

Industrial Urbanization And Social Change

"Men come together in cities for security: they stay together for the good life." – Aristotle

- Birendra Singh Gurung

Introduction

The growth of a city is the ensuing of the process of urbanization. City is not an abstract thing, it is a social organism in which non-agricultural activities like production, consumption, and control are carried out. These activities give birth to institutions and social system, a system different from the rural society. The interrelations between the activities and the social systems are the theme of the urbanization process. Urbanization, thus, refers to the transformation of the society including some drastic geographic, economic and social changes (**Smailes, 1975, p 1**) characterized by the concentration of non-agricultural occupations and land uses around a single nucleus or multiple nuclei (**Rao and Tewari, 1986, p. 193**). This has shaped the history of settlement features in the last two hundred years to an extent in developing a social organization that synonyms the modern development of civilization.

Industrialization is associated with a shift of workers from primary to secondary occupations accompanied by a rising standard of living (**Smailes, 1975, p.2**). Urbanization and industrialization are complementary to each other. However, in some parts of the world, industrialization and urbanization have gone hand in hand and have developed together. Elsewhere industrialization has been very recent. In still other countries, urbanization and industrialization are both still very much in the process of developing, and one may eventually exceed the other (**Breese, 1978, p.5**).

Growth and development of cities and urbanization go side by side. However, the development of cities has always proved a mixed blessing. The cities on the one hand are mostly acknowl-

edged as basic to an advanced society and civilization, which otherwise also invites innumerable complexities making the urban milieu, inhospitable to healthy and agreeable settlement. The most remarkable phase of such development occurred with the onset of industrial revolution in Western Europe in mid 18th century, and in early 1950s in developing countries. The present article is written with an intention to serve reading materials to students, that covers a part of the syllabus prescribed for urban sociology. Here in this paper, an attempt has been made to examine the development of industrial urbanization and the accompanying social changes occurred both in the developed and developing countries. A history of urbanization is basically a history of social change, which can be interpreted either by materialistic or non-materialistic approach (Sjoberg, 1967, p. 159). The role of social and cultural values, attitudes and behaviour are the indicators of the non-materialistic approach. In the materialistic approach, social change is interpreted by analysing change in land use pattern, population structure, and so on. My preoccupation with the discipline I belong to, impels me to confine myself in analyzing the social change in society from the point of view of changes occurred in spatial context. In this respect, the present article does not include other relevant issues, such as social norms and values, which may be significant in the study of urban sociology.

The process of urbanization brings a change in the overall land use of the region, which, in turn, reflects the socio-economic behaviour of the concerned society. Therefore, the social change has been analyzed on the basis of the changes occurred in spatial land use of the region. It is believed that the spatial change in a given region is the outcome of the processes of co-operation, competition, and conflict among the rival groups living in a society (Kuppuswamy 1977, p.3). Co-operation is the process of working together for community accepted ends, conflicts arise when there is struggle between rivals for the same goods and services or for recognition. The

competition implies the process in which persons or groups strive to attain the same goods or services or recognition. Land use change due to shift in localization of commercial functions, the development of sub-urbs, growth and development of segregated neighbourhood, have been discussed to interpret the changes occurred in the society. In most cases, this process is analyzed taking examples from the United States of America and the United Kingdom for the case of developed countries, and India and Nepal for representing the developing countries.

History of Urbanization

Several scholars, like Kingsley (1955), Mumford (1961), Weber (1899), and Adams (1960) have stated extensively about the growth of cities, which has been associated with the beginning of the permanent settlement and the art of cultivation of land. It was not until the Neolithic period, roughly 10,000 years ago, that humans were able to form permanent settlements when the human beings developed the skill of cultivating land. But the first town emerged about 4000 years BC in Mesopotamia. Cities were found in the Nile valley about 3000 years BC, in the Indus valley, by 2500 years BC, and in the Yellow river of China by 2000 BC. From the earliest urban settlement, the growth of cities and towns evolved through various historical periods. The settlement history of cities has moved from the Roman (beginning of the Christian era) to the period of renaissance in the sixteenth century; then to the period of industrialization (Hudson, 1976). The current status of urbanization is characterized by the concept of Magalopolis (Gottman, 1961) and global corporate cities (see Friedmann and Wolff, 1982; Sassen, 1991; and Knox, 1995). Invention in the field of generating energy and machines in the middle of the eighteenth century brought about a great environmental change that allowed the growth of industries in northwest Europe. The invention helped in establishing the factory system, which required a large number of labour force. In the same time,

agricultural improvements were increasing the yields and releasing workers to be absorbed in the newly opened industries. In a very short span of time, a large number of village population moved to these industrial centres increasing their size and forming a new form of occupational structure.

The nature and growth of urbanization differs from region to region especially depending on the economic base of the region, see table 1. Standards of living, cultures, and aspirations vary immensely not only from one country to another, but also from one locality to another within the same country, whether in western Europe or the United States, or in Africa or India (**Dickinson, 1964**). In Europe, the modern urbanization is the outcome of the advent of industrial age between 1750 to 1850. Before that, the economy of Europe was entirely based on agriculture, traditional industries and more important, the commerce, the foreign trade through ocean routes. The invention of power machines, particularly of steam engine, transformed not only the traditional industrial structure, it exerted overall impact on other sectors of the economy. The opening of factories and mills provided employment opportunities, which attracted a large number of labour from the rural countryside relieving an increasing pressure on the agricultural lands. Application of machines in agriculture, on the other hand, increased the potentiality of human labour resulting in the improvement of agriculture productivity. Thus, the two sectors, urban and rural, grew side by side on the sound economic base. In Europe and North America, urbanization and industrialization seem to have been concomitant phenomena, each reinforcing the growth and the speed of others (**Rodinelli 1983, p.314**). This process spanned more than a century and involved massive economic and social change.

Table 1. Urban Population in different Geographical Regions

% Range of urban Population	Number of Countries					
	Europe*	North America *	South America	Asia	Africa	Australia *
	No. Countries	No. Countries	No. Countries	No. Countries	No. Countries	No. Countries
>75	14 (28.6)	4 (17.4)	5 (45.5)	12 (28.6)	1 (1.8)	3 (21.4)
50-75	31 (63.2)	10 (43.5)	5 (45.5)	11 (26.2)	8 (14.3)	3 (21.4)
25-50	4 (8.2)	9 (39.1)	1 (9.0)	9 (21.4)	37 (66.0)	5 (35.8)
<25	0	0	0	10 (23.8)	10 (17.9)	3 (21.4)
Total	49	23	11	42	56	14

Source: World Almanac, 2002, for population of countries
Number of countries with different range of urban population computed by the author

- Europe – Monaco, Vatican City, Malta, and Litchentian are omitted.
- North America includes- Canada, Mexico, countries of central America and Caribbean Islands
- Australia includes – New Zealand, and islands in the Pacific

In the developing countries, the situation was something different. The urbanization in these countries is the legacy of the colonial period they had to go through for over hundred of years. By 1900, 90.4 per cent of Africa, 98.9 per cent of Polynesia, 56.6 per cent of Asia was occupied as colonies by the superior economic power of the world, particularly, of Europe (**Lenin, 1969**). The colonial urbanization was characterized by the development of urban centers in selected pockets, that too, exploiting the local available resources to meet their vested purpose. The colonies were rich in various types of raw materials vital to run and sus-

tain the heavy industries, back home of the colonist. The colonial authorities developed port cities and linked them with hinterlands rich in raw materials to facilitate the smooth export of raw materials to their respective countries. Port cities of Kolkotta (Calcutta), Mumbai (Bombay), Cairo are some of the notable examples. The colonists did not make any effort to strengthen the traditional industries, nor did they establish heavy/large scale industries in their colonies. Instead, they flooded the colonial markets with their finished industrial goods of their home countries. Thus, the colonists destroyed, transformed, or distorted indigenous traditional small but sustainable industries, and for these, they enforced rules and laws, wherever it was felt necessary (**Gilbert and Gugler, 1982; Shreshtha N. and Hartshorn, 1978**). Other urban centres developed at that time by the colonial powers were mostly administrative and military garrison towns or cantonments.

From mid 1940s to early 1960s, most of the colonies got freedom from the colonial rule, and the process of urbanization accelerated rapidly. Between 1920 and 1980 the population in developing cities of over 1 million increased fifty-fold (**Hauser and Gardiner, 1982, p.6**). In developing countries, more than half of the total urban population is now concentrated in cities of 100,000 and above (**Singh, R.L., 1977, p.6**). However, in these countries, industrialization, rather than providing a spur for urbanization, often trails far behind the rate of urban growth. Today by contrast, people flood into the cities in spite of high urban unemployment because of a push from overpopulated rural areas. Without employment in rural areas, migration becomes the only mechanism to relieve rural population pressures (**Palen, 1992**). The rate of migration to urban area is higher than the employment available in towns and cities. This has resulted in creation of over-urbanization, defined as a situation in which "larger proportion of ...[country's] population live in urban places than their degree of economic development justifies" (**Hauser, 1963**). Day by day the ratio grew widening between the agriculture dependent population and the agriculture productivity resulting in the

out migration of the rural population to the nearby towns and cities. And, the size of cities increased beyond their limit to sustain the over-pouring population. Thus, towns and cities in developing countries have failed to play the role of spreading the conducive environment for the overall economic development of the region. In the passage of time, cities no longer remained money-earning cities, rather they became, in most cases, "parasite" cities depending heavily on their surroundings (**Hoselitz, April 1955**). This is a common feature of trend of urbanization almost in all the developing countries.

Urbanization and Social Change

When we speak of social change, we simply assert that there are some changes in social behaviour, social structure and social and cultural values (**Kuppuswamy, 1977, p. 43**). As stated earlier, the social change in developed and developing countries has been analysed on the basis of changes occurred in the land use of these two different regions, which in return changes the social behaviour of the society.

Changes in Developed countries

The process of industrial urbanization has brought the urban explosion. The explosion has brought new trends in the location of urban land uses and in the spatial impact of urban ways. It has brought new features and forces in the patterns of spatial relations, new problems in the organization of space. The spread of obsolescence and congestion, the changes in population, and the centrifugal shift of activities to the suburbs – have affected the physical structure of the central city (**Dickinson, 1964, p 37**). A significant change has occurred in the spatial structure of city from concentric zonal arrangement (**Burgess, 1924**), to sectors (**Homer 1939**), and then to multiple nuclei (**Harris and Ullman 1945**). And, in recent years, changes have been studied and analysed based on the characteristics of social area comprised of people of different economic status, way of life, and ethnicity. Shift in localization of commercial functions, development of

sub-urbs, discrimination against minority and residential segregation and emergence of social area neighbourhood are some of the conspicuous social changes that have to be given special attention while analysing the social change in developing countries after the period of industrialization.

i. Shift in Localization of Commercial Functions

Burgess (1924), suggested that cities grow radially in a series of concentric zones or rings occupied serially from the innermost ring by the retail functions, factory complexes and neighborhoods of tenements, working's peoples home, zone of better residences, and the commuter zone respectively. These zones were not located randomly, rather that was the result competition involving economic and social factors. This was the pattern of land use in 1920s in the USA, which was in complete contrast to the pre-industrial cities. In the pre-industrial cities, the elite occupied the central core whereas the disadvantaged fan out toward the periphery (**Sjoberg 1960**). The concentric zonal model provides a base for the study of changes occurred thereafter in different time periods.

A major change in the spatial land use of the cities appeared with the transformation of the urban transportation network. In the initial period of the industrial urbanization, the centre of the city was the hub of all the commercial activities; it was the zone of CBD (central business districts). The manufacturing area was located in between the CBD and residential belt. As the manufacturing prospered, it encountered the difficulty of acquiring enough lands for its expansion, because the land was limited in this zone. The growth of commerce and manufacturing congested the inner zone of the city making transportation movement difficult. Further, the utility of the central core of the cities declined due to the development of the transportation network, both in inter-city and intra-city level. Most of the business firms moved out of the congested cores and established along the inter-city transport network, where the sufficient land was available at a

cheaper price. Only firms using very large amounts of bulk commodities remained closely tied to the ports and railways.

After World War II, retail trade, service establishments, and manufacturing firms increasingly followed the population to suburban areas. And, it has effected the retailing the most, as retailing is especially sensitive to the locations of customers. A study (**Robertson, 1983**) reveals that the CBD retail sales of ninety one large American cities (excluding New York, which was omitted for several complicated reasons) fell from more than 17 billion dollars in 1954 to approximately 8.2 billion dollars in 1977, or a decrease of 51.5 per cent. CBD is rapidly becoming obsolete in the spatial structure of contemporary urbanization in the USA.

ii. The Development of Sub-urbs

The recent trend of land use change in the American cities is the decay of central cities and the emergence and development of sub-urban American cities. This trend was observed some hundred years ago by **Weber (1899)** and had expressed that American urbanization is heading towards the development of sub-urban towns characterized by the open air and spaciousness of the country with the sanitary improvements, comforts, and associated life of the city. Today, America is a nation of suburbanites. The sub-urbanite population in the USA increased from 15 per cent in 1920 to 47 per cent in 1990 (**Pallen 1992, p.182**). This pattern of central city decline and suburban growth is the result of three intimately related factors: rapid dispersal of employment from the dense central cities; extensive metropolitan growth associated with low density residential developments; and the accelerated growth of massive Negro ghettos in the nation's largest metropolitan areas (**Kain, May 1970**).

In early American cities, the well-to-do tended to live not on the periphery but near the centre. In an era of slow, uncomfortable, and inadequate transportation, the poor were often relegated to the less accessible areas on the periphery. (**Warner Jr., 1968**,

p.13). However, the improved transportation network led to the development of low-density residential sub-urb areas. The location of factories in suburbs in turn encouraged workers to move to new suburban tract-type housing developments that were sprouting in the cornfields near factories (**Pallen 1992, p. 117**). With the development of factories and residential structure, arrived the shopping centres. The government policy towards granting of loan, easy and favourable mortgage process, favorable tax treatment, acted directly to the growth of sub-urbs. Young families moved to suburbs not just for "togetherness" or safety, but because houses in suburban developments were frequently cheaper than housing in the city (**Pallen 1992, p. 189**). The strong feeling and preference for home-ownership and availability of job opportunities also contributed to the rapid expansion and growth of the sub-urban city concept. Suburbanites tend to be homeowners. Seventy one percent of suburban housing units are occupied by homeowners, as compared with half (49%) of those in the cities (**Pallen 1992, p.195**). The conditions provided for the use of automobiles by common people made a great impact that increased the mobility of the people and encouraged the people to reside in the periphery of the city. A study conducted in 1920 of Chicago city indicated that the average distance from home to workplace was 1.5 miles, which increased to 7.6 miles in 1980s (**Pallen 1992, p.120**).

The third and the effective factor for the outward shift of the urban area is the influx of the population of Negroes in all the major cities of America. Historically, the black population of the US was concentrated in the plantation areas of the south. The south held 89 per cent of All-American blacks in 1910, and 79 per cent of them were rural. The industrial twentieth century witnessed profound changes in the distribution of black population. In response to the demands for labour by the northern and western industries of the USA, Blacks migrated from plantation regions primarily to northern and western cities, and by 1980, 85 five per cent of the total American blacks were urban, with

fortyseven percent of them residing outside the south. (**Aiken, 1985,p.383**). The result of rapid urban Negro immigration and housing requirement gave birth to the housing segregation, and massive Negro ghettos developed in all major cities. The occupancy of the central part of the city by the low income Negro population was disliked by the White American people and these people, who with a comparatively higher income could afford the automobiles to commute the place of their job living outside the city, created sub-urban areas.

There are other people who think that the influx of minority particularly, the black into city neighbourhoods as a reason of outward movement of white population tend to be overrated. Post war suburban exodus has more to do with government subsidies for suburban housing and a post-war fertility than with "simple flight" from the city (**Pallen 1992, p.189**). It may be attributed to racial prejudice, but public services are certainly better in the sub-urbs compared to the central slums occupied by the black Americans (**Kain, 1970**). The more profound factor for the growth of suburban is the choice and preference of the people, who prefer privacy, space, cleanliness, and other amenities - than a movement from perceived central urban ills (**Hawley and Zimmer, 1970**).

iii. Segregated Neighbourhood

Discrimination against religion, customs, culture, race or colour give birth to segregation of community exhibiting a distinct urban land uses. Segregation in most cases is not voluntary, it is rather forced and thus it expresses the attitudes and feelings of the society. It shows the views and thinking of different groups of people to look upon the behaviour of each other.

(a) Superior Racial Feeling and Residential Segregation

This refers to the concentration of residents into districts, similar to the concentration of distinct economic uses. Individuals tend to gravitate not only to areas in which they can compete for a

livelihood more efficiently, but also to areas populated by others of similar race, interests, culture, or economic status (**Dickinson, 1964, p. 47**). Thus, there occurs a strong association between ethnicity and race and the pattern of urban residential segregation reflecting the social behaviour of the society.

The history of American settlement never remained unscathed with a feeling of discrimination on the basis of race and colour of the people. The feeling of discriminatory against minority in terms of religion, culture, and colour has always remained a prominent feature of the American urbanization history from the very beginning. Not only blacks but also whites have been discriminated taking them as people belonging to inferior race. **Madison Grant (1921, p. XXVIII)** has rightly expressed that "to admit the unchangeable differentiation of race in its modern scientific meaning is to admit inevitably the existence of superiority in one race and of inferiority in another". America is no doubt a nation of immigrants, where even the natives, The Red Indians, were immigrants, who arrived in America some twenty thousands years ago. The earlier white immigrants were from England and Ireland and later the Germans and Scandinavians arrived. They had one thing in common, all had come from northwest Europe and all were Protestant. The new immigrants mostly from south and east Europe and other parts of the world arrived mostly in the late 19th and early 20th century (**Cooke, 1973**).

The old immigrants, known as WASP (White Anglo Saxon Protestant) from England, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Germany always considered themselves as more cultured and superior, the American Race (**Pallen 1992, p. 216**). These ethnocentric WASP Americans looked upon the new comers, though whites, from the southern and eastern part of Europe, as culturally inferior, and less civilized coming from the backward area. They always kept a social distance from these white settlers from south and east Europe. These newcomers were discriminated not only because they had different culture and customs but mainly because they were

not protestants/or they did not belong to Protestants. The immigrants from non-north west Europe were either, catholic, Jews, Greeks, or belonged to East Orthodox churches, who were not acceptable to be a part of the WASP society. The new comers segregated themselves occupying mostly the central city area in ghetto. And, this was their necessity to follow their customs and to protect themselves from the Anglo-Saxon hostility. They had the lowest social status and were greeted with suspicion, distrust, prejudice, and discriminatory practices on the part of those who had come earlier (**Hauser, 1970**).

During 1861 – 1900, sixty-eight per cent of immigrants to the United states were from northern and western Europe, but by 1901 – 1920, forty-four per cent immigrants arrived from the southern and eastern Europe 7 per cent more than from northern and western Europe. WASP took the rise of immigrants from south and east Europe in the USA in this period, as a threat that they would be out-numbered by the genetically inferior races in near future. They believed that Anglo-Saxon America was genetically committing suicide by allowing in unrestricted numbers of inferior races such as Poles, Italians, Slavs, and other eastern and south Europeans (**Pallen, 1992, p. 219**). The genetic belief was so strongly deeprooted that not only the common people but scholars also expressed their concerns about the deterioration of their superiority. **E.A.Rose, (1914, P.287)**, a leading sociologist of his time, expressed that "it is unthinkable that so many persons with crooked faces, coarse mouths, bad noses, heavy jaws, and low foreheads can mingle their heredity with ours without making personal beauty yet more rare among us than it actually is". How the superior genetic belief was deep-rooted in the minds of the Anglo-Saxon society of America is reflected in the immigration laws made for the immigrants. The effect of genetic belief greatly influenced the enforcement of immigration laws of 1921 and 1924, the National Origins Act of 1929, and the McCarran-Walter act of 1952 (**Pallen 1992, p.219**). Southern and eastern Europeans were reduced from 45 per cent of all immigrants under the al-

ready restrictive law of 1921 to 12 percent under the law of 1924. Northern and western Europeans were welcome particularly if they were Protestant. About 85 percent of the quota went to north-west Europe, and roughly half the total quota went to three countries: England, Germany, and Ireland. Eastern and southern Europeans were given minimal quotas. Not until 1968 were the 'racial' quotas eliminated (Pallen, 1992, p.219).

(b) Discrimination against Colour and Residential Segregation

America, one of the most liberal nations in the world, never freed itself from the practice of social injustice towards black people. The blacks are discriminated because of their colour. James R. Kluegal (August 1990) writes that research on contemporary American relation frequently notes a paradox. On the one hand, white Americans increasingly endorse racial equality in principle, on the other hand, whites show little or no support for policies and programmes aimed at alleviating racial inequality. The paradox exists despite the fact that many whites acknowledge that such inequality results from a history of racial prejudice and discrimination. Some attribute it to the economic gap between blacks and whites. This shows that the American blacks are the most exploited people in America.

The American blacks are not the immigrants who arrived to seek new pasture in the New World. The whites brought them in America as a bondage labour. During the slavery period in the south, they were forced to live in the farm with minimum living facilities. After the abolition of slavery and with the failure and declining of the cotton farming in the south, the black Americans started moving towards north and north west. This movement accelerated after Second World War with the industrial expansion of the cities in north (Aiken, October 1985). These American blacks fulfilled the demands of unskilled labor required in the expanding industrial cities. In the cities, the blacks, because of their poor economy, had no other option but to live near the place of their work, mainly in the area of city centre. The blacks,

for the sake of their protection, for their social existence and to establish themselves in the newly settled urban society, developed an affinity to live close to each other. In passage of time, wherever they lived, it turned out to be a settlement of black people, commonly known as black belt (Pallen 1992: p.228). The first-generation whites also lived in the core of the city in their early phase of the settlement, but they moved out of city as they attained some sort of prosperity. The early white people also accepted them with a slight change in their mode of living. This never happened with the blacks. The blacks were always forced to live in a segregated locality, ghetto. A research based on samples of 109 and 237 cities for 1970 indicated declines in segregation, but as of the 1990s it remains the case that despite declining indexes of segregation, most whites and blacks still live in racially separate worlds (Pallen 1992, p.229).

Here two different pictures are presented, both empirical studies, which show how the indifferent behavior of the white towards the minority groups leads to the growth of residential segregation. A study made by Roman A. Cybriwsky (March 1978) in Fairmount, a small area in Philadelphia's inner city which borders one of the nation's largest black ghettos, reveals how the heterogeneous white population combined together to ward off the encroachment of blacks into their territory. The whites have established themselves as a tough, anti-black neighbourhood through the use of violence; and discriminate against blacks in the housing market. They not only deny blacks access to the neighbourhood but also discourage them from wanting access. In addition, racial graffiti painted by neighbourhood teenagers provide a constant reminder to blacks that they are not welcome in the area. Riot against black is a common scene here.

The other scenario is something different. This study (Norton, 1995) shows that not only the blacks, other non-white immigrants also impulses white movements from their area. Monterey park, a suburb around 8 miles east of downtown Los Angeles

was a solidly white, middle class area before the 1970s. Then the city's ethnic composition began to change- first the Latino and Japanese Americans arrived from Los Angeles, and later, the middle class Chinese immigrants from Hongkong and Taiwan, transforming it a city with an Asian majority (56%). Its white population dropped steeply to 12 per cent. The initial response of the white residential to these demographic changes was to institute a series of anti-Asian legislation to take back the community, including restriction against future housing development and the purchase of "English only" ordinance. Quickly, Monterey gained the nation's hotbed of anti-immigrant movement. The social outburst was not caused usually by the poor racial groups, invading a white, middle class community. In fact, most Chinese immigrants were better educated than white residents, and they were professionals and entrepreneurs with plenty of investment capital and business connections in Asia. Asian immigrants have learned to defend themselves by forming civic organization through which to influence local political and economic decision. They have been able, slowly, to elect their own representatives or those willing to represent their concerns.

(c) Social Status Residential Segregation

With the growing urban social complexities, changes have occurred in the range and intensity of relations amongst the urban dwellers with an increasing functional differentiation. This has resulted in the emergence of social areas. **Shevky and Bell (1955, p. 20)** claimed that 'social areas generally contain persons having the same level of living, the same way of life, and the same ethnic background. They also hypothesize that persons living in a particular type of social area would systematically differ with respect to characteristics, attitudes, and behaviours from persons living in another type of social areas.

A number of empirical studies have been done in this field in the cities of USA and other west European Countries (see **Paul Knox 1982, pp. 74-100**) applying either the methodology of **Shevky**

and Bell (1955) or the quantitative method of factor analysis. The major findings of these studies are that a social economic status dimension dominates the residential differentiation in the great majority of cities, the second dimension is characterized by family status/life-cycle characteristics and a third dimension relating to segregation along ethnic division. The family status dimension exhibits a zonal pattern where distinct social areas, high, middle, low are arranged in specific zones. The life-cycle factor exhibits another distinctive pattern, differentiating between 'youthful' neighbourhood and 'aged'; neighbourhood in different sectors. The ethnicity factors exhibits a clustered pattern located in a specific location of the city.

(d) Old Age Residential Segregation

In western countries, ageism has built a distinct geographical environment, as the population of old people has been constantly in the rise, and the aged has increasingly become metro-polarized. In 1950, 56 per cent of the aged lived outside urbanized area in the USA, which decreased to 45 per cent in 1970 (**Golant, 1980**). Even in the western context before the period of industrialization, the elderly were a part and parcel of the agriculture system of settlement. The whole family from the elders to infant lived in farmhouse closed to their place of work. The industrial urbanization transformed the family structure, where only able-bodied migrants were considered economically profitable to their employee and the elders were left jobless. They lived in poverty, and large numbers found themselves "dependent" upon family and private charity (**Law, Glenda, 1993, p.672**).

The increasing proportion of older people reflects a larger life expectancy. The percentage of population equivalent and over 65 years of age of the total population of some of the selected countries is as follows:

Table 2

Per Cent of Population 65 Years and Above of the Total Population of Selected Countries, 2002

USA	12.6	Russia	13.2
Japan	18.0	Italy	18.6
Sweden	17.3	Spain	17.4
France	16.2	England	16.0
Germany	17.0	China	7.3
		India	4.7

Source: *World Almanac, 2003, p. 13*

In the USA and Britain, there have emerged segregated residential areas of older people. The segregation is mainly because of the social factors. In western society, in majority of the cases, the children attaining adulthood do not live with their parents under one roof. People, who are on the verge of retirement or are retired from their active service with no other social liabilities, normally move out to small cities or suburbs as they find the existing houses too big for them incurring high cost of maintenance. Similarly, Some elders who can afford high quality housing standards, and who maintain high mobility through car ownership also move out to the area where they meet the social requirements of their liking. Other factors such as widowhood, aversion to large noisy cities, have also contributed to the growth of segregated residential areas of the elders.

The segregation of elders shows a regional concentration and in many countries, the elders favour some of the localities. In U. K., there is a clear geographical pattern with relatively high proportion of the elderly in coastal and peripheral region (**Law and Warnes, 1980**). The following table shows how the percentage of elder population has increased between 1951 – 1971 in some of the most sought out locations in England and Wales.

Table 3

Percentage of Population aged 60 and above in selected sub-divisions in England and Wales

Regional Subdivision	1951	1971
North Wales Coast	23.1	32.6
Sussex Coast	24.1	32.1
Lancaster	19.8	27.0
Outer South East: Kent	19.8	25.2
East anglia: North East	18.1	22.6
England and Wales	15.9	19.2

Source: Law and Warnes, Table 5.1, p.177

Such residential areas are territorially segregated from younger populations. This type of segregation or 'geriatric ghettos' of residential areas resembles to some extent to 'ghettos', in which old persons are isolated from the rest of the society or at least from its younger members (**Golant, 1980: p.258**).

Social Change in Developing Countries

A large number of towns and cities in developing countries, particularly in South Asia, have evolved through different phases of urban development spanning over hundreds of years. Cities of the Maurya (circa 320 B.C. – 184 B.C.) and Gupta (circa 320 A.D. – 600 A.D.) period are nearly as old as the history of urbanization in this region. Some cities of this region have grown during the medieval periods, when the Moghals ruled the region, and some during the colonial periods including the present metropolises (**Murphey, 1996**).

The social change in developing countries is entirely different from the west mainly because of their difference in upbringing in a different society and culture. The urban way of life in developing countries is not completely detached from the rural life.

One may find glimpses of western urban life in some sectors of

the cosmopolitan cities, but the general scenario is still a mixture of urban and rural settings of life. In most of the towns and cities of India and Nepal, still a large proportion of people own agricultural lands and a partial labour force of their family members are involved in this activity. These features are conspicuous in the land use study of the region.

Residential Segregation

i. Forced Segregation

The Indian sub-continent's urban areas differ markedly from the usual segregation of land uses in Anglo-American cities, based on racial and socio-economic status. In India and Nepal, residential segregation is an expression of social behaviour of the people where they love to live amongst the people more or less of equal social status in terms of castes and clans. This is a dominating factor in the segregation of the residential land use from the very earliest urban development period in the region.

Most of the old Indian cities, which grew before the period of the British colony exhibit distinct morphological characteristics. Most of these cities were surrounded by walls and gates, which in course of time disappeared leaving behind some remnants here and there in the city. In many towns and cities in India, particularly of small size, there is a considerable amount of segregation based on caste, language group, geographical origin, and religion, and so as the mohallas (neighbourhood), are named. Mohalla, as such in India, distinguished as distinct socio-spatial units characterized by social and cultural affinity of the residents, is well established entity (see **Brush 1962**). One finds localities such as dhobi (washerman) mohalla, nai (barber) mohalla, kasai (butcher), darjee (tailor) mohalla inhabited by specific caste groups. Similarly, Muslims are found in the vicinity of the mosques and karbalas (ponds) considered auspicious by the Muslims.

During the colonial period, land use pattern in major Indian cities was highly segregated. The British planned their cities care-

fully. Delhi was built for two different worlds, the Europeans and the native, for the ruler and for the ones who were ruled. They built their areas and the indigenous areas were left to look after themselves (**King A.D., 1976, p. 263**). Same was the case with the development of Bombay (now Mumbai), where markets were segregated by zoning for the Europeans and the native people. Europeans had specified enclaves for their residence (**Grant & Nijman, June 2002**). These two markets were physically separated usually by open green land. Even the medium sized towns and cities (**Singh R.L. 1955; Singh U. 1966.**) such as Gorakhpur and Allahabad, exhibited the same pattern. In Nepal, the prevalence of caste system has a considerable bearing on housing segregation among different caste groups. Historically, the segregation of the residents on the basis of caste system resulted in settlements of the poverty stricken low caste around the periphery of walled city in Kathmandu (**Kansakar, 1981**). In Pokhara, Nepal, till a few years ago, castes groups such as damai (tailor), kasai (butcher), and Poda (sweepers) had distinct segregated areas.

There is a marked change in the pattern of land use in this region. As for example, the previously segregated localities, which with the expansion of urban development turned into advantageous location for residential and commercial uses have been virtually overtaken by other caste groups with new place names disassociating these localities with their old names. Names such as pragati (progressive), adarsh (ideal), gyan (wisdom) suggest that the newly arrived residents' intention not to identify their locality with the old names, which was marred by the social discrimination towards some particular castes. The old tols (locality) have been named either after prominent personalities of the society or the names correspond to the new thinking and perception of the newly residents about their localities.

ii. Squatters and Slums

Squatter and slums are the other forms of segregated urban residential structure, which refers to dilapidated housing with dirt and filth and unhealthy environment.

"A squatter is one who does not own or rent the land on which he lives but is illegally dwelling on it. Usually he does own the structure in which he lives. A slum dweller in a peripheral settlement may be similar to a squatter in terms of socio-economic characteristics but he rents, or sometimes owns, the land upon which he lives" (Ulack, Richard, Dec. 1978, p. 535)

Rural to urban migration, brings a change in urban land use patterns, which in turn encounters local zones of resistance, socially and economically. Variations in rental values, compels the newly arrived low income migrants to occupy areas within their affordable reach, and they tend to occupy the vacant public lands illegally. Further, desire to live in proximity to work place, housing shortages and maintenance problems also leads to the growth of squatters and slums. The condition differs from region to region depending on their economic and development level (see Ulack, Richard Dec. 1978; Kearns, K.C., 1979; Sam Schulman, 1966; Gans, H., 1962; John, Meenu, 1994; Agnihotri, 1994; Mukharjee, 1986; Breese, 1978; Kansakar, 1981; Pradhan, 1987).

In most of the rapidly urbanizing countries of the world, the occurrence of squatters is illegal, the settlements they establish do not officially exist. The squatters do not pay rent or mortgage but renovate and makes structural modification. It offers a viable, alternative form of housing tenure in the urban ecology of cities. The **jhuggi-bustee** of Bombay and Calcutta, and **sukumwasi** of Nepal are strikingly different from the squatters of London, Paris, and Madrid. Urban squatting in western industrialized nations differs in form and function from its third world counterparts. Found in most European cities, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Turin,

Paris, Madrid, and Stockholm, they occupy mostly public properties classified as "short life" and selected for demolition or renovation, suitable for tenancy (Kearns, K.C. 1979).

In India, squatting are the common features found along the railway tracks, along the dirty rivers, and around the industrial areas, characterized by low economic status, overcrowding, poor housing conditions, poor sanitation and health (Agnihotri 1994: John M., 1994). In Metropolitan District of Calcutta, in 1971, 2.5 million people or about one fourth of the total population of 9 million lived in slums. The city of Calcutta, covering 40 sq. miles, and with a population of 3.15 millions, houses 1.25 million slum dwellers in 87 of its 100 wards. Besides other common factors for the development of slums in India, partitioning of East Pakistan, in 1947, further aggravated their dismal living conditions (Mukharjee 1986).

In Nepal, squatting on public land in the past was virtually absent, because homeless people usually squatted in the public building like **sottal**, **pati**, and **pauwas** (public rest house of different types) constructed by the religious minded people for the travelers and pilgrims along the roads or around the temples. (Kansakar, 1981). However, in recent years, illegal occupation of public land by the squatters has increased to an extent to become a major urban spatial issue in Nepal. Some thirty years back the government initiated rehabilitation programme for the people who have become landless (**sukumwasis**) losing their home and lands to landslides and floods. Initially, plots of lands were allocated for their rehabilitation in specified area of the towns and cities. But in later years, illegal occupation of the public lands started by the so called **sukumwasis** with different motives and interests and at present a large part of the public lands, some even in the prime areas of the towns and cities have been occupied by the illegal squatters. The role of political parties to bring them under their wings for their vested interest also helped in aggravating this problem. The situation is beyond control and the initial liberal policy of the government has backfired. A recent study made by STIDP in 1999 has recorded 4,500 households as '**sukumwasis**' occupying 1.92 per cent (26.75 ha) of the

total mixed residential land use of Pokhara. The worst affected is the public area allocated for the Pokhara bus stand. Out of the total allocated land, 197 ropanis, (1 ropani = 508.73 sq. m.) the existing area of the Pokhara Bus Stand is now limited to only 30 ropanis' (Pokhara Valley Development Committee)

iii. Voluntary segregation

Migration from rural to urban is an integral process of urbanization. Migrants in a new land feel secured and desire to live in a community where they perceive the social environment same as back home. This, they feel advantageous and secured living near to the people of their own caste or community or the locality of their "own kind" (Breese 1978, pp.86-87). In India, the members of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, who migrate to towns and cities, tend to live in exclusive clusters of their own people. The 'Katras' in Old Delhi and 'Poles' in Ahmedabad are the typical segregated colonies where not only caste affiliations persist but get politicized and reorganised to meet new threats and challenges faced by their members (Trivedi 1980). In a few old cantonment towns of the British Period in India, segregation of the Nepalese people is a marked urban land use feature. In Dharamshala, Dcharadun (north west India) and Shillong (eastern India), a number of settlements are inhabited by the Nepalese people. These people have been there for the last two hundred years, who settled in and around the cantonments after they retired from the then British Indian army. However, the segregation of the Nepalese people in these areas is not on the basis of castes and clans, as this becomes insignificant since the community itself is a minority group in alien surroundings. The segregation is based on the broader perspectives of the people of their own kind or of the same homeland rather than on castes and ethnicity. The people of different castes and ethnicity live as one family, and this is vital for their existence tying to one single homogeneous 'Gorkha' society to express their solidarity.

In Nepal, the basis of voluntary residential segregation narrows

down to castes and ethnicity. In Pokhara, the two old settlers of the town, the Brahmins and Chhetris and the traders Newars, have been living in distinct segregated areas since the emergence of the town and which remained distinct till the beginning of the migration of the tribal people from the surrounding hills. Still, the Newars are mostly confined to the older market areas of the town. The tribal groups in many parts of the town have infiltrated the neighborhoods of the Brahmins and Chhetris. However, a few pockets in the town such as the area around the Vindhevasini temple, Parsyang, and Batulechaur have still maintained the neighbourhood of the high caste people. The tribal groups with different culture and society as compared to the old town dwellers of high caste Hindus and Newar traders, have an affinity to live close to their own people. Migrants take time to adjust to the new surroundings and they carrying their traditions and customs try to retain them in the new environments. Since the tribal people are newcomers to the city, they incline to live closer to each other in a community where they can maintain their social identity following their rituals and cultural practices. And for that, it has been observed that while migrating to the city, it is not only the same caste but also the geographical region of their origin that also comes into consideration. In Pokhara, Nepal, many localities are almost exclusively inhabited by the Gurungs, which is featured by the people belonging to the same area of their origin. The same characteristic is visible in the settlement of the 'Puns', the other tribal group from the nearby hill regions.

iv. Commercial Land Use

The highly mixed land use in the developing countries in urban areas differs markedly from the usual segregation of land uses in Anglo-American cities. This appears to be the result of a long history of compact development and the continuing necessity of walking between places of residence and place of work or enjoyment.

(Breese 1978, P.58). Many cities in the developing countries have gone through four historical phases - pre-colonialism, colonialism, nationalism, and globalization. Each of these phases has changed in relation to the role of cities in the global political economy.

In many cities of South Asia, particularly, in case of medium and small size cities, commercial land use is mixed up with the residential land use. The central part of the city is still preferred and occupied by the rich people for their residential purpose. In the market areas, a mixed type of land use, residential and commercial occurs. The lower floors of multistoried houses in the main markets are used for commercial functions and the upper for residential use (see Gurung 1985, Singh R.L. September 1955, Singh U. March 1956).

However, a remarkable change has occurred in the land use pattern in some of the metropolitan cities in this region, a segregation of the specialised commercial function. A case study of Mumbai, (Grant & Jan Nijman, June, 2002), India, reveals that segregated by zoning of markets of the colonial period crumbled down after the independence of India, which was but natural because of the rising patriotic feelings. The recent development in the land use pattern of metropolitan cities is the beginning of the phase of globalization land use pattern of the cities in this region. The globalization pattern in Mumbai occurred after 1980, when the liberalization policy for trade was declared which accelerated the influx of foreign companies to these cities. These companies are involved in finance, banks, investment brokers, business constancy, real estate, insurance, accounting, advertising etc. The influx of these foreign corporations has again made a division in the urban land use pattern. The most accessible, the most advantageous location is the preferred locations for the foreign and big domestic corporations. Two distinct types of business districts work together - the zone occupied by the foreign and big domestic corporate offices and the traditional central market most

preferably located in the centre part of the city.

Another feature of the commercial use in towns and cities of the developing countries, is the operation of commercial functions in informal or non-organised sector. They sell general merchandise, clothing, shoes, crockery and toys either moving around the city area carrying these goods in a pushcart or operate under shady trees, near the shopping sectors, on any vacant patch of land. Services such as shoe repair, carpentry, hair dressing are also rendered. They afford commercial services comparatively at low price, providing a great relief to low income common people. For this reason, they are viable assets in the urban scene. (Hart, K. 1973; Prakash, A. 1986; Papola, T.S., 1981).

v. Shift in Land Use and Occupational Structure

As stated earlier, the feature of urbanization in the developing countries, and particularly, in south Asia, is a mixture of urban and rural characteristics. In India, where the urbanization is as old as the history of urbanization, still three fourth of the population live in rural areas, engaged in primary activities. In Nepal, only 13.9 per cent of the country's population are urban (CBS, 2001). Change in land use also indicates the change in occupational structure. In towns and cities, the area under primary activities, particularly, agricultural lands are shrinking. In Kathmandu valley, the area under urban land use has increased from 5 per cent in 1984 to 17.62 per cent in 1998, mainly at the expense of the agricultural land (Koirala, H.L., 1999, p.5). Similarly, land use change in Pokhara, Nepal, is significant. The expansion of the built up area of the city has encroached the rich agricultural lands. Of the total agricultural lands available within the city (1,7325 ha), 58 per cent has been developed as residential and 28 per cent are being used in supporting function (STIDP, 1999). The shift in urban land use brings a change in the occupational structure of the society and in case of some cities, a drastic change has been observed. In Pokhara, the percentage in agricultural sector has come down to 27.3 in 1991 from 62.9 in 1971,

with a percentile change of 35.6 (Parajuli 1998). This has resulted because of the migration and occupational mobility of the town dwellers, i.e., change of one occupation to another or a change of occupation from one generation to another (Parajuli, 1998). Migrants comprise a sizable proportion of urban population, and majorities of them do not own agricultural lands and are engaged in non-agricultural sectors. Around 30 per cent population currently settled in towns and cities in Nepal are borne outside the urban areas, with highest (53 %) in Butwal (Sharma P. May 15-29, 2003).

vi. Land Use and Environment Hazards

In most cases, man is himself responsible for creating environmental hazards, particularly in the case of sanitation, with his indifferent activities and habits. Most of the towns and cities do not have well maintained public toilets, drains are open without any existence of sewage, and Streets are full of dirt and filth with indiscriminate disposal of garbage, emitting strong stench. Domestic animals wander around the streets and thoroughfares causing traffic hazards. These are some of the typical features of urban culture of the developing countries.

Though, the trend of urban growth is on the rise in every developing countries, the people have not been adopting the way of life so as to make urban environment descent for their living. Either the people are ignorant, or are not conscious of the serious threat looming over the horizon to make their life miserable and difficult in near future. This complexity has further multiplied with the absence of necessary laws, and in case, if there is any, the laxity in the enforcement of these laws by the concerned authorities has encouraged the people to indulge in such activities without any hesitation and regret.

The culturally induced environment in Kathmandu City as presented by Manandhar M.S (1979) has not improved to the extent to be fully satisfied considering the investments made by the municipal corporation. There are a few public toilets in different

sections of Kathmandu City managed by the municipality but due to lack of maintenance they create a nuisance not only to the users but also to the pedestrians. Most of them have missing mirrors and broken tiles, layers of filth accumulated on the ground and walls caused mainly by the negligence of the cleaning workers and misconduct of users (Rajbanshi, A., 1993-97, p. 18). Well, in last thirty years, the second generation of urban population has come up grooming in urban set up with new thinking and perception about their environment, but how far they have progressed becoming urban is yet to be justified. Still one finds pile of garbage thrown openly in thoroughfares making Kathmandu as ugly and filthy as it was in 1811 and 1887, when Col. Kirk Patrick and Oldfield visited the city.

Besides, Kathmandu, other towns and cities are facing the same problems and for the proposal for solution, every town and cities are riddled with conflicts among the different societal groups, particularly, for the solid waste disposal. In Pokhara, there is no effective management system in operation for the disposal of about 168 m³ of solid waste materials generated daily (STDP, 1999). The site selected and partly constructed by the Municipality for the disposal of solid waste and funded by the Asian Development bank has been marred by local political and societal conflicts. And, at present the final disposal is done dumping the waste materials along the caved in lower banks of the river Seti, near the Pokhara bus stand.

Conclusion

There is a marked differentiation in the pattern of land use in developed and developing countries, depending on the economic development of the region, and as well as the inherent traditions, cultures, and norms and values of the urbanised society and the prevailing political situations in the region. This differentiation in patterns of land use has profound impact on the outcome of the social changes in these two different regions. In one society, economic status may count significant than other social factors

to be a distinct class in the society, while in another, factors such as clan, caste come ahead as a cohesive factor to bind the society as a social unit to make it different from others. The western urbanization is the direct result of industrialization, whereas, industrialization as such has little role in the urbanization of most of the developing countries, thus, the process of social changes observed in the developed countries does not hold good in the case of developing countries. So, under the prevailing economic and social situation, the factors such as the measures to control social injustice towards a specific group of people, alleviation of urban poverty, allocation of financial aids to improve the infrastructure, etc., should be seen and addressed to serve the purpose of the two contrasting regions.

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