middle position. For instance, among the Hindi migrants, the larger proportion of joint family based households could be a consequence of the greater family. Like this, the attitude of the migrants to move to new places was influenced to some degree by the ties that held them to their native place where familial ties were stronger, only the individual migrated retaining contacts with home. And where familial ties were weak the conjugal family itself migrated.

Also Gore points out that the nuclear-type household is characteristic of the somewhat better employed group of migrants in Bombay. However, it does not mean that nuclear type household is more common among the white collar than among blue collar migrants. It seems that there is no particular relationship between occupational category and the type of familial household. In general, it is characterized in some cases by insecure employment and low income has understandably a larger proportion of migrants who live in non-familial households. If the migrants is unmarried he cannot live in nuclear family households, but he could still be a member of joint households. Gore's research shows that about 70 percent of all migrants in Bombay live in familial households and the rest in non-familial groups. Of these 70 percent live in households composed of their wife and children. Sometimes they live with a younger brother or sister as a dependent. The Tamil have the

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highest proportion of such nuclear household, the Hindi migrants the least.

According to Mythili[33]", there is a major difference between the migrants from South India and those from North India, that is, migration from South India takes place as a family unit. It means that one nuclear family migrating to other places. This generally results into the breaking relations with the extended joint family and creation of nuclear family in urban area. Since in South India women are also a working force in many cases, it makes migration as a family unit easy and economically feasible.

On the one hand, in North India most of the case is male only migration and there exists a continuance of close family and kinship ties with extended joint family back in rural areas. In fact, most of the North Indian migrants come into urban industrial places as temporary migrants and visit their native place quite often. It seems reasonable to suppose that migration does not lead to any significant change in the joint family system.

On the other hand, there are still the familial households based on joint family ties wherein the migrant lives either as an additional member or as integral part with his own wife and

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[33] Mythili, K. L. (1974), 'Little Madras in Bombay City' in Urban Sociology, Rao, M.S.A. (ed.), Orient Longman, New Delhi, pp. 241-256.

children[34]. Also a migrant lives with his sister and sister's husband sometimes. In this case, he may move out as soon as he finds independent accommodation. This kind of accommodation is stabilized by migrant paying a regular share of his income for his boarding and lodging. In other words, the migrant is just like a paying guest, but the relationship is never viewed that he is a consanguine of the woman in the family. Needless to say, if the migrant were to get married, he would establish a separate household or else leave his wife in his parental home in most cases.

Another type of a joint household is the one where the migrant joins the family of one of his agnatically connected relatives. He may live alone or with his wife, and still be a part of the unit. Brothers and first cousins are likely to live in this way. In the course of time, even these households break into smaller units, but while they last there is a sense of legitimacy about them. Each of the earners contributes a fixed amount out of their earnings for food expenses etc., but it is not usual for them to pool their incomes and for the elder brother to manage the household.

In fact, at the time that the migrants arrived in Bombay, they get help from their relatives in various ways, such as providing accommodation etc. Then, when they found jobs and

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[34] Gore, M. S., Ibid., p. 80.

established their own household, they became self-reliant. But it must be noted that the migrants and their relatives continue to be bound in a system of mutual help and assistance after that. It is common for them to ask help from friends, relatives and neighbourhoods. Most of them rely on their friends as well as relatives. But we should not overlook that their friends chosen are still largely persons of the same caste and village nexus. Majority of migrants have friends from the same religious group as their own, too. However, their friendships are not restricted to persons of one's caste in the majority of migrants.In north India there are ties between men and women based on fictive kinship which cuts across the castes.

Straus[35] tried to examine that social class groups in a major urban centre are differentiate from each other in respect to certain aspects of family organization and interaction. He classified as "working class" those in which the husband was a manual worker, and as "middle class" those in which the husband was engaged in non manual work in Bombay. He pointed out that these two groups differ sharply in a variety of indications of socioeconomic status such as education of the husband and wife, caste, and level of living index. Working class families more frequently depart from the cultural norms of family and household structure in having a

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[35] Straus, Murray A. (1974), 'Some Social Class Differences in Family Pattern in Bombay' in The Family in India - A Regional View, Kurian, George (ed.), Mouton, The Hague Paris, pp. 233-248.

slightly larger proportion of incomplete nuclear units and a much larger proportion of non-normative types of joint households. The characteristics of middle class families are a greater sharing of decision power between husband and wife. Conflict between husband and wife and between parent and children is considerably greater among working class than among the middle class. His conclusion is that even in a society organized on the basis of caste, social differentiation based on occupation.

Rao and Desai in their study of Greater Delhi have shown that the average size of the Delhi household is 4.6 members. 35.2 percent were small households with 2 to 4 members, while 33.8 percent had between 5 to 7 members. One-third of the households consists of extended families[36]. The household represents a group of persons who share in common the facility of kitchen or cooking arrangement, but not always with migrants. The unity and the individuality of the group are secured by the institution of family, which is defined to be a group of persons having kinship or blood ties. So that, as a rule the household is composed of members belonging to the same family. However, very few families consist only of the close kin. An extended or joint family can also include distant kinsfolk. On the basis of the nature of additional relationship, it may be considered this class to be subdivided as follows. Family includes :

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[36] Rao, V.K.R.V. and Desai, P. B. (1965), Greater Delhi : A Study in Urbanization 1940-1957, Asia Publishing House, Delhi.

(1) Only ascendant on the paternal side.

(2) Only descendants on the paternal side.

(3) Both the above types of relations.

(4) Collateral kin of the paternal side.

(5) Other type of relations.

Obviously the households with non-relatives as members were rare. And most of migrants who live with families as uni-members were male.

The nuclear families form the most in Delhi. They account for more than a majority among refugee households, just a majority among the resident household and a little short of majority among the immigrant households. In case we except the uni-member households, it will be seen that the nuclear variety constitute 69 percent of the family households in the in-migrant section, 59 percent in the refugee and 56 percent in the resident section[37]. We can see here that the nuclear family's preponderance is of much higher degree for the immigrant section than the others.

Rao and Desai point out that economical concern is largely confined apart from nuclear family membership, only to their parents, and it is not extended to their brothers, sisters and other collateral relatives of the bifurcated families. This indicates that while the joint family continues as a social

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[37] Rao, V.K.R.V. and Desai, P. B. (1965), Ibid., p. 181.

institution, it is no longer an economic entity for the immigrant households.

Saroj Kapoor[38] also argues that the deep-rooted norms and values of the group and the operational utility result in an urban joint family comprising of the house group and a congregation of wider network of kindred. However, a major continuity observed in the family system in spite of migration is the continuance of extended joint family in the urban centres. Though it is true that trend towards nuclear family system is proceeding irrespective of caste and class of the migrant, the joint family system has not broken down completely. The higher caste migrants find joint family and kinship more conducive to living and maintaining their cultural origin. Among them who take up business find joint family economically feasible for commercial purposes. It was observed in study of a business community in Delhi.

Gore[39] described dealing with the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the Aggarwal family in Delhi. The Aggarwals are a business caste, with the joint family as their cultural ideal. However, they have nuclear as well as joint households among them like all other castes. He pointed out that

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[38] Kapoor, Saroj (1965), 'Family and Kinship Groups Among the Khatris in Delhi', in Sociological Bulletin, Vol. XIV, No.2, Sept., 1965, pp. 54-63.

[39] Gore, M. S. (1968), Urbanization and Family Change, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

the individual members may live the two types of household at different stages of their lives. He writes : "The questions that may prove fruitful are not whether the joint family is being displaced by the nuclear family, but whether participants in joint as well as nuclear households show any changes in their role perception and in the acceptance of obligations". His finding in the Delhi area indicate a very limited degree of rural-urban variation in family authority patterns. Furthermore, it was observed that brothers,even after a division of the joint family, accept the obligation to help one another's families need and these obligations continue to be accepted in urban nuclear households.

We should not overlook that many villages were incorporated into Indian metropolitan centres. These villages sustain some autonomous feature in social, cultural and religious dimensions. However, for example, Delhi's villages, there is good scope for upward occupational mobility. This mobility would create income and occupational differentials between the earning of a joint family which may become a source of family tension. It might even lead to the disintegration of the joint family. In fact, more than half of the families in the villages are nuclear, Even high castes are not able to enforce a joint family system. The only important factors left are economic and tension between family members. Madras's villages also have a higher proportion of nuclear families. But this is because the traditional joint family system is not popular in villages of Madras. Even they don't prefer big joint families.

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As I mentioned, the general pattern of nuclear family establishment is in the villages of Delhi. In contrast to this, in the villages of Madras, the tradition appears to be the establishment of a separate home shortly after marriage. But this practice differs from the western concept of a nuclear family in that kinship ties are very strong[40]. Thus the old and new, urban and rural, exist side by side.

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[40] Kumar, Joginder (1974), 'Family Structure in the Hindu Society of Rural India' in The Family in India - A Regional View, Kurian, George (ed.) Mouton, The Hague Paris, pp. 43-74.

CHAPTER III

Metropolitan Cities in Japan

As we have seen in the previous chapter, migration is a common phenomenon in the metropolitan cities in India. Also the metropolitan cities in Japan, migration has contributed the population growth. There exists 11 cities in Japan, which have population of more than one million in 1990. the total population of these 11 cities reached 25.3 million and that is one-fifth of the population of whole Japan. However, today, Daily Migration into the urban centre is the common phenomenon in Japan, especially in Tokyo. Since lands in the urban centre have become so expensive, people have started leaving the urban centres towards the suburbs. But, their working places are still in the urban centre, they go to office everyday. Separation of working place and family residence, prolongation of commuting distance, etc. are creating some inhabitant types of people and affecting their family life.
In this chapter, I will be focussing more on Tokyo and therefore providing more details on it[1] .

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[1] The material on the other metropolitan cities of Japan were not available. Therefore I am focussing more on Tokyo metropolitan city. However, in other metropolitan cities of Japan, more or less, their conditions are similar to that of Tokyo, but on a smaller scale.

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Migration to the Urban Centres in Japan

Distributional change of the population since 1955 for the Hon-shu (Mainland) and three other major islands, Hokkaido, Shikoku, and Kyushu. (See Map 4.) The Hon-shu has continuously experienced an increase of population, but Shikoku and Kyushu have continuously lost population. As eastern Japan gains population, western Japan loses population, resulting in a more even national distribution. However, the heavy concentration of population in the Pacific Coast Industrial Zone which began in 1955 has absorbed population not only from eastern Japan but also from Western Japan and from the Japanese sea coast areas.

In fact, dual movements of population redistribution can be discerned. One stream is movement of population from West to East, the other is from North to South, these migrations have affected the concentration of population in the Pacific Coast Industrial Zone which comprises the three large metropolitan areas of Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. The migration has taken place in the 1920s and between 1950 and 1970.

By 1953, when the process of smaller into larger administrative units began, the size of the urban population had recovered to its prewar peak, and thereafter as the economy moved into its high growth phase the major cities began a period of rapid expansion. In the first ten years of that period, upto 1960, urban

growth was concentrated on the large urban centres. Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Yokohama, Kyoto and Kobe, they are the six large cities, increased in population by 50 percent, and their share of the total population went form 14 to 18 percent. In the five years that followed only Tokyo, Nagoya and Yokohama continued to grow, while in the other three cities' growth slowed down. In the last decade, Yokohama city has been the only exception to a general tendency for the growth to be slower in the major urban centres, Tokyo and Osaka metropolitan cities have even shown a slow decline.

However this decline does not mean an end of the urbanization process. In the first place, these phenomena reflect the saturation of the large cities themselves and the shift of population concentration to the areas surrounding them. Excessive densities in the metropolitan cities and high land prices have prompted an increasing inflow into the areas from where commuting into the urban centres is possible. When we consider the population of the suburbs with the metropolitan cities, the population growth has continued on the three main metropolitan areas.

Table 3-1: Population in the Metropolises and the Suburbs
(1965-1993)
(Thousand)

	1965	1975	1985	1993
Tokyo metropolis	10,869	11,674	11,829	11,830
Osaka metropolis	6,657	8,279	8,668	8,723
Kanagawa pref.	4,431	6,398	7,432	8,149
Chiba pref.	2,702	4,149	5,148	5,721
Saitama pref.	3,015	4,821	5,864	6,632

Source : Japan Statistical Yearbook 1995, Statistics Bureau
Management and Coordination Agency, pp. 34-35.

Note : Kanagawa pref., Chiba pref. and Saitama pref. are the
suburbs of Tokyo.

Table 3-2: Increasing Population of Three Metropolitan Areas
(Total population = 100)

	1955	1960	1970	1980
Tokyo Metropolitan Area	17.1	18.9	23.0	24.5
Osaka/Kyoto/Kobe Area	12.2	12.9	14.8	14.8
Nagoya Metropolitan Area	7.6	7.8	8.3	8.4
Total	36.9	39.6	46.1	47.8

Source : National Census.

The urban population had begun increasing in the 1920's. Although the proportion of urban population was reduced temporarily because of the urban collapse during World War II, it was restored to its highest pre-war level by 1950 and continued to expand in the next two decades. On the other hand, beginning in 1950, the

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population density of the urban areas became ever lower due to the rapid expansion of municipalities. For instance, between 1950 and 1955, the density of the urban population was reduced from 1,575 to 742 persons per square kilometer[2]. This was primarily caused by the government's policy of promoting the annexation of small cities, towns and villages. As a result, within the boundaries of new cities which had absorbed several small towns or villages, many rural characteristics remained.

Table 3-3: Distribution and Density of Urban and Rural Population.
(1920-1970)

Year	Percent		Population Density (persons per sq. km.)	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1920	18.1	81.9	7,326	120
1925	21.7	78.3	5,898	123
1930	24.1	75.9	5,220	129
1935	32.9	67.1	4,439	123
1940	37.9	62.1	3,109	121
1945	27.8	72.2	1,379	147
1950	37.5	62.5	1,575	149
1955	56.3	43.7	742	130
1960	63.5	36.5	719	119
1965	68.1	31.9	760	112
1970	72.2	27.8	791	105

Source: Kuroda, Toshio (1977), "Urbanisation and Population Redistribution in Japan" in Patterns of Urbanisation : Comparative Studies, Goldstein, Sidney and Sly, David F. (ed.), p.440.

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[2] Kuroda, Toshio (1977), "Urbanisation and Population Redistribution in Japan" in Pattern of Urbanisation : Comparative Country Studies, Goldstein, Sidney and Sly, David F. (ed.) Ordina' Editions, Dolhain, Belgium, pp. 433-463.

Population in Japan has passed through three demographic phases. In the first phase, sharp population growth occurred in a few years following defeat of Japan. This was the result of the repatriation of 6.2 million people and the baby boom, which averaged 2.7 million births annually. In the second phase, encompassing the short span of ten years after the baby boom. The third was characterized by dramatic internal migration.

After World War II, Japan's population responded to economic and social changes. The variation of the dynamic aspects of the population was of a greater amplitude than that of the economic and social conditions, being so drastic that they gave rise to new economic and social problems. The example of this can be seen in the case of internal migration.

Internal migration has been described as being a necessary element of normal population adjustment and equilibrium[3]. It is the macro - product of the individual's reaction to economic and social changes. Therefore, internal migration should lead to a more balanced population distribution with respect to regional distribution of and regional differences in levels of living[4]. It is important that the possibility of change in the form of internal

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[3] Bogue, Donald J. (1959), "Internal Migration" in The Study of Population, Hauser, P. M. and Duncan, O. D. (eds.), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 487.

[4] Tachi, Minoru (1963), Regional Distribution of Income and Internal Migration, University of Hitotsubashi Press, Tokyo.

migration, from a simple "single - channel migration" to the more complicated "multi - channel migration " as society becomes more highly developed.

The total number of migrants in Japan continued increasing upto 1971. However, after reaching a peak of 8.36 million migrants in 1971, a decreasing trend seems to have started. Only 8.23 million migrants were enumerated in 1972, and 8.28 million migrants were in 1973[5]. This decline of migration was the first phenomenon in the postwar history of migration.

One of the demographic changes that internal migration patterns reflected a wider choice of occupations in the 1970's. As a result, migratory movements in the 1970s were different from those of the 1960s. In fact, internal migration in the 1960s was dominated by spatial moves from rural places to cities for changing from agricultural to non - agricultural jobs. Economic growth which had started in 1950s, caused an accelerating increase in employment opportunities in the major cities. Many underemployed people who had been forced to remain in rural communities came into the cities with hope of rising their level of living. The basic idea of migrants was that once they managed to get into a city, he would be able to lead a better life. The main stream of such spatial

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[5] Bureau of Statistics, <u>Report on Internal Migration Derived from the Basic Residents Registers 1955-1973</u>, Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo.

movement were from rural areas to the metropolitan cities like Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya.

The internal migration of the 1970s had different nature. It may be characterized as a spatial movement for selecting a place of residence and a social movement aimed choosing occupations in the non-agricultural sector of the economy. Whereas the basic motive underlying the earlier movement was satisfaction of personal desires for a better income and level of living, that behind more recent one seems to be gratification of personal wants pertaining to residential environment. Social and cultural ambitions also play a role, but they are not serious obstacles in selecting a place of residence. They choose a location where is bound to be expanded on account of developments in the mass media and other facilities for communication and transportation. The changing outlook on life and corresponding change in the value system.

Generally speaking, Japanese urbanization has not been a matter of just packing more and more people into the existing urban areas which in some way have been redeveloped, but it is rather the result of cities expanding into what were once rural areas. One might say that the growth of cities has made the Japanese society as an urban society. Overflowing urban energies have affected all the rural areas in Japan, not only those which are in the proximity of the cities. But it brought a general urbanization of Japanese

life[6]. Urbanization being used here in the same way as Wirth[7] stated that something that can pervade a whole society. And it relates closely, of course, to the trends toward mass society.

Why did people migrate into Tokyo Metropolitan Area? There were three major categories of reasons[8]. The most common motivations revolved about the quality of the environment 36.2 percent and among those the dominant reason for migration was to get better housing. Familial movements were stated by 30.2 percent. Marriage was most prominent in this category as a reason for movement although this was four times more characteristic of women than men. The third broad category included reasons having to do with occupation and this category was quite important for men. In this survey it was also asked whether they wished to continue living in the urban centre. One fourth were not certain, well over half wished to remain and only one forth wanted to move out of the city.

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[6] Fukutake, Tadashi (1982), Japanese Social Structure : Its Evolution in the Modern Century, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

[7] Wirth, Louis (1938), 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', in American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44.

[8] Institute of Population Problems (1972), Survey on Distributional Change of Population and Regional Economy 1971, Institute of Population Problems, Tokyo.

In another survey[9], a question on satisfaction with residence was included. According to the findings of this survey, the equal number (28.8 %) expressed a wish to move out than to continue living at their present house. But, among young adults living in the Tokyo Metropolis and in six large cities, 39 percent of people wished to move out and only 21 percent of people wanted to continue to live at their present places. Ronald Dore[10] has drawn attention that in case of Japan, the new migrants hardly had the adapting problems to urban life. He suggests that one reason might have been the existence of neighbourhoods and ward associations in Japanese urban cities, which functioned somewhat like villages and could absorb the immigrants with fewer problems of dislocation. His observation has shown the nature of the urban centres in Japan.

Tokyo as a 30-Million Supercity

In 1990, the Tokyo Region has well over 30 million people within its commuter zone. Being by far the largest centre of all urban functions in Japan, Tokyo is fundamentally supported by the nation's economy as a whole, more than a half of all large corporations have their head offices here, besides, there are

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[9] A National Sample Survey (1970), <u>Survey on the Feeling of Solidarity of Young Adults</u>, Office of the Prime Minister, Tokyo.

[10] Dore, Ronald (1958), <u>City Life in Japan</u>, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

offices of a great many foreign multinational companies. City Osaka was the pivot of Japanese commercial activities for a long time, but now Tokyo is said to be prominent even in this field. Tokyo now ranks at the top in the hierarchical urban system in Japan[11]. Its recent growth as an international financial centre has been tremendous. Shifting of some of Osaka's financial functions to Tokyo has accelerated this trend, too. As of March 1990, Tokyo's financial capacity actually handled slightly surpasses that of New York. In this respect, Tokyo resembles a financial Singapore without natural resources, but the two are basically different in population and domestic market. The population of 30 millions can imply that it is the size of a medium population country, and this large population is characterized by one of the highest per-capita incomes in the world.

The 30 million people live in two types of residences. The majority, about 70 percent of people live in detached houses, often with small yards or gardens. The remaining 30 percent are housed in various types and size of multiple dwelling, some of which are high-rise condominiums. Preference for detached houses is still held by the majority, but there is gradual change in desired habitat to collective dwelling in the Tokyo region. Very spacious suburban or urban neighbourhoods are practically non-existent.

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[11] Yamaguchi, T. (1985), <u>Sekai no Toshi System</u> (Urban Systems in the World), Kokon-Shoin, Tokyo.

Illegal squatters which abounded 40 years ago have also disappeared from the scene.

Basically, Tokyo is a city of tertiary industries. But this does not deny the fact that Tokyo still is one of the most important manufacturing city. All sorts of manufacturing industries are to be seen, especially along the bay coast and in outer suburbs. Tokyo Bay landfills are full of modern large factories and transport storehouse facilities for an almost consecutive length of 100 km[12]. Inland areas also have attracted a large number of large and small factories.

Development of quaternary industries[13] such as information-related one is another significant feature of Tokyo. All sorts of designers, producers, consultants, leisure-makers, planners, publishers, or the like find their work place here. Most of these enterprises are of a small size and are concentrated in particular area in Tokyo, like Aoyama-Harajuku area in Shibuya-ku. Boutiques, cozy restaurants and fancy shops in this area and around Shibuya station attract a great many young people day and night.

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[12] Masai, Y. (1965), <u>Atlas Tokyo</u>, Heibonsha, Tokyo.

[13] Quaternary industry means here the knowledge industry which produces knowledge, and provide it to the market. There are five kinds of the knowledge industries as education, research and development, communication media, information machine and information service.

This kind of service industry development is related to the quaternary industries developing here[14].

Increase of Daily Migration

The hard daily migration is now a serious urban problem, due to the outdated transport system. It is intensified by the increase in numbers of commuters, and by the prolongation of commuting distance, that is, due to the concentration of population in the large metropolitan area, the hike of the land price there and the modernization of life, leading to the separation of place of work from family residence.

The separation of place of work and family residence in Japan can be identified from two points of view. The first point is the change of the industrial structure through the development of secondary and tertiary industries. Farmers or peasants, who work and live in the same place, have decreased rapidly. In contrast, workers employed in modern industries, for whom the two places are separate, are increasing. This industrialization has deeply influenced the population in the suburbs of the large metropolitan area, where are referred to extended suburbs. The suburbs have been formed not through simple urbanization but through what is called metropolitization since 1970, which means that the suburbs of small

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[14] Cybriwsky, R. (1988), 'Shibuya Centre, Tokyo', Geographical Review Vol. 78-1.

surrounding cities and those of the large central city have become mixed into a sort of mosaic. Cities have been absorbed by large city, resulting in small shopping centres for it[15].

The second point is the change of social structure through modernization which is observed especially among small handicraft industries and small merchants. Through the decrease of workers working at home, family workers, and resident workers with board. That is, due to the separation of enterprise and family life not only the employees, but also their employers themselves have migrated to the suburbs, resulting in daily commuting to the city centre. As the residential function has moved away from the city centre, a type of regional functional specialization has been more intensified. Besides, Japanese city planning has encouraged this regional specialization so as to avoid the development of mixed districts of residential and industrial functions.

Commuting Distance

The principle reason for intensification of daily migration is first of all the separation of place of work and family residence, as discussed already. Another reason is the prolongation of commuting distance because of the extraordinary boom in land

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[15] Isomura, E., Ukai, S., Kawano, S.(ed.) (1971), <u>Toshi Keisei no Ronri to Jumin</u> (Logic of the Urban Development and Inhabitants), Tokyo University Press, Tokyo.

prices[16]. After 1950, the total population of the Tokyo

metropolitan area increased especially in the areas adjacent to the

city centre, forming a concentric belt, though the population was

decreasing in the city centre[17]. Since then this area of increase

has moved and expanded further outward, to reach municipalities

lying about 100 Km. from the metropolitan centre as of 1985, thus

forming an extended zone. At the same rate the zone of decrease has

grown out from the central wards into the new zone. (See Map 5)

Table 3-4: Population in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area Within
50 Km. from the City Centre   (1989)

Km.	Population (Thousand)	Rate of Increase per Year (%)
0-10	3,455	-1.8
10-20	8,189	0.6
20-30	6,112	1.4
30-40	6,576	1.6
40-50	4,281	1.8

Source : Ministry of Home Affairs, Zenkoku Jinko Setaisuhyo
Jinko Dotaihyo, (Statistics of Population and Household
in Japan), 1989.

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[16] Ono, Teruyuki, Evans, Reiko (1992), Toshi - Kaihatsu o
Kangaeru (Consideration of the Urban Development), Iwanami
-Shoten, Tokyo.

[17] Okuda, Michihiro (1993), Toshi to Chiiki no Bunmyaku o
Motomete (Inter-Relation Between Rural and Urban Centre),
Yushindo-Kobunsha, Tokyo.

It can be said that this population migration to the suburbs is mainly owing to the difficulty in obtaining residence near the city centre because of the rise of land prices[18]. Young people (15-25 years old) studying in college or high school in the provinces, immigrate into the peripheral wards of the new zone to work or to study at university, living in a small rented room or in a company dormitory. But young couples (25-35 years old) migrate from the peripheral wards toward the extended zone. Due to their insufficient income, they rent or buy homes at the margin of the area of increasing population, where land prices are still cheaper. Most public apartments have been constructed since 1955. Most large dormitory estates of more than 3,000 apartments have been constructed since 1960. Needless to say, these are the aim of many young couples. They live in municipalities furthest from the centre of Tokyo, because older people remain in the former new zone, where the land prices were cheaper at the time when they had constructed their houses. This phenomenon of the aging of residential districts is well known in Japan.

Couples who originally moved into rented apartments at the age of 25-35 will have to remove to houses further out in the suburbs as their children get older, or they must abandon the idea of house ownership, staying in an apartment in the new zone. In fact, recently 25-35 years old generation shows a greater increase

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[18] Inoue, Junichi, et al. (1990), _Tokyo, Sekai Toshika no Kozu_ (Tokyo Restructuring), Aoki-Shoten, Tokyo, p. 36.

in the new zone than in extended zone[19]. First of all, this is because the proportion of single people in this generation is rising. Second of all, because they are not able to buy a house even at the margin of Tokyo metropolitan area, which in terms of reasonable land prices, is located more than 100 Km. or 2 hours one way from the city centre. It is too far to commute.

Transport System in Tokyo

Another problem making the daily migration to Tokyo more serious is that the transport system is not well adapted to the increasing number of commuters for work or for school[20]. The high land prices have made the construction of the road network very difficult, and also the offices do not have enough space for parking cars. Thus, roads in Tokyo and near Tokyo are always crowded. Even when the subways or rail lines traverse the old urban core, it takes a long time to go to work because most of trains stop at each station on the way there. As we have seen, the daily migration is even more serious than it looks in Tokyo.

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[19] Nakagawa, S. (1989), Tokyo, Daitoshi-Ken no Nenreibetsu Kyoju Patan no Bunseki (Analysis of the Distribution of Inhabitants by Age in Tokyo Metropolitan Area), University of Tokyo, Tokyo.

[20] Yamaka, Seiji (1994), 'Daitoshi no Kamitsu to Kinko no Mondai' (Problems of the Urban Centre and the Suburbs), Chiri-Journal Vol. 13, No.9, Kokon-Shoin, Tokyo.

The problem of transport has affected the mentality of the inhabitants. They do not feel of being integrated as citizens of the core city. Because they belong to a sectoral urban area dominated by a new urban core through the transport network, rather than to the large metropolitan core of Tokyo itself. The migration sectors, controlled by each new urban core areas such as Shibuya or Ryogoku, have become more independent from the new migration zone to the old urban core.

The Old Zone

Many articles note that the old zone of Tokyo is divided into two districts, that is, 'Yamanote' and 'Shitamachi[21]'. For example, the ward of Chiyoda-ward includes the Koujimachi district, where many offices of large companies are found and the Kanda district where small merchants and artisans live. Each is located, respectively, in yamanote and shitamachi. As for its inhabitants, the night population was only 50,000 in 1985, but its daytime population is about one million[22].

The yamanote district was once the warriors' (samurai) residential area in the history. Now, the urban core of the

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[21] Both are in Japanese, Yamanote means the hilly residential sections of Tokyo, Shitamachi is the traditional shopping and entertainment districts.

[22] Statistics Bureau of Japan (1983), <u>Tsukin Tsugaku Jinko</u> (Commuting Population), Monograph, Series for the Census of 1980, No.6, Tokyo.

yamanote district is at present occupied by large buildings, representing the offices of ministries or of large companies. The inhabitants who already very few, have been shifting to the suburbs so massively that there are almost no residents left, according to the classic night population definition. The inhabitants of this district seems to consist only of night clerks or caretakers, who are generally employed by the owner of a building. They were not raised in the district and have very few children to send to school. In fact, many schools have closed down. The neighbourhood associations which are a feature of local life throughout Japan, are less active in central Tokyo, partly because migration out of the district makes the interested population very small.

Table 3-5: Changes in Demographic Data for Tokyo 0-10 Km. from the Centre. (In Thousands)

Year	Night Time Population	Day Time Population	Family Workers
1965	4,580	6,342	183
1970	4,284	6,476	168
1975	4,005	6,661	172
1980	3,753	6,614	172
1985	3,690	6,959	125

Source : Tanabe, Hiroshi (1990), 'The Inhabitants and the Citizens of Tokyo' in Geographical Review of Japan, Vol. 63, No.1, Tokyo, p. 126.

Though we can find an active and dynamic landscape in the urban core with plenty of workers in large buildings during the daytime, it is very difficult to say that this district has many inhabitants. In fact, though the population density by day in Chiyoda ward is 86,600/km square, the majority of the people in the streets consists of middle-aged male workers. Married middle-aged ladies with children are hardly to be found. Therefore, a family, here it means the fundamental cell of actual civilization, is exceptional in this district. It is also difficult to define a family, however we can point out in the data which shows population in the daytime of Chiyoda ward in 1980; there were 246 males to every 100 females, and only 2.2 percent of people were less than 15 years old[23].

As we have seen, it is not easy to describe a settlement in the urban centre, due to the limited number of families. However, it maybe possible that the urban core is a part of the city which does not always show typical urban characteristics. If a large earthquake or other catastrophe happened during the day in Tokyo, what would one million of the daytime population in the urban core do. They would be concerned first for their homes, not for Chiyoda ward, where is the work place. The urban core is not their home but also a place for other people or for their company. Generally, they don't request that the municipality of Chiyoda-ku should maintain

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[23] Statistics Bureau of Japan (1990), Toshi Bunrui (Classification of Cities), Monograph Series for the Census of 1985, No.3, Tokyo.

its roads or other facilities, not only because they have no right to vote for its administration, but also because they don't possess a sense of citizenship.

A recent remarkable phenomenon is the migration of patrons from the Shitamachi to the suburbs. These people possess some feeling of being inhabitants of Tokyo. Important reasons for this include the modernization of their life, that is , the separation of place of work and of family life, the abolition of sharing the same roof with their workers, and the reconstruction of their stores or factories into large office buildings. For instance, when a patron's family of four persons migrates to the suburbs, only one person, the patron himself commutes to work in the Shitamachi. Thus, both the day time population and night time population decrease together.

In the old zone, the night time population is decreasing everywhere not only within Yamanote, but also within Shitamachi. So that those who remain in the old zone are suffering from inconvenience of their daily lives. For example, primary schools have been closed because of insufficient numbers of children, while stores for vegetables and meat shops have also been closed because they do not have enough customers. The old zone, especially the urban core, is no more a place to live, but has become a simple place to work in a factory. Land prices have become too expensive for anyone to find enough space to live together as a family,

except those few who have lived there for a long time prior to the land price boom. Only the unmarried young can migrate hereto, living in small rooms as temporary transients[24]. David Kornhauser[25] introduce Tokyo metropolitan city in his book, that a typically urban Japanese would not necessarily live within one of the half-dozen or so giant cities, although he probably would be under a strong urban influence, and certainly his life would be especially influenced by Tokyo. The typical urban Japanese might not live within the limits of a major city at all, but might simply commute from a satellite settlement, often called a city for administrative purposes.

The New Zone and Extended Zone

Most commuters moving from the central 6 wards, that is, Chiyoda, Chuo, Minato, Shinjuku, Bunkyo and Shibuya ward, live in a zone located 10-30 km. from the city centre. This physical distance can be converted into the time distance of 30-60 minutes. Therefore, the distance of daily migration towards the centre of Tokyo from the new zone, that is, the suburbs is not so great. However, commuters from the extended zone live more than 70 km. from Tokyo. They are increasing clearly by absolute numbers and

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[24] Inoue, Junichi, et al. (1990), Tokyo, Sekai Toshika no Kozu, (Tokyo Restructuring), Aoki-Shoten, Tokyo.

[25] Kornhauser, David (1976), Japan : Geographical Background to Urban-Industrial Development, Longman Scientific & Technical, New York, p. 29.

also by the rate of population migration. They spend more than 2 hours to go to work, or even use the 'Shinkansen' (Bullet train), which was originally launched for transport between cities rather than between a city centre and its suburbs[26]. Consequently, people who live in the extended zone are not able to spend enough time with their families.

First we will examine the inhabitants in the zone 10-30 km. from the city centre, which can describes as a small belt or new zone. Because they account for about 60 percent of workers in the urban centre or in the old zone, it is natural that the inhabitants of this zone are to be seen very often in the streets of the urban centre. One of this group's characteristics is that households composed of one person comprise one-third of all households, though the figure is less than one sixth in the extended zone.

Most of them, coming from the provinces, are not yet married they are 15-30 years old and often are students. In fact, 11.6 percent of all households in the 10-20 km. belt have no workers. These people are interested in cultural facilities such as automatic laundry facilities, restaurants, supermarkets or video rental shops. As for their homes, the proportion of rented private

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[26] TANABE, H. (1978), 'Problems of the New Towns in Japan', in Geo Journal, 2-1.

houses is very high (40.0% for the 10-20 km. belt, 1985[27]). They are very often transient inhabitants who migrate to the suburbs when they get married. Generally they do not vote in elections, especially at the municipal level, which shows that they are not overly interested in urban politics. Some of the inhabitants in this district were rich enough to buy their house 20 years or more ago. They are generally composed of white collar workers. It is noteworthy that their intention to participate in the urban administration is strong enough for them to called true citizens. In case of people who do not live in Tokyo Prefecture, but in Saitama, Chiba or Kanagawa Prefecture, where locate next to Tokyo[28], and work in the urban core of Tokyo are not interested in urban administration or in elections at municipal level, but they criticize actively the administration of Tokyo Prefecture where they're working. However they have no right to participate in the politics or administration of central Tokyo through elections. Because their area in which they spend their lives, is spread widely over the metropolitan area, or because it is divided into two. That is, place of work and that of family, the place of work is often found out of the territory of the municipality where their family is living.

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[27] Statistics Bureau of Japan (1990), Toshi Bunrui, (Classification of Cities), Monograph Series for the Census of 1985, No.3, Tokyo.

[28] Yamaka, Seiji (1994), 'Daitoshi no Kamitsu to Kinko no Mondai' (Problems of the Urban Centre and the Suburbs), Chiri Journal, Vol. 13, No.9, Kokon-Shoin, Tokyo.

Besides the difference between the area in which they spend their lives and that of other members of their family. They cannot have a common place of work with other inhabitants of this zone. Though their area for living is relatively wide, and it does not cover the whole metropolitan area, but it is limited in an oval form with two axes for the places of work and of family. Tokyo has developed a large area that the metropolitan area can be divided into some sectoral urban areas which are dominated by new urban cores to which the inhabitants of the new zone belong. For instance, two merchants, living side by side in the suburbs, sometimes have quite different areas for living and different consciousness for their suburban municipality. This is especially true when one own a small store in the suburbs at works with his wife at home, while the other is employed by a large store and commutes to an urban centre far from his home. The former has a unified area for living, which is smaller than the sectorial urban area. Therefore he can have a consciousness of being an inhabitant of this suburban municipality rather than of the large metropolitan area. And he can share it with women, children and old people who stay at home during the daytime.

In fact, the new residential districts demonstrate a particular demographic structure of age and sex during the daytime. For example, in 1985, in the municipality of Fujimi-city about 30 km. north-west from Tokyo, the daytime population is only 68.9% of the night time population, and the male population is only 24,000

against 34,000 females, and 7,803 against 16,660 for 25-54 year old[29].

The life of commuters from the extended zone toward the old urban core is quite hard, because everyday they go to work in the city far from home[30]. If we add up their hours for work. Commuting and sleeping, how many hours are available for their family life? And how many minutes are left for them to have a conversation with their children? On the other hand, Tokyo is a remote city to the family as if it was a foreign city. Their wives who stay at home are more interested in the events at the local primary school or kindergarten, in the neighbourhood garbage collection, or in the opening hours of public facilities for culture and sport. These are typical problems inside in the municipality where they live. For wives, Tokyo is simply or place where their husbands earn some of the family's money.

The Tokyo metropolitan city is no longer a place for family life, but has become only a place of work, somewhat like a factory or agricultural field, receiving urban workers everyday. Though monumental buildings have been built, trees planted on the streets,

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[29] Statistics Bureau of Japan (1990), Toshi Bunrui, (Classification of Cities), Monograph Series for the Census of 1985, No.3, Tokyo.

[30] Inoue, Junichi, et al. (1990), Tokyo, Sekai Toshika no Kozu (Tokyo Restructuring), Aoki-Shoten, Tokyo.

or landscape. improvements made in the central city, the problem concerning the inhabitants remains.

The Family Structure in Japan

It is obvious that industrialization and urbanization, modernization and the impact of foreign idea have altered Japanese family structure to a considerable degree. It may be useful to know the functional interplay of various features of the Japanese family, one would expect industrialization and the change to affect the structure of the family in urban cities.

From the Tokugawa period until the end of World War II, the Japanese family system was governed by the concept of 'ie' (house), which followed the 'samurai' (warrior) ideal and was legally recognized even in the Meiji civil code. The ie was inherited by the oldest son, who continued to live after marriage in the same house with his father, who is a head of the ie, and his mother. Children whose jobs took them away from their birth places had to live apart from their ancestral homes. However, most oldest sons stayed at home, so that there were often two or three generations living in the same household. When younger son left the ie and established his own "branch" household, it became a nuclear family in form, but was

still bound through lineage to the main family he had left and would eventually become another extended family[31].

The average members of a household were five. This number was expected to decrease after the postwar revision of the civil code, which attempted to establish a legal basis for the nuclear family as a norm. However, there was no decrease in average family size throughout the period of economic recovery, it has started with the transition from recovery to growth. In 1955, the average household was 4.97 members about the same as before World War II. In 1960, it had decreased to 4.54, and by 1965, to 4.05. And in another ten years to 3.45, a decrease in two decades of 1.5 persons. A decline in the size of farm families, where the extended family system still survives, has resulted from fewer children born to such families and younger sons leaving the 'ie' early. But in city households, the recent trend for the oldest son also to set up a household apart from his parents after his marriage, is the main cause for a decrease in the size of urban families. Although nuclear families exceed 60 percent, but it does not mean that all of them are genuinely nuclear. It is because many are only transitionally nuclear families and may become direct lineage families, with the married children living under the same roof or even another house in the same land. Nevertheless, the Japanese family has changed its structure in the postwar period, and it is common to describe this

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[31] Fukutake, Tadashi (1974), Japanese Society Today, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

tendency as the nuclearization of the family. Also the lineal family, with the passage of time, and with the steady decrease in the proportion of family enterprises, had faded as a social form. We can find the weakening of family status as the example of the change of the family system.

The decline in consciousness of family status is linked to the diminished authority of the household, once the representative of the 'ie' and leader of the family. After World War II,

The term "head of the family", was abolished by law, and a new husband-and-wife family register is set up. As a matter of law, this meant the rejection of the old direct lineage family system and the adoption of the one-married-couple system based on the nuclear family. These new laws symbolized a revolution in Japanese family life[32]. Today a half century after the term of house head disappeared from the status, Japanese family have generally ceased to be authoritarian families. The change in terminology has reflected a crumbling of the preeminence of the patriarch, of the father, and of men in general. In the change from a male-dominated family based on the parent-child relationship to one based on marital relationship and predicted on the principle of sexual equality, there has been a general rise in the position of women.

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[32] Dore, Ronald (1958), City Life in Japan : A Study of a Tokyo Ward, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

A factor that seems to have been important in the disintegration is a decline in the ie-consciousness. A sense of family status was especially tenacious in the relatively fixed, unchanging society of the rural areas, but in the cities, it had started losing its grip. Consciousness of family status did not disappear in the rural areas but in urban centre there is the tendency as one's economic position rises, one's family status also can easily rise comparatively in the rural area. In modern Japanese consciousness of family status hierarchy persisted while the barriers between classes become weak, and a rise in economic level was directly connected with a rise in family status and social position. However, in the urban centre, the consciousness of family status grew much weaker after World War II.

Marriage has also changed in Japan. Before World War II, a woman married in the best interest of her 'ie' and was described as elder son's wife, and indeed expected to be a daughter-in-law to her new family more than being wife of her husband. Now, far more importance is placed on understanding between the marital partners themselves, and this alone counts as a tremendous change. Even today, more marriages are made by arranged meeting than love marriage in the rural areas, but it is the usual practice for the arranged marriage to be followed by a period of dating after the engagement is made. There is an enormous difference from the days when it was not uncommon for husband and wife to speak to each other for the first time after the Wedding ceremony. These tendencies are

the same in India. Though it is not common practice in the Indian

rural areas that they meet and talk before marriage, in the urban

centres, it is quite usual.

As having been mentioned, in the cities it is considered

preferable for a newly married couple to live apart from their

parents. For example, an upper class family, even if there is a room

in the same house for the new couple, may have a new house built

instead of living in the same house or because of the high price of

land, it is common for the parents to build new house on their own

lot for the couple. Middle and lower class families ordinarily do

not have this much fund to assure their independence, so that they

often live apart from their parents in rented rooms.

The trend toward the nuclear family is accelerated by these changes.

In rural areas, it is still considered normal for an

inheriting eldest son and his wife to live with the son's parents,

and the family enterprises in the cities, too. It is needed enough

space in the parental home to live together. But even in such cases

the family life cycle differs from the prewar pattern[33], and actual

modes of living have changed. And although the shortage of housing

during the postwar, the still endemic conditions of cramped housing

often impose space limits on the possibility of two married couples

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[33] Morioka, Kiyomi (1973), Kazoku Shuki-Ron, (The Theory of
Family Cycle), Baifu-Kan, Tokyo.

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living together. And this factor must be promoting the nuclearization of the family in the urban centres.

However, the consciousness of Japanese people towards the 'ie' system has not changed yet. According to the survey carried out by the Prime Minister's Office in 1955, 40 percent of people think that the eldest son should carry on the family and look after his parents. Even twenty years later, a number of opinion surveys have found about 35 percent of people think in this way[34]. Though it seems that the prewar 'ie' system has largely disintegrated, its system still survives in this core idea.

However, even if the 'ie' system survives to some extent, the extended family ties which bound households in the kinship groups have been notably weakened. Instead of this, the ties of personal blood relationships, which were formerly hidden under the relations of stem and branch families, have come to the surface[35]. Personal ties between close and intimate relatives, meeting on a footing of equality and unconcerned about main or branch, relationships or the nature of cousin ships have become the predominant form of kin ties in Japan. So that, they do not impose

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[34] NHK Hoso Yoron Chosajo (NHK Public Opinion Research Institute) (ed.) (1975), Zusetsu Sengo Yoronshi, (An Illustrated History of Public Opinion Since the War), Nippon Hoso Shuppan Kyokai, Tokyo.

[35] Fukutake, Tadashi (1982), Japanese Social Structure, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

any of the constraints that the old extended family ties did before the war. This is particularly true of the families of wage or salary employees which have reinforced their independent character.

At the same time, there is a great increase in the participation of individuals in non-kinship groupings. Time spent in school, time spent in factories would all formerly have been spent within family. In so far as continuity of personal interaction is an important element in maintaining the strength of effectual relationships between family members, this would tend to have the effect of weakening family bonds. However, interestingly, Japanese society has tended to a high degree to order the structure of non-kinship groupings on family lines, using pseudo-kinship terms for positions in the group and allocating power responsibility and reward on the basis of relative age and seniority[36]

Dore[37] found out in his survey of Shitayama-cho in Tokyo, that the household in Tokyo was further the urban trends towards a small average household size, a smaller proportion of three-generation household, a smaller proportion of children, and a larger proportion of lodgers and employees unrelated to the families with which they are living. In his survey, first of all, he observes that individuals coming from the rural areas to Tokyo metropolis for work

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[36] Dore, Ronald (1958), <u>City Life in Japan : A Study of a Tokyo Ward</u>, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles.

[37] Dore, Ronald (1958), Ibid.

or study are more likely to seek accommodation with their relatives. However, in case of distant, their relationship is more impersonal and contractual. A further aspect of the general tendency is to confine social relations as far as possible to family or pseudo-family relations. Second of all. There is a slight tendency among collateral relatives to be found more frequently in the three generation families than in the small conjugal families. This may have something to do with house size, but it may also be the outcome of differences in the structure of family relations. One would expect the effectual bonds between members of the small conjugal family to be stronger than those between members of these three-generation families. Both because it is smaller in size so that interaction is concentrated within a smaller number of people, and because within it the relations most prone to produce strong effectual links like husband-wife, parent-child predominate. The child has only its own mother to look for love and attention, not additional grandmothers and aunts. The wife is used to having only her husband to get along with, not his brothers and his father as well. In the three-generation family has more varied relationship. One would expect a newcomer from outside to be more easily absorbed and to be less likely to be felt as an intruder than in the smaller, more tightly knit and more emotionally integrated conjugal family group.

In the Japanese urban cities, the notion of the transcendental unity of the family group across the generations is

already weakened and that the honour and the interest of the family in this sense has ceased for most people to be a value of any motivating importance. Despite the diminished importance of the transcendental family, the identity of the transcendental family, the identity of the individual can still be merged into the household to which he belongs. It is possible for transactions between individuals to be viewed primarily as transactions between households and for obligation for favours opinions as well as status, religious affiliation and politics. To appertain not to the individual but to the family group. Attitudes of collectivity-orientation can still survive in a new form.

Neighbourhoods in the Urban Centres

Despite the working of all those forces which tend to make the city life anonymous such as the rapidity of residential changes, the increase in secondary contacts, the tendency for the man's primary contacts to develop on occupational lines and to be independent of territorial propinquity, the housewives do frequently develop with their neighbours relationship of a degree of intimacy which is usually associated with village[38]. The fact that many of them were brought up in small settled communities in which close relations between neighbours prevail is one obvious reason for this. Equally relevant is the fact that the settled town

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[38] Vogel, Ezra F. (1968), _Japan's New Middle Class_, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles.

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of the Edo period developed a formal etiquette of neighbour relations resembling that of the village and thus provided a model for urban living, a basis on which new immigrants could be absorbed, and a framework in which neighbour relations could grow. Increasing occupational differentiation and the removal of male productive activities from the family has meant that men play an increasingly small part in the life of the neighbourhood such as the city festivals.

There is still enough community sentiment in many wards in the metropolitan cities like Tokyo. These associations have been revived spontaneously since World War II. One obvious condition for their revival was the existence of a traditional model for their organization. Another is the inadequacy of the borough and metropolitan services in the matter street-lighting, etc. And a third is the existence of a not insignificant proportion of self-employed workers who spent their working time within the ward. In the more exclusively salaried man wards of the Yamanote districts, the revival of ward associations seems to be much slower, and already in large parts of Tokyo there appears to be little livelihood of their being re-formed unless there is positive official encouragement again. It seems that as city administration becomes more complete in its coverage, and as industrial development reduces the number of self-employed workers, the mere momentum of established institutions will not be enough to prevent the ward associations from disappearing. On the other hand, many

people in the urban centres develop informal ties with their neighbours which are of emotional and material value to them. The insecure new immigrants from the other places, faced with the emotional shock of the death of a child or a husband, may find great comfort in the assurance of help from neighbours and even from the formal gesture of a ward official's visit. Though attenuated, some sense of belonging to the ward, annually stimulated by the gaiety of the two-day festival celebrations, may enrich the lives of some people and help to counteract the generally deplored psychological effects of the increasing atomization and depersonalization of city life.

CHAPTER IV

Urban Problems in India and Japan

We have already discussed about the metropolitan cities in India and Japan and their life styles. In this Chapter, we will focus specially on the major problems in the metropolitan cities of India and Japan. Now, to begin with a simple observation about the characteristics of urban problems of both the countries, and examine their problems which people in the urban centres have.

Characteristics of Urban Problems in India and Japan

Just as many of the rural problems are the result of isolation and scattered living, most of the urban problems spring from concentration of population, as we have seen in Chapter II. In India, slums, unemployment, crimes, delinquencies, begging, corruption, drug abuse, pollution, etc. are all urban problems which are generally the result of intolerable living conditions in towns and cities. In a village, each man is known to the others that his misdeeds are noticed and talked about. In a city, however, the crowded conditions make for anonymity. Most people in urban areas live without social pressures which tends to increase the rate of social deviance[1]. Besides, the interdependence in the

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[1] Ahuja, Ram (1992), <u>Social Problems in India</u>, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

city life is so high that the failure of even one smaller but essential part renders the other parts inoperative. These examples are, strikes by scavengers, transport workers, employees of the State Electricity Board, workers of water-works or by shopkeepers.

Also in India, density of population and people's apathy to other persons' problems, including neighbours' problems are growing out of city life. Some homes are so overcrowded that five to six persons live in one room. Some urban centres are extremely overcrowded. This has deleterious effects. It encourages deviant behaviour as I have mentioned, spreads diseases, and creates conditions for mental illness, alcoholism, and riots. One effect of dense urban living is people's apathy and indifference. People who live in urban areas basically do not want to get involved in other's affairs. There is more possibility in urban areas to be involved in accidents, molestations, assaults, abductions, and even murderers while others merely stand by and watch. However, urban problems are endless and crucial in India; major problems are concentration of population, slums and housing, transportation and traffic, and pollution.

In Japan, urban problems like poverty, slums and unemployment were mainly before the World War II. Urban poor and slums were related to migrants from rural areas who came to urban areas to get temporary jobs and supposed to send money to their family. Some of them didn't send money to their family anymore and

also didn't go home, either. They dropped out from the society and started living in slums without informing anybody, even their own family[2]. After the World War II, there were such urban problems as slums, prostitution, daily employment, mental disorder, war widows, suicides, vagabonds, flesh traffic, etc[3].

Since 1960s, during the economic development in Japan, the structure of urban problems has been changing. As I have mentioned in Chapter III, people have started shifting to the suburbs and there exists these urban problems like housing, land, water supply, transportation and social environment. On the other hand, urban centres suffer from the remarkable decrease of population. Though the concentration of population is a problem in Indian metropolitan cities, the decrease of population is a problem in Japanese metropolitan cities. But as I have already discussed the population problems fully in earlier parts of this paper and need only briefly review of them in this chapter. And because of the decrease of population, there is the tendency for advanced age and new kind of urban problems. Nowadays, Japan also has both a legal and an illegal foreign work-force and it becomes problem how to share their living space. Now we are going to examine this urban problems in India and Japan.

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[2] Yokoyama, Gennosuke (1899), Nihon Kaso Shakai (Society for Lower Class in Japan), Iwanami-Bunko, Tokyo.

[3] Isomura, Eiichi (1953), Toshi Shakaigaku (Urban Sociology), Yui-Kaku, Tokyo.

Housing and Slums in India

According to 1971 census[4], urban population in India was 109.1 million forming 19.9 percent of the total population. And there has been a more than four-fold increase in a span of seven decades ending 1971 in the urban population in India. However Kingsley Davis[5] points out that the average population increase of five major Indian cities, that is Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Bangalore, declined from 52 percent between 1941-51 to 33 percent, 1951-1961. These figures have been challenged by Jakobson and Prakash[6] who state that a major change in the census definition of urban for the 1951-61 decade may have meant a higher growth rate for this decline in rate of growth has been experienced by many other cities that underwent spectacular growth during World War II. It certainly does not indicate a numerical decrease[7].

There are two basic factors for this urban population growth. One is the growth of urban economy and another is mobility of population from rural areas to urban centres. The latter example is that the lower and middle class farmers are forced to send their

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[4] United Nations (1971), Demographic Year Book, New York.

[5] Davis, Kingsley (1962), 'Urbanisation in India : Past and Future' in India's Urban Future, Turner, Roy (ed.), University of California, Berkeley.

[6] Jakobson, Leo and Prakash, Ved (1967), 'Urbanization and Regional Planning in India' in Urban Affairs, March 1967.

[7] United Nations (1971), Demographic Year Book, New York.

sons and brothers to the urban areas to find new sources of livelihood because the rural economic distress does not effect all farmers equally[8]. In most of urban centres in India, urban services and amenities, living conditions and the environment are already woefully, deficient. The problem of additional influx of population into urban areas every year makes the matters more difficult. The foremost problem of those urban areas faces shortage in housing and resulting squatting on public lands, uncontrolled settlements just like slums and increased densities in built up areas. Housing shortage in urban areas was about 2.8 million units in 1951 which rose to 9.3 million units in 1961 and over 12 million units in 1971. Housing people in urban areas or abolishing houselessness is a serious problem. Government, industrialists, contractors and landlords have not been able to keep pace with the housing needs of especially the poor and the middle class people.

The recent UNI report[9] shows that between one-fourth and half of the urban population in India's metropolitan cities lives in makeshift shelters and slums. At least 15 percent of families in India are deprived from housing, more than 60 percent of the houses have inadequate electricity and air facilities, and 80 percent of the rural and 30 percent of urban population live in mud-houses. Millions of people are required to pay excessive rent beyond their

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[8] Ahuja, Ram (1992), Social Problems in India, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

[9] The Hindustan Times, 9th May, 1988, New Delhi.

means. And this is a serious problem that private developers find little profit in building houses in urban areas for the poor and the lower middle class people, though they concentrate in meeting the housing needs of the rich and the upper-middle class. As a result, it causes higher rents and a scramble for the few available houses. Almost half of the population are either ill-housed or pay more than 20 percent of their incomes on rent.

It is true that the Housing Boards and the City Development Authorities have tried to remedy the city housing problem with active financial support from the Life Insurance Corporation, HUDCO and such other agencies on state basis[10]. But the engineers and contractors get much profit from these government efforts. They use poor quality material in construction and finish the houses contravening the laid down specifications. The housing problem in the urban centres even today continues to be a gigantic problem.

The estimated shortage of houses at the beginning of the Seventh Plan was about 25 million units, out of which about 6 million were required for the urban areas. In Delhi, population increased from 2 million to 9 million between 1957 and 1990. It means there is an addition of 60,000 people each year who need new housing. According to UNI report, in Delhi, 70 percent of the population lives in substandard conditions. With the Indian slum

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[10] Ahuja, Ram (1992), Social Problems in India, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

population standing at nearly 40 million in 1990, slum dwellers form 44 percent of the population in Delhi, 45 percent in Bombay, 42 percent in Calcutta and 39 percent in Madras. The situation is no better in the eight other metropolises of Bangalore, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Pune, Nagpur, Lucknow and Jaipur[11]. The problem of slums in India is cast on an epic scale as I have mentioned here.

Bharat Sevak Samaj[12] found that the average density of population for Old Delhi is between 400 to 600 persons per acre and in some of its areas the density is even as high as 1100 per acre or 704,000 per square miles. Also, in other cities of India, the population is increasing at an alarming pace. Millions are living in self-built homes on illegally occupied lands. These settlements accommodate 5.52 lakhs of inhabitants comprising about 60 percent of rural migrants of the urban city. Excluding refugee workers, who came from foreign countries, they house 31 percent of the migrant workers of urban Delhi. 72 percent of those earning Rs. 3,000 or less per annum in the city live in spontaneous settlements[13].

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[11] The Hindustan Times, 9th May, 1988, New Delhi.

[12] Bharat Sevak Samaj (1958), Slums of Old Delhi : Report of the Socio-Economic Survey of the Slum Dwellers of Old Delhi City, ATMA RAM & SONS, DELHI.

[13] Majumdar, Tapan K. (1983), 'The Urban Poor and Social Change : A Study of Squatter Settlements in Delhi' in The Indian City, De Souza, Alfred (ed.), Manohar, New Delhi.

Ashish Bose[14] has pointed out the process of urbanization has been essentially a process of migration to the city. The urban cities have attracted the largest numbers of migrants from the rural areas, because they can offer a wide range of employment opportunities there, which require various degrees of skill. And what is more important is that the big cities can provide employment to rural migrants who are unskilled and illiterate. The primary reason for rural-urban migration is economic and the rural poor migrates to the cities to seek employment rather than better employment opportunities[15].

However, most of them are facing the difficult conditions under which they have to survive in the slums and squatter settlements of the city. People who live in squatters don't have such basic facilities as water, nutrition, health care, housing, education and environmental sanitation. There are open drains and poorly maintained public latrines that posed serious health hazards, inadequate water supply and no street lighting. The ecological characteristics of slums are highly visible and have received wide publicity and attracted hostile reaction from town planners, government official and administrators. But we should not

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[14] Bose, Ashish (1977), 'India : The Urban Context', in India Since Independence, Dube, S. C. (ed.), Vikas, New Delhi, p. 106.

[15] Gore, M. S. (1970) Inmigrants and Neighbourhoods, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, p. 38.

forget that those slum dwellers are engaged in the regular productive work of the urban community[16].

The slum population, governmental efforts not withstanding, is expected to show a sizable increase by 2000, adding further to the housing problem and the squalor conditions. The order of development in squatter settlements is people, land, shelter and services. The people first select a locality which meets their social and economic needs. They build shelters and they wait for the services to move in over a period of time. Although the settlements fulfil the needs of the people, they violate city planning regulations. That's why it is believed that the current order of development ought to be land, people, shelter and services.

Today Government of India, apart from encouraging the poor for going in for low cost non-formal housing technologies, has formulated several plans and given many concessional opportunities to promote more and better housing. This includes contribution of Rs. 100 crores to the National Housing Bank, setting up a separate Social Security Fund with a corpus of Rs. 100 crore. The government has also established a National Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation for the upliftment of the downtrodden.

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[16] Bulsara, Jal F. (1970), Patterns of Social Life in Metropolitan Areas, Research Programmes Committee, Planning Commission, New Delhi.

Land Problem and Urban Poor in Japan

The land price in Japan are abnormally high by international standards. To take a simple example, the price of the total land area in the entire United States, which is twenty five times larger than that of Japan, is approximately the price of land in the twenty three wards of Tokyo,that is, the Central Tokyo, as of 1987. This means that surprisingly the land value of Tokyo's twenty three wards can purchase the entire United States. The price of Chiyoda Ward, which is one of these twenty three wards, can purchase the whole of Canada. The land price of Tokyo City proper is 53.5 times those in San Francisco and 96.2 times those in Los Angeles[17]. The land price in whole of Japan is almost a hundred times higher than that in the United States[18].

The "Land Problem" has always been a serious issue in Japan. The adverse effects of the high land prices are intensely reflected in the inferior housing conditions in large cities. Especially in the large metropolitan regions like Tokyo and Osaka, people are forced to live in small houses, which have been compared

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[17] Noguchi, Yukio (1992), 'Japan's Land Problem' in <u>Japanese Economic Studies</u>, Vol. 20, No.3, Spring, pp. 51-77.

[18] Watanabe, Yozo (1992), 'The New Phase of Japan's Land, Housing and Pollution Problems' in <u>Japanese Economic Studies</u>, Vol. 20, No.4, Summer, pp. 30-68.

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to 'rabbit hutches[19]', or else must endure exceedingly long commuting hours, which I have mentioned previously. Obviously the high land prices in Japan are due to the shortage of residential land supply relative to the demand for houses. The basic cause must be that the excessive population concentration in Tokyo region boosts the demand for residential land and that the deficiency in the social overhead investment depresses the supply of residential land. Another factor is the distortion created by the land tax system which inflates the land value in urban areas. In other words, because the land is so advantageous as an asset due to the tax system, the low-intensity-use lands, such as farm land or parking lots, are not converted into residential housing use, holding down the supply of residential land. A typical manifestation of this is the existence of much land that is used for such purposes as field despite the extensive social overhead investment and the need for development of residential land.

On addition, Noguchi[20] points out the reason why the land problem become serious. To understand this point, we need to distinguish the two economic functions of land. The first is as a productive factor in economic activities, such as lands for residential use, business and manufacturing plant use. This kind of

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[19] Kanemoto, Yoshitsugu (1991-92), 'Land Tax and Urban Land Supply' in *Japanese Economic Studies*, Vol. 20, No.2, Winter, pp. 53-93.

[20] Noguchi, Yukio (1992), 'Japan's Land Problem' in *Japanese Economic Studies*, Vol. 20, No.3, Spring, p. 54.

land use is the "flow" which is the service generated by the land. The other one is to preserve the purchasing power for the future just like bank deposits, bonds and stocks. In other words, the function as an asset. The issue here is the land as a "stock".

In spite of these aspects of the land such as the high cost of transaction the difficulty in making an objective valuation due to the strong element of individuality and the limitation in the ability to divide it into smaller parts, the land is used as an asset in Japan. The reason why, in Japan, land is used as an asset is that the rate of increase in land prices has been high in the postwar Japan, and the rate of return in the form of capital gains was extremely high. As a result, this incomparably high land price leads that the Japanese can only live in 'rabbit hutches'. Although such comments have been made for a long time, the situation has not improved. On the contrary, the land prices rose in an unprecedented manner in the late 1980, making the situation far worse and more serious. Most of the condominium in the hundred million yen range (around Rs. 3.6 crores). Even in the suburbs near Tokyo just as Chiba and Saitama prefectures, it costs more than sixty million yen, that is, more than 2.16 crore rupees.

The survey published by the Urban Area Development Association for the first half of 1989, shows that residential condominiums in Tokyo costs 15.6 times the average annual income of white-collar workers within the 10 kilometers of commuting area,

and 10.7 times that within the 10 to 20 kilometer range. Even those farther than the 60 kilometer range cost 8 times that amount[21]. Compared to 1988, these ratios doubled in one year, putting dream of owning homes farther away as each year passes.

Needless to say, since the condominium are expensive in urban areas and even suburbs, the residential home with land and a yard has become the dream of dreams. As part of the Tokyo metropolitan government's New Town development project for Tama City, forty five residential units on individual lots were offered sale with half the market price. For each of these units the average number of applicants was 746 with the most desirable unit attracting 4,707 would be purchasers. This experience made the metropolitan government change its plan and it decided not to build independent houses any more.

According to the Housing Demand Survey of the Metropolitan government (1988), an increasing number of people are changing their housing from their own houses to rented ones[22]. Because the average family uses more than one-third of its monthly income paying for housing. However, financial pressure is similar whether the home is rented or purchased, and quite often requires that the wife works either full or part-time for housing.

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[21] Watanabe, Yozo (1992), 'The New Phase of Japan's Land, Housing and Pollution Problems' in Japanese Economic Studies, Vol. 20, No.4, Summer, p. 31.

[22] Watanabe, Yozo (1992), Ibid. p. 31.

In the central metropolitan area, the number of apartments renting for 300,000 yen to 800,000 yen, that is, approximately one to three lakh rupees, per month it is increasing. Of course, ordinary Japanese citizens can hardly afford it. These apartments are built basically for the corporations and their top management, or foreign corporations and their mangers, whose numbers are increasing in the wave of economic globalization[23]. It seems the Japanese government has closed its eyes to suffering of the working citizens caused by high land prices and rents, which should be called the contemporary poverty. Japan is the only country in the industrialized world that gives so much priority to corporations in its land and housing policies, while ignoring the needs of the ordinary citizens.

Turning now to slums in Japan, I should mention here that slums in India and Japan seems quite different of its background, household and relations in the society. In India, slum is the common phenomenon and we can see them at the most of places, but it is going to disappear in Japan. A good place to start is to consider the case of urban poverty in Japan.

Japan is a large modern industrial society based on capitalism and can not escape having in its large cities its share of people living in what the majority of upstanding and respectable citizens consider substandard conditions. there exists inevitably

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[23] Watanabe, Yozo (1992), Ibid., p. 32.

a shady borderline between the respectable and unrespectable strata of society. But there is no doubt who is at the very bottom. There, people scarcely have enough to eat, and live in crowded, dirty housing, that is, sort of slum.

In case those people have a job, many of them collect waste materials like rags, metal scraps, waste paper and broken pieces of glass, thrown away in garbage cans. These materials can be sold for reclamation through industrial processing[24]. A disproportionately large number of the urban poor are unemployed and often do not have the minimum education required by Japanese law. But comparative to the Indian urban poor, we may say that the Japanese poor are quite educated. Illegal activities like prostitution and pickpocketing are also found in this stratum[25].

Family life in the sense of husband and wife living together with their children in the same house is not very common among those people. Usually, many urban poor live alone, although in their past, many have been married. Some of them are still legally married, but for one reason or another do not wish to lead a married life. Many are social failures by their own admission. They don't talk about their past precisely because they feel their

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[24] Taira, Koji (1968), 'Ragpickers and Community Development : "ant's villa" in Tokyo' in Industrial and Labour Relations Review, Vol. 22, pp. 3-19.

[25] Befu, Harumi (1971), Japan : An Anthropological Introduction, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Tokyo.

past is shameful. Starting out their life in the respectable stratum of society, they could not complete successfully and drifted down to their present existence. Perhaps because they do not have the perspective to analyze their situation objectively, there is on the whole a marked lack of the feeling that they have been victims of the social system. Instead of this, they individually account for their failure as being due to certain unfortunate accidents in their past, such as wartime dislocation, a long illness which has drained the family resources, the early death of the father, which means a lack of economic support for training and education, etc. Also partly because they observe their present circumstances as a result of their own failure rather than the fault of the system of society, many of them do not feel right in accepting public assistance, even though they may be forced to accept it. There is a deep-seated feeling that it is shameful to accept government money, like beggars, as they would say[26]. In this personal pride one sees that though downtrodden and poverty stricken, they may not completely have been lost in despair and hopelessness. The Japanese government provides financial assistance to households which it regards as being needy of livelihood protection. In 1968, 660,000 households involving 1,450,000 individuals, or 14.3 percent per 1000, were classified as needy and received government subsidies[27].

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[26] Befu, Harumi (1971), Ibid., p. 141.

[27] Ministry of Welfare (ed.) (1969), p. 330.

Oscar Lewis[28] has characterized the culture of poverty in terms of the relation of the slum subculture to the larger society, the internal features of the slum community, the nature of the family, and attitudes values, and character of the individual. We do not have an adequate description of the Japanese culture of poverty, although there are a great number of reports, some of a sociological nature and others merely of a descriptive sort. In these report, we recognize the disengagement of the poor from the majority of society caused by segregation, discrimination, suspicion and the like which Lewis describes. Chronic unemployment and under employment, low wages, lack of saving for emergencies, which are characteristics of the Indian culture of poverty, are also features of the Japanese counterpart.

Another aspect of urban poverty is that a number of households lacking the father-husband are receiving government assistance[29]. In Tokyo, 26.9 percent of households on government relief lacked the father-husband in 1964. However, only negligible percentage of these households without the father-husband has resulted from illegitimacy or desertion by the male, or even legal divorce. A great majority of them are the results of widowhood,

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[28] Lewis, Oscar (1966), 'Culture of Poverty' in Scientific American, 205, No.4, pp. 109-25.

[29] Mitsukawa, Harunori (1966), 'Kesson Kazoku', (Defective Family), in Kazoku Shakaigaku, (Family Sociology), Ohashi, Kaoru and Masuda, Kokichi (ed.), Kawashima-Shoten, Tokyo, pp. 215-218.

especially of women who lost their husbands in the World War II[30].
In fact, the cultural stigma attached to once-married females,
especially those with children, makes it more difficult for them to
remarry than once-married males. In addition, since women are not
as well as trained for high income occupations, they tend to take
low income jobs after losing their husbands. This often reduces a
woman to the lowest social level.

Traffic and Pollution in India

The average density of population in Old Delhi is between
400 and 600 persons per acre and in some of its areas it is as high
as 1100 per acre or more than 700,000 per square mile[31]. This may
be a world record. Urban population is increasing all over the
world and today world urban population is rocketing upwards at a
rate of 6.5 percent per year. In this condition, transportation and
traffic would be noteworthy in urban areas.

In all Indian cities however the transportation and traffic
are not adequate. A majority of the urban people use buses and
tempos, while a few use rail as transit system like in Bombay. The

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[30] Isomura, Eiichi (1956), 'Boshi Kazoku', (The Fatherless
Family), in Gendai Kazoku Kozo : Kazoku no Fuyo, (The
Structure of Modern Families : Family Support) Vol. 6,
Isomura, Eiichi, Kawashima, Takenori and Koyama, Takashi
(eds.), Kawade-Shobo, Tokyo, pp. 141-176.

[31] Bijlani, H. U. (1977), Urban Problems, Indian Institute
of Public Administration, New Delhi.

increasing number of scooters, motorcycles, mopeds and cars make the traffic problem worse. They pollute the air with smoke and noise. The number of buses plying in metropolitan cities like Delhi, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta is not adequate and commuters have to spend more than one hour to get into the bus, this means that they leaves home more than one hour in advance in the morning to reach their working place, and reach home at least after one hour in the evening. The one of the reasons for being in this mess is that the low income of the commuters forces them to live in areas with cheap accommodation which necessitates extensive travel[32]. Further, since those people can not afford to pay high fares for the use of a public transport system, the fares have to be kept low.

According to Bijlani's study, in Old Delhi, not more than five percent of the total ground area is covered by roads[33]. Compare this with Tokyo where about thirteen percent of the urban area is occupied by highways. The density of population and the space allocated for roads are two key parameters providing an indication and the size of traffic problem anywhere. On both these counts Old Delhi shows staggering statistics. As if this was not enough, matters are complicated further by factors like heterogenous traffic, encroachments on road space, highly

[32] Ahuja, Ram (1992), Social Problems in India, Rawat Publications, New Delhi.

[33] Bijlani, H. U. (1977), Urban Problems, Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, p. 50.

commercial land use, unauthorized factories and godowns, and a traffic management which is partly reluctant and partly inadequate to come to grips with the offenders.

In urban areas of India, there is a variety of different types of vehicles. The mixture of slow and fast moving vehicles such as cycles, cycle-rickshaws, hand and bullock-carts, wheel barrows, scooters, motor-cycles, auto-rickshaws, taxis, trucks buses, mini- buses, etc., produce difficulties of unprecedented scale in ensuring a smooth movement of traffic. This heterogeneous traffic is on most of the road in metropolitan cities except Central Bombay. It is very common sight in Old Delhi to find three or four types of vehicles overtaking each other simultaneously as permitted by their relative speeds, because the limited road space overtaking of slow vehicles is not always feasible. This leads to formation of long queues whenever a slow vehicle breaks down or stops for making and picking deliveries which is quite common in India. This situation is exacerbated when the offending vehicle is a bus or truck. Thus the traffic jams created last the best part of the day. A factor aggravating the position is the forced occupation of footpaths by stationary hawkers and of the carriages by vendors on wheels. In fact, sidewalks in Old Delhi are being hardly put to their legitimate use by pedestrians as these are encroached upon not only by hawkers but also for a multitude of other users such as parking of hand-carts, cycles and scooters, loading and unloading of goods and exhibition of merchandise by the abutting shopkeepers.

As a result, pedestrians are forced to spill out on the main carriage ways thereby reducing their capacity. Also the unprincipled parking on the roads reduces the manoeuvreing space for legitimate vehicle use.

However phenomenal rise in vehicle population in Delhi has been a contributor to enlarged interaction between the Old City and outer Delhi areas. Within two decades from 1950, the motor vehicle population has registered an increase from about 12,000 to 2,43,000. The latter figure is exclusive of slow moving vehicles like hand-carts which number about 12,000 and bicycles which are estimated to be over 6 lakhs. As number of cars has been increasing, number of people meet traffic accidents.

As they said that Pollution of Delhi is the worst two in the world, its problem is quite serious in comparison to other metropolitan cities in India. Increasing vehicles in urban areas are one of the factors which causes air pollution and noise pollution. Though the Delhi Government implemented its drive against vehicular pollution recently[34], but the people are facing several problems such as difficulty in breathing and sore eyes.

Today, man in his unquenching thirst for comforts, is so arrogantly misusing his environment that he is quite close to suffocating himself. The most widely talked about aspects of

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[34] THE TIMES OF INDIA, 21st June 1995.

pollution are those created by urbanization, industrialization and motorization. The excessive growth and rush of people from villages to urban areas, resulting in overcrowding of cities, rapid industrialization and urbanization have led to an increase in environmental pollutant load that poses a serious public health problem. in developing countries like India, poverty, inadequate food, ignorance and disease produce graver consequences. Between 75 and 90 percent of the people in India continue to use unsafe drinking water and the cities are often used as waste baskets in which the amount of refuse grows all the time. Refuse of all kinds including human excreta, dead animals and wastes, from slaughter houses attracts birds, flies, mosquitos, rodents, pigs and pickers, passing on hazardous germs of illness to man.

In India, these kinds of pollution menaces are still considered local problems[35], though we can find number of articles in newspaper regarding pollution in these days. The municipalities are called upon to take necessary action under various provisions made in their Acts. Pollution as such is not defined or dealt within these Acts but provisions to present various nuisances are aimed at combating pollution in local areas. Those provisions in the Municipal Acts are often vague and ineffective.

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[35] Bijlani, H. U. (1977), Ibid., p. 134.

Environmental Problems and the Citizen in Japan

The citizens of metropolitan cities enjoy many conveniences in their daily lives, as well as leisure time and cultural activities, supported by the growth and development of industry and transportation facilities. On the other hand, the pleasurableness of their daily lives may be impaired by insufficient naturalness of the environment and by environmental pollution in the form of noise, vibration, air pollution, and impaired water quality. Now I will begin with transport in the urban cities in Japan. In Japan about two-thirds of passenger traffic is transported by buses and cars. In 1990 there were some 60 million motor vehicles in Japan. This provided an average of one automobile per household. However traffic accidents have been growing and over 11,000 people were killed in 1989[36]. The ministry of Transport enforces strict, comprehensive and detailed standards for motor vehicles. Japanese cars must be fitted with catalytic converters and various safety equipment.

Japan has a good and wide network of buses both within cities and in the countryside. But Japanese road-building has been unable to keep up any more with the growth in traffic and most urban roads are overcrowded[37]. Traffic jams are endemic and in

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[36] Cortazzi, Sir Hugh (1993), Modern Japan : A Concise Survey, The Macmillan Press, London.

[37] Cortazzi, Sir Hugh (1993), Ibid., p. 145.

many places notices warn motorists that they face jams of many kilometres in length. In the metropolitan cities, surprisingly it is really time consuming to move by cars. In this reason, many people commute using public transports like trains and buses, avoiding going by car in spite of owning cars.

Railways are more convenient than any vehicles, as there are less chances of any traffic jam. Especially underground railways which Metropolitan cities like Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya have, are giving efficient railway services. These provide the most reliable method of travel within the metropolitan cities. Trams run frequently and are clean. Fares are quite reasonable and they are almost always well filled. However, they are overcrowded during the morning rush hour. Factors giving rise to environmental pollution increased rapidly after 1960, as a result of the increasing concentration of population and industry and rapid progress of motorization in business and private transport[38].

With the beginning of the period of rapid economic expansion starting around 1960, The industry in the Tokyo region grew spectacularly and centred around the development of heavy chemical industries in the Tokyo-Yokohama industrial belt. Tokyo's industrial output tripled between 1960 and 1970 and until 1971 was greater than that of any other prefectural unit. Though the number

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[38] Watanabe, Yozo (1992), 'The New Phase of Japan's Land, Housing and Pollution Problems' in Japanese Economic Studies, Vol. 20, No.4, Summer.

of small-scale factories has continued to increase, the growth in overall industrial output has slowed, and its relative weight within the Japanese economy is decreasing[39]. This is due to the trend for large and medium sized factories to locate or move outside Tokyo as result of rising land costs, pollution related changes in enterprises, social environments, and increasing legal restrictions on the location of large factories. So, a characteristic feature of Tokyo's manufacturing enterprises is the preponderant relative weight of small-scale factories.

In the meantime, various types of tertiary industries, that is, service and information industries, stores, banks and credit facilities, have shown notable development. After 1965, the centre of Japanese economic activity has moved to these tertiary industries and that there may be seen a continuing trend toward the increasing economic importance of the service sector. The development of these types of labour intensive enterprises has been a cause of Tokyo's great concentration of population. A further impetus to Tokyo's growth has been its concentration of government offices and of head offices carrying out the central managerial functions of the most part of Japanese largest business enterprises[40].

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[39] The Tokyo Metropolitan Government (1985), Protecting Tokyo's Environment, TMG Municipal Library No.19, Tokyo.

[40] Inoue, Junichi, et al. (1990), Tokyo, Sekai Toshika no Kozu, (Tokyo Restructuring), Aoki-Shoten, Tokyo.

Land-use regulations and urban facilities have not kept up with the rapid economic development. This means that the mixed residential and industrial neighbourhood, and inadequate sewers, parks and other public facilities for protecting the environment, have been a major factor in the aggravation of pollution problems.

The advance of motorization has brought about an enormous increase of automobile traffic. In Tokyo, there were approximately 610,000 automobiles and trucks in 1960, a number which grew to one million in 1964 and to two million just five years later in 1969. At the end of 1982, the number was 3.34 million[41].

As a reflection of changes in Tokyo's economy and society after 1960's, pollution problems rapidly turned into social problems. And for the most part increased in severity throughout the decade of the 1960's, reaching a sort of peak in 1969 and 1970 with a rapid succession of pollution, incidents such as lead pollution in Shinjuku Ward, and sore eyes, difficulty in breathing, and paralysis of hands and legs, due to photochemical smog, affecting pupils during outdoor activities at a high school in Suginami Ward of Tokyo[42]. With the growing sense of unease in the

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[41] The Tokyo Metropolitan Government (1985), Protecting Tokyo's Environment, TMG Municipal Library No. 19, Tokyo.

[42] Environment Agency Government of Japan (1992), Quality of the Environment in Japan, Planning Division Global Environment Department, Environment Agency, Tokyo.

face of a worsening environment, one saw a strengthened public consensus seeking stronger measures to control pollution.

Given these circumstances, government agencies have focused attention on the orderly strengthening of controls over pollution sources and have pushed forward various measures, including the concentration of factories within exclusively industrial areas and the building of urban facilities to dispose of sewage and solid wastes. Consequently, in comparison with the former situation, considerable improvement has been made with respect to such matters as air and water pollution and ground subsidence.

However, there are yet many unsolved problems, such as atmospheric pollution from nitrogen oxides, vibration and noise from automobiles, trains and aeroplanes, water pollution of smaller streams and the middle course of the Tama River, eutrophication of Tokyo Bay, and problems of neighbourhood noise emanating from snack bars and sort of. In addition, there are the problems of people being deprived of sunlight due to the construction of new buildings in densely built-up residential zones, problems of high velocity winds and impaired radio, T.V. reception due to high-rise buildings. Also such new problems as low-frequency, atmospheric vibrations various species of animals and plants are gradually disappearing from the metropolitan cities due to unorderly of the urbanized regions. For example, in 1935 four-fifth of the surface of Tokyo was forests and fields, but after 1960 green areas have

rapidly diminished in pace with urban growth. At present, forests and fields comprise one-third of the Tokyo[43]. The fact that the amount to greenery along streets and waterways with which the people can come into contact in their daily lives is inadequate, in the central Tokyo, combined with the fact that relatively unspoiled natural surroundings which remain suburbs are being lost, constitutes a big problem.

Environment has a deep connection not only with peoples' biological life and the health of their bodies, but also with their mental or spiritual health. The present states of environment of the metropolitan cities in Japan are such that still greater efforts will be needed in order to eliminate pollution and to secure the health of the population.

Migrants from Foreign Countries

A number of refugees who are mainly from Tibet, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and Afghanistan, live in India. Most of them are illegal immigrants and stay in the urban areas. Also in Japan, illegal immigration who live mostly in Tokyo is one of the social problems.

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[43] Inoue, Junichi, et al. (1990), <u>Tokyo, Sekai Toshika no Kozu</u>, (Tokyo Restructuring), Aoki-Shoten, Tokyo.

According to the United States Committee for Refugees (USCR), a number of 3.25 lakh refugees drawn from ten countries continue to live in India in 1994. There are 1,21,000 from Tibet, 1,04,000 from Sri Lanka, 48,000 from Bangladesh, 30,000 are Nepalese from Bhutan, and 22,150 from Afghanistan[44]. Among these refugees, a number of Tibetan and Sri Lankan refugees stay in India legally. But most of Bangladeshi refugees are illegal immigrants here. Take the example, the Delhi Police estimates that approximately 100,000 people from Bangladesh have come to Delhi, particularly in Nizamuddin, Shahdara, Seelampur and Jamuna Pusta where the Bangladeshis generally live in squalid slums[45]. In fact the correct figure of this number will be double that of the police's estimate. And the Delhi Police is making effort to send back those living illegally. But the authorities are realizing the near futility of an exercise which has succeed in sending back only 250 Bangladeshis. It is true that there is organized assistance in the form of food and temporary shelter for new arrivals, who are later helped to procure ration cards and bank accounts as proof of residence. Some of them have also been enrolled as voters, underlying the difficulties the police face in proving that they are aliens. Many of them are working as rag pickers, cobblers, junk men, and cycle rickshaw-pullers for a little. Also they are much sought after building contractors, particularly for roof-laying

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[44] The Times of India, 7th June, 1995, New Delhi.

[45] The Statesman, 15th March, 1992, New Delhi.

which requires a large number of hands, since they accept wage lower than those stipulated by labour laws.

In the case of Bombay, police says some 40,000 Bangladeshis live illegally[46]. These people are largely clustered in 22 areas of Bombay. They find job as domestic helps, constructions workers, cart pullers and in the prostitution and bar dancing industry. Bombay's Bangladeshis are anything but a homogeneous group. Bangladeshis first trickled into Bombay was in the middle of 1960s. After the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, some returned home but many stayed in Bombay. Over the next two decades, as Bangladesh grappled unequally with poverty, a growing section of it surplus manpower reached Bombay.

While Bangladeshis are found all over Bombay, two areas deserve special mention. These are Bangalipura at Antop Hill, Wadala, South-Central Bombay and Govandi, Trombay, east Bombay. They, the economic migrants have significant presence here and these are veritable Banglo-Indian enclaves. For example, Govandi is a sprawling conglomerate of slums. One can find here a collection of filthy habitations, hot and stuffy garment manufacturing units and open drains. It has what is called a mixed population, with Hindus and Muslims co-existing. However parochialism is quite deep. Religion alone is not enough to constitute a neighbourhood in this land of migrants. Many of Bombay's slums have regional sectors

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[46] The Hindustan Times, 4th June, 1995, New Delhi.

where only Maharashtrians from a certain village or district or Tamils from a particular part of Tamil Nadu live. Now migrants from these lands find sustenance and succour in these enclaves. Bangladeshis' slum is one of them. But it seems that many illegal immigrants came to Bombay before 1971 and their relation with Bangladesh are totally cut off. In Bombay, most Bangladeshi men are engaged in rag-picking, waste separation or scrap trade. Some have found employment as labourers in construction sites just like in Delhi. The women have almost uniformly found work as domestic maids.

Some sociologists observe that while immediate neighbours are sympathetic to Bangladeshis deprivation and troubles, the majority of Bombay's Muslims have no concern to shed for them. They consider them an embarrassment and want to be rid of this nuisance at the earliest. Because these muslims are angry as they are harassed due to the presence of these illegal immigrants. While Muslims have no sympathy with the Bangladeshis on religious grounds, Bengalis have even less of a bonding on linguistic ones. Most of middle class Bengalis live far away from these refugees' slums, and are not bothered about them. Even in the slums, the arrival of the Bangladeshis in the seventies caused tensions. Limited water, land scarcity and other attendant problems caused these Bangladeshis to be disliked by their neighbourhoods. Being poor, they are willing to work for low salaries. Thus the traditional slum dweller in Bombay looked upon Bangladeshis as

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competition for civic amenities and employment. Though government is making effort to send them back home, there exists thousands of Nepalese, Sri Lankans, Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, and Myanmarese in Bombay.

In Japan, since Japanese economy has been established, a number of foreigners are working illegally in Japan, mostly in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya. Typically, they have entered Japan on tourist visas and have overstayed their officially permitted time. Most recently, rapidly growing category has emerged, that is, arrivals by boat. Among certain nationality groups an increasing number of entrants with short-term visas are coming to work illegally. For example, in 1987 those were 360,000 Koreans entered and only 149,300 departed, 85,300 Philippine entered and only 57,600 went back. While the figures for Koreans have hovered around the 300,000 mark for the five years between 1983 and 1987, figures after 1988 show a distinct increase. Philippines entries is more than doubled from 48,000 in 1983 to 96,000 in 1990[47].

It is important to find out the indications for a growing illegal immigration through the overstaying of tourists visas. Estimates based on recorded entry and exit figures suggest that by 1991 there were about 280,000 illegal immigrants working in Japan. Almost all were from Asia, and the largest groups were from South

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[47] Ministry of Justice, <u>Japan : Annual Entries by Select Asian Nationalities and Purpose 1980-1991</u>, Ministry of Justice, Office of Immigration, Tokyo.

Korea, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand. And two thirds of Filipinos and majority of Thais were women because they were entertainers recruited for the sex industry.

The main change after the new law was a sharp decline in apprehensions of Bangladeshi and Pakistani in 1991. This coincides with a sharp fall in tourist entries from these two countries due to Japan's cancellation of its visa-exemption agreement. The most noted change was the sharp increase of Iranians, who seemed to have replaced the Bangladeshi and Pakistani as the most visible illegal population. Japan canceled its visa exemption agreement with Iran in 1992, as a result illegal overstays have dropped sharply[48]. But a new category of illegal entry that is growing fast is illegal boat landing. Other changes are the rapid increases of South Koreans, Thais and Malaysians. Except for the Philippines, Taiwan and Thailand are still the main countries for recruitment of women for the entertainment industry for men.

Morita[49] shows that over 80 percent of men apprehended from 1987 to 1990 held construction and factory jobs. Factories that employ illegal immigrants are in a broad range of branches as metal processing, plastic processing, printing and binding, press

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[48] Morita, Kiriro and Sassen, Sakia (1994), 'The New Illegal Immigration in Japan, 1980-1992' in International Migration Review, Vol. 28, Spring, Centre for Migration Studies, pp. 153-163.

[49] Morita, Kiriro (1994), Ibid.

operating, materials coating. Most illegal immigrants were found in medium size and small factories. However, these factories are a part of a wide subcontracting network of large Japanese firms.

Estimates about the evolution of illegal immigration for unskilled job vary considerably but all point to growing demand. Currently the largest shortages are in manufacturing, particularly small and medium size firms. As the current generation of Japanese employees in low skill service jobs retires and young highly educated Japanese reject these jobs, there may be a gradual acceptance of immigrant workers. It means the indications of structural changes in Japan that might facilitate the incorporation of immigrants including illegal immigrants in the labour market[50].

The Japanese Parliament recently approved several amendments to the law on the entry of aliens. This new law became effective in 1991. On the one hand, the amendments expand the number of job categories for foreign workers. On the other hand, it seek to strict and control the inflow of unskilled and semiskilled workers. For the first time, the law imposes sanctions on those employing and contracting illegal workers. However, this new law allows some unskilled labour in through the category of company trainees. It has become a vehicle to bring in low-wage foreign workers for unskilled routine jobs. Furthermore, this law also

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[50] Sassen, Saskia (1991), The Global City, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

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allows students of post-secondary institutions including language and vocational schools, to work for a limited number of hours per week. This provision has also become largely device to obtain workers for unskilled, low-paid jobs.

Enforcement of the new law appears to be checked. Apprehensions have risen, but so have the number of estimated illegal workers. There have been no large-scale deportation efforts, even though those immigrants tend to live in known residential concentrations[51]. Just a few hundred employers who employ illegal immigrants have received sanctions for knowingly hiring the illegals. Alongside weak enforcement of the new law, there appears to be a pattern of growing abuse of illegal immigrants by labour brokers and by immigration officers and police[52].

The new law is already being criticized because it does not address the labour shortage in unskilled, low-paying or undesirable jobs and pushes at least some employers either to risk sanctions for hiring illegal immigrants or to close their factories. These employers include not only small, backward factories, but also

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[51] Sassen, Saskia (1991), Ibid.

[52] Miyajima, Takashi (1993), <u>Gaikokujin Rodosha to Nihon Shakai</u>, (Foreign Workers and Japanese Society), Akashi -Shoten, Tokyo.

highly mechanized, technologically advanced factories[53]. The debate on immigration, as pointed out by Morita[54] is, originally conceived purely as a labour market issue, became a broader debate about the incorporation of foreigners in a homogeneous society. The possibility of ethnic conflict and of racism can no longer be overlooked.

As we have seen in this chapter, there exists a lot of urban problems in India and Japan. The concentration of population in the urban centres, is one of the typical problems all over the world, including India. Now Tokyo has another problem-decrease in population. It seems that this problem is the next stage of the increasing population though the population is still increasing in the other metropolitan cities in Japan. Even their working place is in Tokyo, people are shifting to the suburbs of Tokyo, because of the extremely high land prices in the Capital.
I think, this phenomenon may happen in Indian metropolitan cities in the future.

Migrants and immigrants are the main sources for the increasing population of an urban areas. In India, the slum dwellers have strong relationship with urban community, mainly through their jobs as their domestic servants, etc. It means the

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[53] Morita, Kiriro (1992), <u>Japan and the Problem of Foreign Workers</u>, Research Institute for the Japanese Economy, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

[54] Morita, Kiriro (1992), Ibid.

upper, middle class of urban dwellers need their help for their livelihood, on the other hand, those migrants and immigrants need a job. Their relationship is interdependent and thus those migrants become a part of the society. However, in the case of Japan, they are totally cut off from the society. Even usually they don't have any chance to have any relationship with the urban community. They themselves think that they are not a part of the society, and most of them are isolated from their own family. In India, many of the slum dwellers live with their family or relatives or persons from the same village. Though they live in the urban centres, their way of life, to some extent, is similar to their village life. They live in a particular place in the urban areas because of their accompanies or the convenient location for a job. They don't live there only because of poverty.

The living condition of immigrants in Indian urban centers is not so different from the other migrants from other places in India. It means they have the social contact with the urban community. But those who came to Japan illegally, their life in Japan, especially in Tokyo, is quite different. Ordinary people don't have any contact normally, except employers who badly need labours or employees who are working with them. It seems to me that in the Indian context, all of them are sharing their space for their livelihood though there exists a boundary for the poor and illegal immigrants in the urban centres of Japan.

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CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The characteristics of urbanization is the increase of population. Normally when industrialization takes place the influx of people starts migrating into the urban areas. Population of the metropolitan cities in India has kept on increasing rapidly following the characteristics of the urbanization like other developing countries. But, however, in the case of Japanese metropolitan cities such as Tokyo, there is a new phenomenon, that is, its population is gradually decreasing. But it doesn't mean that the urbanization process is over in Tokyo. However, because of another phenomenon i.e. the increase in the population of the Tokyo metropolis suburbs, the process of urbanization is still continuing. It shows that people have shifted to the surrounding areas because of the high real estate prices and shortage of housing and house spaces. As the people still work in the urban centres, they are forced to commute everyday from the suburbs to the working place. This commuting time has affected the life of urban people quite seriously. The same problem has started in Bombay metropolitan city where the land prices are on the rise. Here I will classify the model of Japanese urban inhabitant types according to the commuting time.

To understand urban inhabitants better, I will use two scales to classify them. The first scale is the degree of request to the municipal authority for administrative facilities or services. There are many claims and demands from inhabitants through petitions, demonstrations in the streets or other forms, asking for a kindergarten in the neighbourhood but without any noise; for more frequent garbage collection; for the construction of roads for better traffic as long as they do not pass too close, to the residential areas, or for a stop to plans to construct a new dumping ground, a new crematorium or a new sewage plant in the neighbourhood[1]. At the same time, there exist a large number of inhabitants who make no demands.

The second scale is the degree of participation in elections, in inhabitants' movements of all kinds and in demonstrations organized by the municipality or by other organizations of the district. The neighbourhood associations, called 'chonai-kai' or 'jichi-kai' in Japanese, originally developed from the local unit or group composed of five households at the beginning of the Edo period or from the basic organization of a settlement or district in the past, which united the inhabitant consciousness and activity as a member of the district. However, the households of single unmarried persons such as

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[1] Fukutake, Tadashi (1974), <u>Japanese Society Today</u>, University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo.

students and young workers in the modern larger cities are not always registered.

According to these two scales, we can propose a classification of urban inhabitants traditional, indifferent, claimant and modern types. It is natural that the model cannot show exactly the variety of existing inhabitants by the order of abstraction, but it is useful to understand the whole population of the immense city.

The inhabitants of the traditional type participate in urban activities, following a leader of the district or traditional customs, not only to realize their demands but also simply to resolve social obligations. These people are generally old and conservative, and do not fail to vote at elections. They are composed of patrons, workers and artisans in small stores or sometimes in domestic industries mostly found in the old zone, and of those still living in the rural society in the suburbs. And most of this type have lived there for many years and are very old. It seems that only they can maintain the traditional life, unifying the place of work and of family.

The inhabitants of the indifferent type are not interested in the city where they are living. They are conscious of being transient during their temporary stay, living in rented apartments or small rooms in the new zone. They usually do not vote,

especially at the municipal level, but are interested enough in the national level elections at moments of social crisis, generally supporting the various progressive parties.

The inhabitants of the claimant type are generally progressives, including socialists and communists, who want to realize their various demands to the municipality so as to improve the negative environment of urban life. They are very often young couples living in public or private rental apartments in the new zone. They are against the conservative central government, at odds with the administrative demands from the municipality through traditional organizations like 'chonai-kai'.

The inhabitants of the modern type are old enough to be married, have children, and live in their own house in the new zone. They are relatively conservative but do not always support the party in power. Most of them are not withdrawn but participate actively in urban administration and have an interest in urban planning.

After using these four types of urban inhabitants to analyze the characteristics of Tokyo, the summary will be as follows. The first traditional type is decreasing in the old zone as well as in the suburbs. The second indifferent type is increasing both in the old and new zones. The third claimant type has spread over the new and extended zones, and the fourth modern

type is found mostly in the new zone but is increasingly also in the extended zones. In other words, those of the traditional type which play the classic conception of urban inhabitants are decreasing, and those of the claimant and modern types who work in the city but do not live there are increasing. Those of the indifferent type who are living in the city as temporary transients are increasing, too[2].

Under the actual conditions of metropolitanization, it seems that the decrease of the first type, that is, the traditional type, and the increase of the second type, the indifferent type, are inevitable tendencies. But it will be possible to change the conditions of the latter two types, since one of their problems is the physical separation from their family members. In this case, father is suffering from his long commuting distance, the elder children also commute to the high school which are not near to their house the younger children go to the local primary school, and mother stays at home with infants. The family members cannot have any consciousness of a common area where they reside as a group. Another problem is that father who has to commute to the urban core, has lost his sense of place due to the separation of his place of work and family. Beside, time spent mostly in the sectoral urban area, leads to a situation where fathers almost never meet other similar men, except those who are working in the

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[2] Tanabe, H. (1988), 'Divided Urban Cores of Tokyo from the View-Point of Daily Migration', Human Geography X, University of Tokyo, Tokyo.

same office or nearby in the urban core by chance[3]. This is an especially serious problem for inhabitants of the fourth type in the extended zone who no longer reside in a fixed community. The inhabitants of the third type, i.e. the claimant type, in the zone near the urban core, feel that they will have to leave the present district one day, because of the uncertain conditions or the poor environment which can often be found, thereby forcing them to find another house or a room to rent elsewhere. Therefore, most of the third and fourth type of inhabitants are not citizens according to the traditional definition but seem to be pseudo-citizens.

In the Indian metropolitan cities, the model of inhabitant types depends on the communities which the people belong to. This means, their caste, class, the native place, occupations, so on. For example, as Gore[4] has pointed out that the Aggarwal family, that is, a Vaishya caste has own inhabitant types which is different from the other caste. Also the life of people who live in the slums, is very different from these who live in the proper houses. Even among the slum dwellers, their type of inhabitant is considerably different and has a reflection of by their native places. Thus there exists always the great diversity in the Indian context. On the other hand, since Japan is the homogeneous society, and most of the people belong to the middle class, there is not

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[3] Yoneda, S., (ed). (1988), Kyodai-Toshi Tokyo to Kazoku, (Megalopolis Tokyo and Family), Yushin Do, Tokyo.

[4] Gore, M. S. (1968), Urbanization and Family Change, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.

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much diversity. The Homogeneous society implies several factors :
these are, i) geographical similarities ii) absence of caste iii)
occupational homogeneity. Since Japan is a geographically small
country, so there are less regional differences. Also absence of
caste system provides the social structure which does not
differentiate the people and their occupations. In fact, most of
Japanese are as salaried. More noteworthy is that the Japanese
ethos conform homogeneity of the society. Consequently in India, it
is difficult to find the similarities among its people, whereas in
Japan it is very difficult to find differences among the people.

Family structure in the Indian and the Japanese urban
centres have a common part, that is, nuclearization. The majority
of the families in the metropolitan cities of both the countries
have drifted away from their joint family system and started living
separately. The housing problem also causes nuclearization of the
families. The changes of social and moral values, is also the
important factor behind the nuclear family. But comparison stops
here. Though both of them sustain the traditional ties with
nuclearization, they are quite in different manners. In India,
although people live separately apart from their parents and
brothers, they still have strong intra-relationships among there
family and kinship. For example, they often get together for the
religious ceremonies, festivals and some entertainment, also they
are always ready to help each other. On the contrary, in Japan,
most of the urban inhabitants hardly have any opportunities to get

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together except the marriage and the funeral. There is no doubt that the kinship in the urban centres of Japan has weakened rapidly. But the family ties would be in another stream. The majority of people still regard the first son as an heir to a house. The parents are expected to be taken care by their first son and his wife in their old age though they are living separately at this moment. I am not dealing with the rural society in this dissertation; but it is interesting to note that seemingly the Indian urban centres and the Japanese rural areas bear many similarities, i.e., the family system and kinship and the marriage arrangements, etc. Take the example of the marriage in the rural areas of Japan, the arranged marriage is still common among the people, but the young couple after the engagement can meet and talk each other before marriage. This is tremendous change from the previous practice which did not allow the couple to talk to each other before marriage. This example applies in the case of the Indian urban centres. Also it shows that urbanization of Japan has started much earlier than that of India. In other words, there will always exist the great gap between the Indian and the Japanese urban centres.

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APPENDIX

INDIA

Table I: Birth Rate, Death Rate and Natural Growth Rate in the Rural and Urban India   (1971-1990)

(Rate per thousand)

Year	Birth Rate		Death Rate		Natural Growth Rate	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1971	38.9	30.1	16.4	9.7	22.5	20.4
1981	35.6	27.0	13.7	7.8	21.9	19.2
1990	31.7	24.3	10.5	6.8	21.2	17.9

Source : Cenral Bureau of Health Intelligence, Health Information of India 1992, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, New Delhi, 1993.

Table II: Rural and Urban Population in India (1901-1981)

Year	Population (million)		Percentage of Total Population (%)	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1901	213	26	89.2	10.8
1911	226	26	89.7	10.3
1921	223	28	88.8	11.2
1931	245	33	88.0	12.0
1941	274	44	86.1	13.9
1951	298	62	82.7	17.3
1961	360	79	82.0	18.0
1971	439	109	80.1	19.9
1981	525	160	76.7	23.3
1991	629	218	74.3	25.7

Source : Registrar General, India, in India 1993 : A Reference Annual, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1994, p. 16.

Table III: Immigrants to Calcutta Born Outside West Bengal
(1961-1971)

Born in	No. of Persons Enumerated in Calcutta	
	1961	1971
Bihar	345,349	286,684
Uttar Pradesh	130,564	102,150
Orissa	56,805	40,310
Rajasthan	36,258	31,335
Punjab	24,933	16,130
Madhya Pradesh	16,998	4,175

Source : Racine, Jean, Calcutta 1981, Concept Publishing
Company, New Delhi, p. 165. (1961 and 1971 Census)

JAPAN

Table IV: Birth Rate, Death Rate and Natural Growth Rate
in Japan (1984-1988)

(per thousand)

Year	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Growth Rate
1984	12.5	6.2	6.3
1985	11.9	6.3	5.6
1986	11.4	6.2	5.2
1987	11.1	6.2	4.9
1988	10.8	6.5	4.3

Source : Ministry of Health and Welfare, Jinko Dotai Tokei,
(Population Statistics)

Table V: Population in the Osaka and Nagoya Metropolitan Areas
Within 50 Km. from the City Centre   (1989)

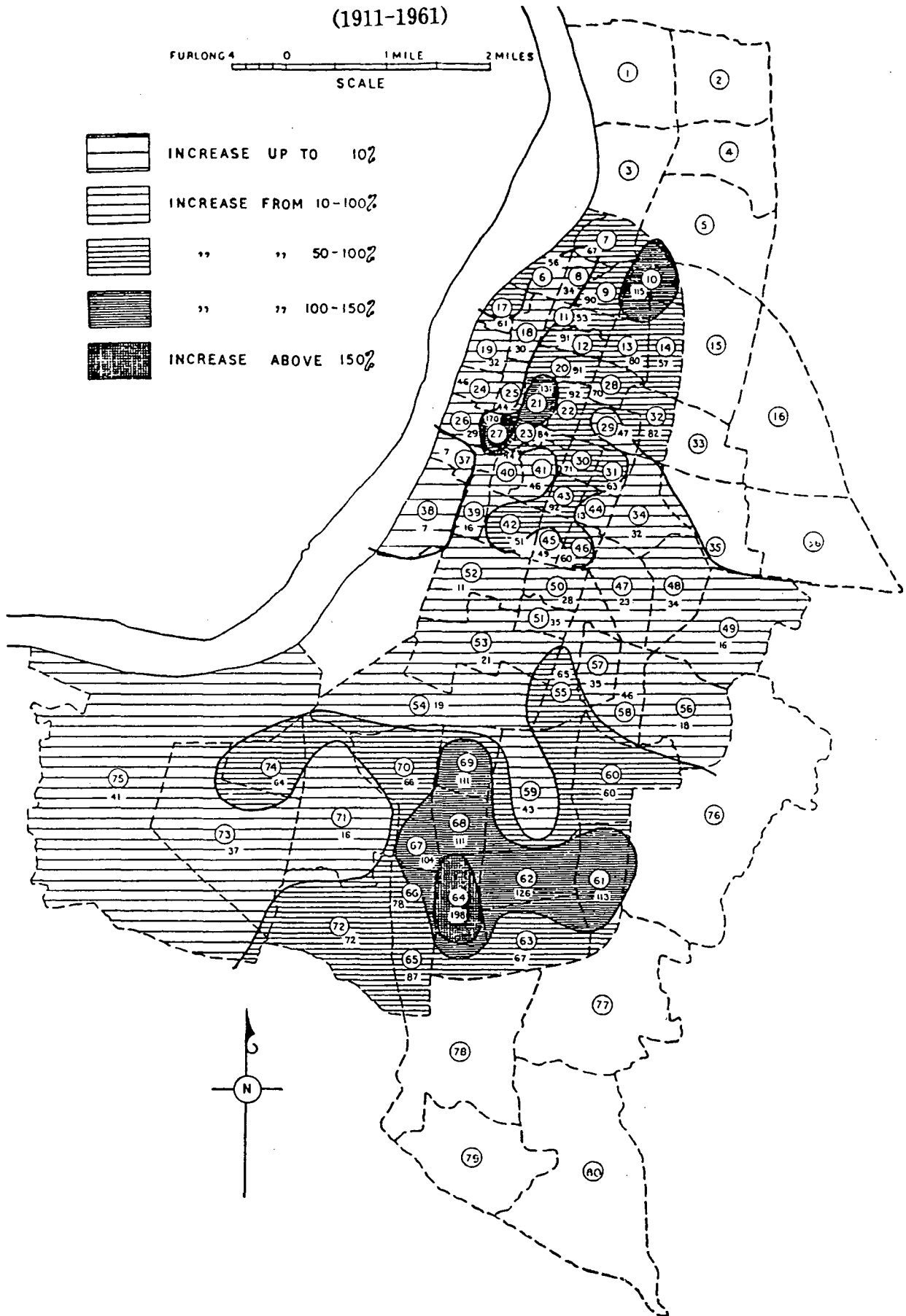| Km.	Osaka Metropolitan Area		Nagoya Metropolitan Area	
	Population (thousand)	Rate of Incr. per Year (%)	Population (thousand)	Rate of Incr. per Year (%)
0-10	4,234	-0.3	2,149	0.0
10-20	3,777	0.1	1,957	1.0
20-30	2,526	0.7	1,552	1.3
30-40	2,928	0.8	1,946	0.6
40-50	2,372	0.7	660	0.5

*Incr. = Increase

Source : Ministry of Home Affairs, Zenkoku Jinko Setaisuhyo
Jinko Dotaihyo, (Statistics of Population and Household
in Japan), 1989.

Table VI: Ordinary Household by Household Structure in Japan
(%)

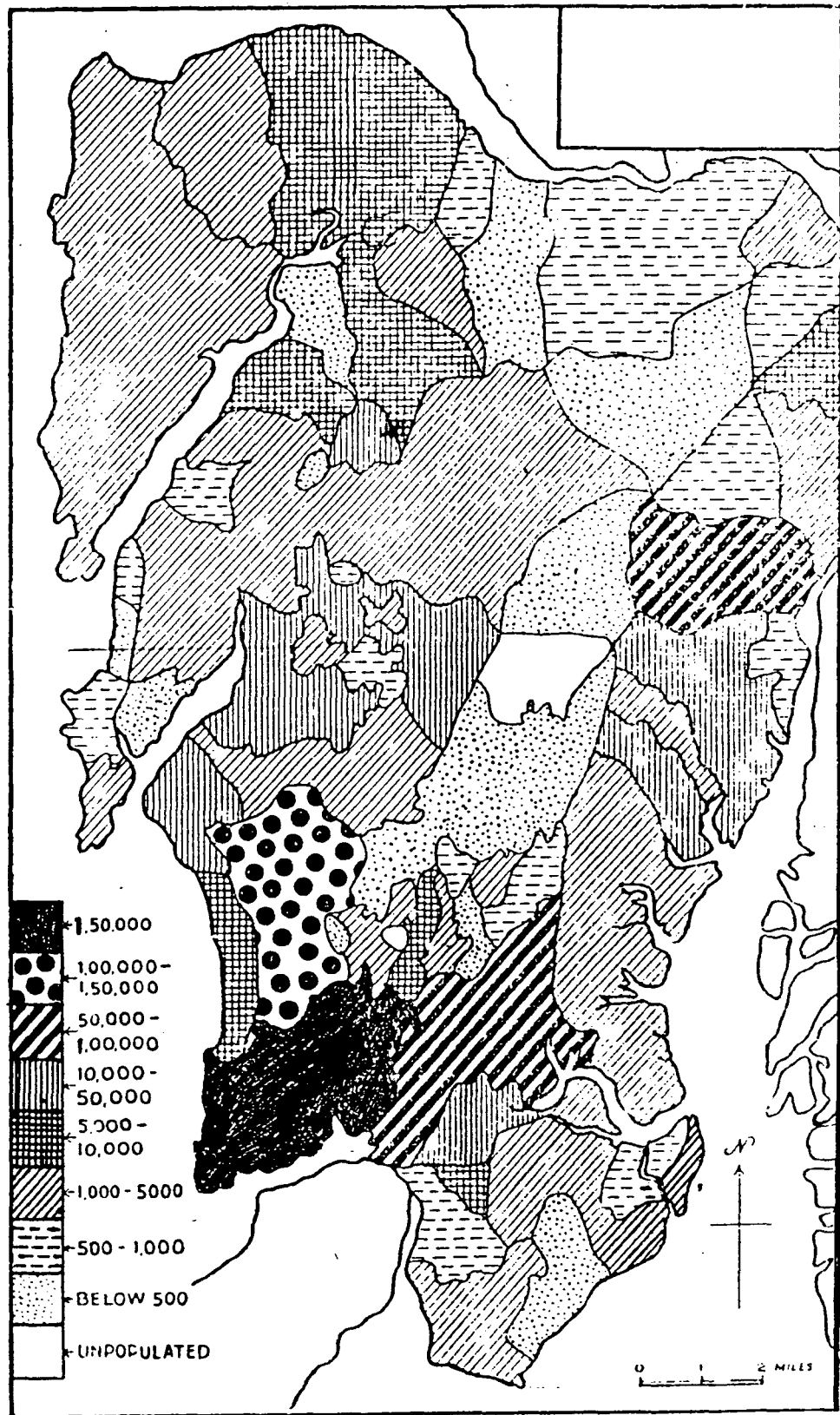| Type of Households	1955	1965	1975	1980
Kin-Linked Households	96.1	91.8	86.2	84.0
a) Nuclear Households	59.6	62.2	64.0	63.3
b) Other Forms of Kin-Linked Households	36.5	29.2	22.2	20.7
Non-Kin Households	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.2
Single-Person Households	3.4	7.8	13.7	15.8

Source : Fukutake Tadashi, The Japanese Social Structure,
University of Tokyo Press, Tokyo, 1982, p. 124.

Map 1   Change in Residential Functions of Calcutta Metropolitan City
(1911-1961)

FURLONG 4   0   1 MILE   2 MILES
SCALE

INCREASE UP TO   10%

INCREASE FROM 10-100%

  ,,   ,,   50-100%

  ,,   ,,   100-150%

INCREASE ABOVE 150%

N

Source : Bose, Nirmal Kumar (1968), Culcutta - A Social Survey, Lalvani Publishing
House, Bombay.

Map 2   Distribution of Population in Bombay Metropolitan City

Legend:
- 1,50,000
- 1,00,000 – 1,50,000
- 50,000 – 1,00,000
- 10,000 – 50,000
- 5,000 – 10,000
- 1,000 – 5000
- 500 – 1,000
- BELOW 500
- UNPOPULATED

Source : Rajagopalan, C. (1962), The Greater Bombay, Popular Book Depot, Bombay,
p. xvi.

M a p 3

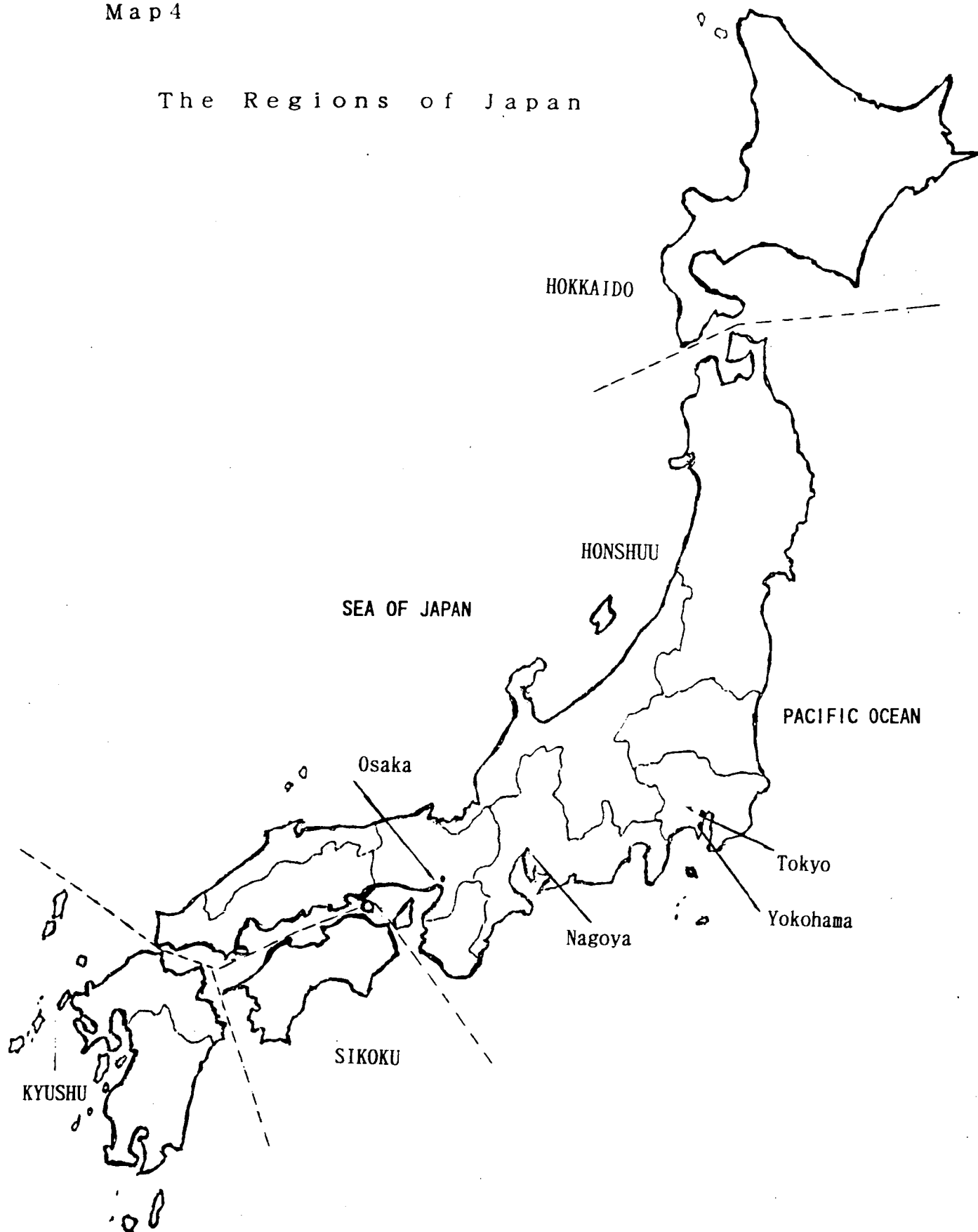Decennial Population Growth of Delhi Metropolitan City
(1981-1991)

Percentage Change

GAIN   LOSS

[hatched] 100% & Above   [pattern] Below 5%

[pattern] 50% - 99.99%

[pattern] 25% - 49.99%

[pattern] Below 25%
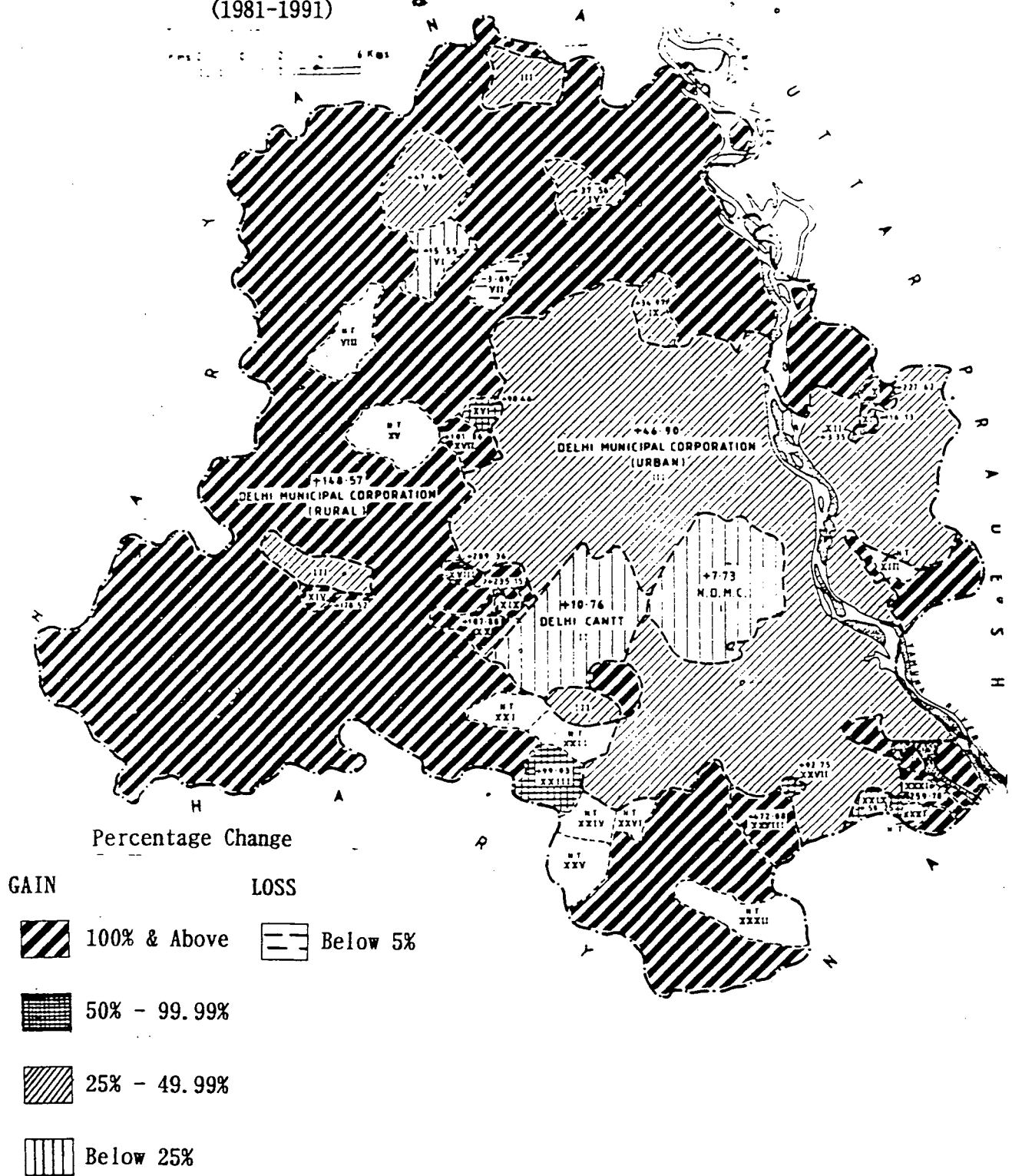
Source : Census of India 1991, Series-31, Delhi Provisional Population Totals,
Government of India, New Delhi, p. 11.

Map 4

The Regions of Japan
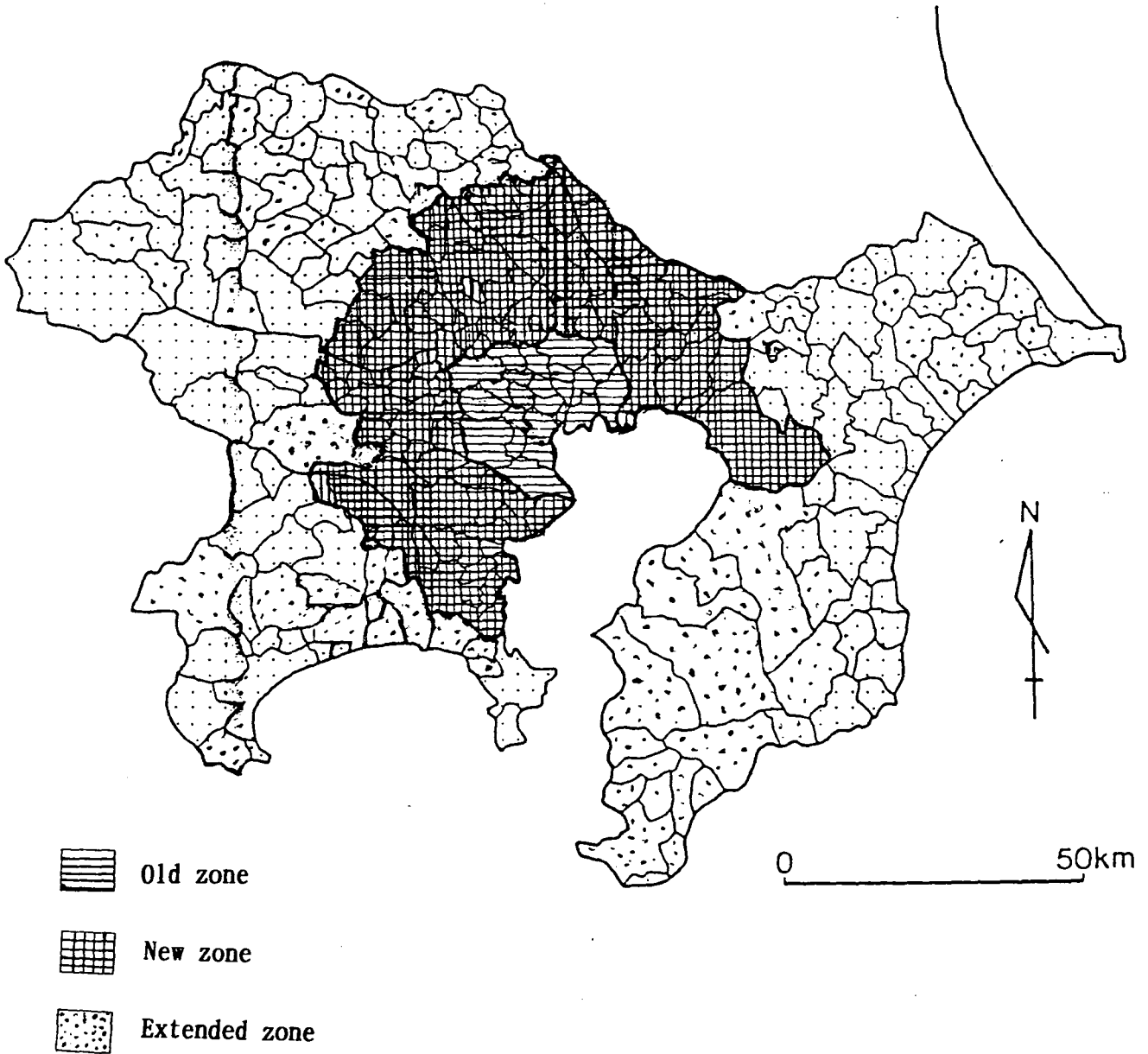

HOKKAIDO

HONSHUU

SEA OF JAPAN

PACIFIC OCEAN

Osaka

Tokyo

Yokohama

Nagoya

SIKOKU

KYUSHU

M a p 5

Expansion of Tokyo Metropolitan City

Old zone

New zone

Extended zone

0   50km

Source : Masai, Y. (ed.) (1986), Atlas Tokyo, Heibonsha, Tokyo.