Urban sociology
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Chapter 1

Introduction of Urban sociology

Urban sociology is the sociological study of life and human interaction in metropolitan areas. It is a normative discipline of sociology seeking to study the structures, processes, changes and problems of an urban area and by doing so provide inputs for planning and policy making. In other words it is the sociological study of cities and their role in the development of society. Like most areas of sociology, urban sociologists use statistical analysis, observation, social theory, interviews, and other methods to study a range of topics, including migration and demographic trends, economics, poverty, race relations and economic trends.

The philosophical foundations of modern urban sociology originate from the work of sociologists such as Karl Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber and Georg Simmel who studied and theorized the economic, social and cultural processes of urbanization and its effects on social alienation, class formation, and the production or destruction of collective and individual identities.

These theoretical foundations were further expanded upon and analyzed by a group of sociologists and researchers who worked at the University of Chicago in the early twentieth century. In what became known as the Chicago School of sociology the work of Robert Park, Louis Wirth and Ernest Burgess on the inner city of Chicago revolutionized the purpose of urban research in sociology but also the development of human geography through its use of quantitative and ethnographic research methods. The importance of the theories developed by the Chicago School within urban sociology have been critically sustained and critiqued but still remain one of the most significant historical advancements in understanding urbanization and the city within the social sciences.

Development and rise of urban sociology

Urban sociology rose to prominence within the academy in North America through a group of sociologists and theorists at the University of Chicago from 1915 to 1940 in what became known as the Chicago School of Sociology. The Chicago School of Sociology combined sociological and anthropological theory with ethnographic fieldwork in order to understand how individuals interact within urban social systems. Unlike the primarily macro-based sociology that had
marked earlier subfields, members of the Chicago School placed greater emphasis on micro-scale social interactions that sought to provide subjective meaning to how humans interact under structural, cultural and social conditions. The theory of symbolic interaction, the basis through which many methodologically-groundbreaking ethnographies were framed in this period, took primitive shape alongside urban sociology and shaped its early methodological leanings. Symbolic interaction was forged out of the writings of early micro-sociologists George Mead and Max Weber, and sought to frame how individuals interpret symbols in everyday interactions. With early urban sociologists framing the city as a 'superorganism', the concept of symbolic interaction aided in parsing out how individual communities contribute to the seamless functioning of the city itself.

Scholars of the Chicago School originally sought to answer a single question: how did an increase in urbanism during the time of the Industrial Revolution contribute to the magnification of contemporary social problems? Sociologists centered on Chicago due to its 'tabula rasa' state, having expanded from a small town of 10,000 in 1860 to an urban metropolis of over two million in the next half-century. Along with this expansion came many of the era's emerging social problems - ranging from issues with concentrated homelessness and harsh living conditions to the low wages and long hours that characterized the work of the many newly arrived European immigrants. Furthermore, unlike many other metropolitan areas, Chicago did not expand outward at the edges as predicted by early expansionist theorists, but instead 'reformatted' the space available in a concentric ring pattern. As with many modern cities the business district occupied the city center and was surrounded by slum and blighted neighborhoods, which were further surrounded by working mens' homes and the early forms of the modern suburbs. Urban theorists suggested that these spatially distinct regions helped to solidify and isolate class relations within the modern city, moving the middle class away from the urban core and into the privatized environment of the outer suburbs.

Due to the high concentration of first-generation immigrant families in the inner city of Chicago during the early 20th century, many prominent early studies in urban sociology focused upon the transmission of immigrants' native culture roles and norms into new and developing environments. Political participation and the rise in inter-community organizations were also frequently covered in this period, with many metropolitan areas adopting census techniques that allowed for information to be stored and easily accessed by participating institutions such as the
University of Chicago. Park, Burgess and McKenzie, professors at the University of Chicago and three of the earliest proponents of urban sociology, developed the Subculture Theories, which helped to explain the often-positive role of local institutions on the formation of community acceptance and social ties. When race relations break down and expansion renders one's community members anonymous, as was proposed to be occurring in this period, the inner city becomes marked by high levels of social disorganization that prevent local ties from being established and maintained in local political arenas.

The rise of urban sociology coincided with the expansion of statistical inference in the behavioural sciences, which helped ease its transition and acceptance in educational institutions along with other burgeoning social sciences. Micro-sociology courses at the University of Chicago were among the earliest and most prominent courses on urban sociological research in the United States.

**Evolution of urban sociology**

The evolution and transition of sociological theory from the Chicago School began to emerge in the 1970s with the publication of Claude Fischer's (1975) "Toward a Theory of Subculture Urbanism" which incorporated Bourdieu's theories on social capital and symbolic capital within the invasion and succession framework of the Chicago School in explaining how cultural groups form, expand and solidify a neighbourhood. The theme of transition by subcultures and groups within the city was further expanded by Barry Wellman's (1979) "The Community Question: The Intimate Networks of East Yorkers" which determined the function and position of the individual, institution and community in the urban landscape in relation to their community. Wellman's categorization and incorporation of community focused theories as "Community Lost", "Community Saved", and "Community Liberated" which center around the structure of the urban community in shaping interactions between individuals and facilitating active participation in the local community are explained in detail below:

Community lost: The earliest of the three theories, this concept was developed in the late 19th century to account for the rapid development of industrial patterns that seemingly caused rifts between the individual and their local community. Urbanites were claimed to hold networks that were “impersonal, transitory and segmental”, maintaining ties in multiple social networks while at the same time lacking the strong ties that bound them to any specific group. This
disorganization in turn caused members of urban communities to subsist almost solely on secondary affiliations with others, and rarely allowed them to rely on other members of the community for assistance with their needs.

Community saved: A critical response to the community lost theory that developed during the 1960s, the community saved argument suggests that multistranded ties often emerge in sparsely-knit communities as time goes on, and that urban communities often possess these strong ties, albeit in different forms. Especially among low-income communities, individuals have a tendency to adapt to their environment and pool resources in order to protect themselves collectively against structural changes. Over time urban communities have tendencies to become “urban villages”, where individuals possess strong ties with only a few individuals that connect them to an intricate web of other urbanities within the same local environment.

Community liberated: A cross-section of the community lost and community saved arguments, the community liberated theory suggests that the separation of workplace, residence and familial kinship groups has caused urbanites to maintain weak ties in multiple community groups that are further weakened by high rates of residential mobility. However, the concentrated number of environments present in the city for interaction increase the likelihood of individuals developing secondary ties, even if they simultaneously maintain distance from tightly-knit communities. Primary ties that offer the individual assistance in everyday life form out of sparsely-knit and spatially dispersed interactions, with the individual's access to resources dependent on the quality of the ties they maintain within their community. Along with the development of these theories, urban sociologists have increasingly begun to study the differences between the urban, rural and suburban environment within the last half-century. Consistent with the community liberated argument, researchers have in large part found that urban residents tend to maintain more spatially-dispersed networks of ties than rural or suburban residents. Among lower-income urban residents, the lack of mobility and communal space within the city often disrupts the formation of social ties and lends itself to creating an unintegrated and distant community space. While the high density of networks within the city weakens relations between individuals, it increases the likelihood that at least one individual within a network can provide the primary support found among smaller and more tightly-knit networks. Since the 1970s, research into social networks has focused primarily on the types of ties developed within residential environments. Bonding ties, common of tightly-knit neighborhoods, consist of connections that provide an individual
with primary support, such as access to income or upward mobility among a neighborhood organization. Bridging ties, in contrast, are the ties that weakly connect strong networks of individuals together. A group of communities concerned about the placement of a nearby highway may only be connected through a few individuals that represent their views at a community board meeting, for instance. However, as theory surrounding social networks has developed, sociologists such as Alejandro Portes and the Wisconsin model of sociological research began placing increased leverage on the importance of these weak ties. While strong ties are necessary for providing residents with primary services and a sense of community, weak ties bring together elements of different cultural and economic landscapes in solving problems affecting a great number of individuals. As theorist Eric Oliver notes, neighborhoods with vast social networks are also those that most commonly rely on heterogeneous support in problem solving, and are also the most politically active.

As the suburban landscape developed during the 20th century and the outer city became a refuge for the wealthy and, later, the burgeoning middle class, sociologists and urban geographers such as Harvey Molotch, David Harvey and Neil Smith began to study the structure and revitalization of the most impoverished areas of the inner city. In their research, impoverished neighborhoods, which often rely on tightly-knit local ties for economic and social support, were found to be targeted by developers for gentrification which displaced residents living within these communities. Political experimentation in providing these residents with semi-permanent housing and structural support - ranging from Section 8 housing to Community Development Block Grant programs - have in many cases eased the transition of low-income residents into stable housing and employment. Yet research covering the social impact of forced movement among these residents has noted the difficulties individuals often have with maintaining a level of economic comfort, which is spurred by rising land values and inter-urban competition between cities in as a means to attract capital investment. The interaction between inner-city dwellers and middle class passersby in such settings has also been a topic of study for urban sociologists.

**Criticism**

Many theories in urban sociology have been criticized, most prominently directed toward the ethnocentric approaches taken by many early theorists that lay groundwork for urban studies
throughout the 20th century. Early theories that sought to frame the city as an adaptable “superorganism” often disregarded the intricate roles of social ties within local communities, suggesting that the urban environment itself rather than the individuals living within it controlled the spread and shape of the city. For impoverished inner-city residents, the role of highway planning policies and other government-spurred initiatives instituted by the planner Robert Moses and others have been criticized as unsightly and unresponsive to residential needs. The slow development of empirically-based urban research reflects the failure of local urban governments to adapt and ease the transition of local residents to the short-lived industrialization of the city. Some modern social theorists have also been critical toward the apparent shortsightedness that urban sociologists have shown toward the role of culture in the inner city. William Julius Wilson has criticized theory developed throughout the middle of the twentieth century as relying primarily on structural roles of institutions, and not how culture itself affects common aspects of inner-city life such as poverty. The distance shown toward this topic, he argues, presents an incomplete picture of inner-city life.

**Sociology**

Sociology is the study of human social behavior and its origins, development, organizations, and institutions. It is a social science which uses various methods of empirical investigation and critical analysis to develop a body of knowledge about human social actions, social structure and functions. A goal for many sociologists is to conduct research which may be applied directly to social policy and welfare, while others focus primarily on refining the theoretical understanding of social processes. Subject matter ranges from the micro level of individual agency and interaction to the macro level of systems and the social structure.

The traditional focuses of sociology include social stratification, social class, social mobility, religion, secularization, law, and deviance. As all spheres of human activity are affected by the interplay between social structure and individual agency, sociology has gradually expanded its focus to further subjects, such as health, medical, military and penal institutions, the Internet, environmental sociology, political economy and the role of social activity in the development of scientific knowledge.

The range of social scientific methods has also expanded. Social researchers draw upon a variety of qualitative and quantitative techniques. The linguistic and cultural turns of the mid-twentieth
century led to increasingly interpretative, hermeneutic, and philosophic approaches to the analysis of society. Conversely, recent decades have seen the rise of analytically, mathematically and computationally rigorous techniques, such as agent-based modelling and social network analysis.
Chapter 2

Classification of sociology

History

Sociological reasoning predates the foundation of the discipline. Social analysis has origins in the common stock of Western knowledge and philosophy, and has been carried out from as far back as the time of ancient Greek philosopher Plato if not before. The origin of the survey, i.e., the collection of information from a sample of individuals, can be traced back to at least the Domesday Book in 1086, while ancient philosophers such as Confucius wrote on the importance of social roles. There is evidence of early sociology in medieval Islam. Some consider Ibn Khaldun, a 14th-century Arab Islamic scholar from North Africa, to have been the first sociologist; his Muqaddimah was perhaps the first work to advance social-scientific reasoning on social cohesion and social conflict. Most sociological concepts were used in English prior to their adoption as the technical language of sociology. The word sociology (or "sociologie") is derived from both Latin and Greek origins. The Latin word: socius, "companion"; the suffix -logy, "the study of" from Greek -λογία from λόγος, lógos, "word", "knowledge". It was first coined in 1780 by the French essayist Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès (1748–1836) in an unpublished manuscript. Sociology was later defined independently by the French philosopher of science, Auguste Comte (1798–1857), in 1838. Comte used this term to describe a new way of looking at society. Comte had earlier used the term "social physics", but that had subsequently been appropriated by others, most notably the Belgian statistician Adolphe Quetelet. Comte endeavored to unify history, psychology and economics through the scientific understanding of the social realm. Writing shortly after the malaise of the French Revolution, he proposed that social ills could be remedied through sociological positivism, an epistemological approach outlined in The Course in Positive Philosophy [1830–1842] and A General View of Positivism (1848). Comte believed a positivist stage would mark the final era, after conjectural theological and metaphysical phases, in the progression of human understanding. In observing the circular dependence of theory and observation in science, and having classified the sciences, Comte may be regarded as the first philosopher of science in the modern sense of the term
Comte gave a powerful impetus to the development of sociology, an impetus which bore fruit in the later decades of the nineteenth century. To say this is certainly not to claim that French sociologists such as Durkheim were devoted disciples of the high priest of positivism. But by insisting on the irreducibility of each of his basic sciences to the particular science of sciences which it presupposed in the hierarchy and by emphasizing the nature of sociology as the scientific study of social phenomena Comte put sociology on the map. To be sure, beginnings can be traced back well beyond Montesquieu, for example, and to Condorcet, not to speak of Saint-Simon, Comte's immediate predecessor. But Comte's clear recognition of sociology as a particular science, with a character of its own, justified Durkheim in regarding him as the father or founder of this science, in spite of the fact that Durkheim did not accept the idea of the three states and criticized Comte's approach to sociology.

Both Auguste Comte and Karl Marx (1818-1883) set out to develop scientifically justified systems in the wake of European industrialization and secularization, informed by various key movements in the philosophies of history and science. Marx rejected Comtean positivism but in attempting to develop a science of society nevertheless came to be recognized as a founder of sociology as the word gained wider meaning. For Isaiah Berlin, Marx may be regarded as the "true father" of modern sociology, "in so far as anyone can claim the title.

Herbert Spencer (27 April 1820 – 8 December 1903) was one of the most popular and influential 19th century sociologists. It is estimated that he sold one million books in his lifetime, far more than any other sociologist at the time. So strong was his influence that many other 19th century thinkers, including Émile Durkheim, defined their ideas in relation to his. Durkheim’s Division of Labour in Society is to a large extent an extended debate with Spencer from whose sociology, many commentators now agree, Durkheim borrowed extensively. Also a notable biologist, Spencer coined the term "survival of the fittest". Whilst Marxian ideas defined one strand of sociology, Spencer was a critic of socialism as well as strong advocate for a laissez-faire style of government. His ideas were highly observed by conservative political circles, especially in the United States and England.
Foundations of the academic discipline

Formal academic sociology was established by Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), who developed positivism as a foundation to practical social research. While Durkheim rejected much of the detail of Comte's philosophy, he retained and refined its method, maintaining that the social sciences are a logical continuation of the natural ones into the realm of human activity, and insisting that they may retain the same objectivity, rationalism, and approach to causality. Durkheim set up the first European department of sociology at the University of Bordeaux in 1895, publishing his Rules of the Sociological Method (1895).

For Durkheim, sociology could be described as the "science of institutions, their genesis and their functioning".

Durkheim's seminal monograph, Suicide (1897), a case study of suicide rates amongst Catholic and Protestant populations, distinguished sociological analysis from psychology or philosophy. It also marked a major contribution to the theoretical concept of structural functionalism. By carefully examining suicide statistics in different police districts, he attempted to demonstrate that Catholic communities have a lower suicide rate than that of Protestants, something he attributed to social (as opposed to individual or psychological) causes. He developed the notion of objective sui generis "social facts" to delineate a unique empirical object for the science of sociology to study. Through such studies he posited that sociology would be able to determine whether any given society is 'healthy' or 'pathological', and seek social reform to negate organic breakdown or "social anomie".

Sociology quickly evolved as an academic response to the perceived challenges of modernity, such as industrialization, urbanization, secularization, and the process of "rationalization". The field predominated in continental Europe, with British anthropology and statistics generally following on a separate trajectory. By the turn of the 20th century, however, many theorists were active in the Anglo-Saxon world. Few early sociologists were confined strictly to the subject, interacting also with economics, jurisprudence, psychology and philosophy, with theories being appropriated in a variety of different fields. Since its inception, sociological epistemologies, methods, and frames of inquiry, have significantly expanded and diverged. Durkheim, Marx, and the German theorist Max Weber (1864–1920) are typically cited as the three principal architects of social science. Herbert Spencer, William Graham Sumner, Lester F. Ward, Vilfredo
Pareto, Alexis de Tocqueville, Werner Sombart, Thorstein Veblen, Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel and Karl Mannheim are occasionally included on academic curricula as founding theorists. Each key figure is associated with a particular theoretical perspective and orientation.

Other developments

The first college course entitled "Sociology" was taught in the United States at Yale in 1875 by William Graham Sumner. In 1883 Lester F. Ward, the first president of the American Sociological Association, published Dynamic Sociology—Or Applied social science as based upon statical sociology and the less complex sciences and attacked the laissez-faire sociology of Herbert Spencer and Sumner. Ward's 1200 page book was used as core material in many early American sociology courses. In 1890, the oldest continuing American course in the modern tradition began at the University of Kansas, lectured by Frank W. Blackmar. The Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago was established in 1892 by Albion Small, who also published the first sociology textbook: An introduction to the study of society 1894. George Herbert Mead and Charles Cooley, who had met at the University of Michigan in 1891 (along with John Dewey), would move to Chicago in 1894. Their influence gave rise to social psychology and the symbolic interactionism of the modern Chicago School. The American Journal of Sociology was founded in 1895, followed by the American Sociological Association (ASA) in 1905. The sociological "canon of classics" with Durkheim and Max Weber at the top owes in part to Talcott Parsons, who is largely credited with introducing both to American audiences. Parsons consolidated the sociological tradition and set the agenda for American sociology at the point of its fastest disciplinary growth. Sociology in the United States was less historically influenced by Marxism than its European counterpart, and to this day broadly remains more statistical in its approach. The first sociology department to be established in the United Kingdom was at the London School of Economics and Political Science (home of the British Journal of Sociology) in 1904. Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse and Edvard Westermarck became the lecturers in the discipline at the University of London in 1907. Harriet Martineau, an English translator of Comte, has been cited as the first female sociologist. In 1909 the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie (German Sociological Association) was founded by Ferdinand Tönnies and Max Weber, among others. Weber established the first department in Germany at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich in 1919, having presented an influential new antipositivist sociology. In 1920, Florian Znanieckis set up the first department in
Poland. The Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt (later to become the Frankfurt School of critical theory) was founded in 1923. International co-operation in sociology began in 1893, when René Worms founded the Institut International de Sociologie, an institution later eclipsed by the much larger International Sociological Association (ISA), founded in 1949.

**Social research informs politicians**

educators, planners, lawmakers, administrators, developers, business magnates, managers, social workers, non-governmental organizations, non-profit organizations, and people interested in resolving social issues in general. There is often a great deal of crossover between social research, market research, and other statistical fields.

Areas of sociology

- **Social organization** is the study of the various institutions, social groups, social stratification, social mobility, bureaucracy, ethnic groups and relations, and other similar subjects such as education, politics, religion, economy and so forth.
- **Social psychology** is the study of human nature as an outcome of group life, social attitudes, collective behavior, and personality formation. It deals with group life and the individual's traits, attitudes, beliefs as influenced by group life, and it views man with reference to group life.
- **Social change and disorganization** is the study of the change in culture and social relations and the disruption that may occur in society, and it deals with the study of such current problems in society such as juvenile delinquency, criminality, drug addiction, family conflicts, divorce, population problems, and other similar subjects.
- **Human ecology** deals with the nature and behavior of a given population and its relationships to the group's present social institutions. For instance, studies of this kind have shown the prevalence of mental illness, criminality, delinquencies, prostitution, and drug addiction in urban centers and other highly developed places.
- **Population or demography** is the study of population number, composition, change, and quality as they influence the economic, political, and social system.
Sociological theory and method is concerned with the applicability and usefulness of the principles and theories of group life as bases for the regulation of man's environment, and includes theory building and testing as bases for the prediction and control of man's social environment.

Applied sociology utilizes the findings of pure sociological research in various fields such as criminology, social work, community development, education, industrial relations, marriage, ethnic relations, family counseling, and other aspects and problems of daily life

Scope and topics

Culture

For Simmel, culture referred to "the cultivation of individuals through the agency of external forms which have been objectified in the course of history". Whilst early theorists such as Durkheim and Mauss were influential in cultural anthropology, sociologists of culture are generally distinguished by their concern for modern (rather than primitive or ancient) society. Cultural sociology is seldom empirical, preferring instead the hermeneutic analysis of words, artifacts and symbols. The field is closely allied with critical theory in the vein of Theodor W. Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and other members of the Frankfurt School. Loosely distinct to sociology is the field of cultural studies. Birmingham School theorists such as Richard Hoggart and Stuart Hall questioned the division between "producers" and "consumers" evident in earlier theory, emphasizing the reciprocity in the production of texts. Cultural Studies aims to examine its subject matter in terms of cultural practices and their relation to power. For example, a study of a subculture (such as white working class youth in London) would consider the social practices of the group as they relate to the dominant class. The "cultural turn" of the 1960s ushered in structuralist and so-called postmodern approaches to social science and placed culture much higher on the sociological agenda.

Criminality, deviance, law and punishment

Criminologists analyze the nature, causes, and control of criminal activity, drawing upon methods across sociology, psychology, and the behavioural sciences. The sociology of deviance focuses on actions or behaviors that violate norms, including both formally enacted rules (e.g., crime) and informal violations of cultural norms. It is the remit of sociologists to study why these norms exist; how they change over time; and how they are enforced. The concept of
deviance is central in contemporary structural functionalism and systems theory. Robert K. Merton produced a typology of deviance, and also established the terms "role model", "unintended consequences", and "self-fulfilling prophecy".

The study of law played a significant role in the formation of classical sociology. Durkheim famously described law as the "visible symbol" of social solidarity. The sociology of law refers to both a sub-discipline of sociology and an approach within the field of legal studies. Sociology of law is a diverse field of study which examines the interaction of law with other aspects of society, such as the development of legal institutions and the effect of laws on social change and vice versa. For example, an influential recent work in the field relies on statistical analyses to argue that the increase in incarceration in the US over the last 30 years is due to changes in law and policing and not to an increase in crime; and that this increase significantly contributes to maintaining racial stratification.

**Economic sociology**

The term "economic sociology" was first used by William Stanley Jevons in 1879, later to be coined in the works of Durkheim, Weber and Simmel between 1890 and 1920. Economic sociology arose as a new approach to the analysis of economic phenomena, emphasizing class relations and modernity as a philosophical concept. The relationship between capitalism and modernity is a salient issue, perhaps best demonstrated in Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1905) and Simmel's The Philosophy of Money (1900). The contemporary period of economic sociology, also known as new economic sociology, was consolidated by the 1985 work of Mark Granovetter titled "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness". This work elaborated the concept of embeddedness, which states that economic relations between individuals or firms take place within existing social relations (and are thus structured by these relations as well as the greater social structures of which those relations are a part). Social network analysis has been the primary methodology for studying this phenomenon. Granovetter's theory of the strength of weak ties and Ronald Burt's concept of structural holes are two best known theoretical contributions of this field.
**Environment**

Environmental sociology is the study of human interactions with the natural environment, typically emphasizing human dimensions of environmental problems, social impacts of those problems, and efforts to resolve them. As with other subfields of sociology, scholarship in environmental sociology may be at one or multiple levels of analysis, from global (e.g. world-systems) to local, societal to individual. Attention is paid also to the processes by which environmental problems become defined and known to humans.

**Education**

The sociology of education is the study of how educational institutions determine social structures, experiences, and other outcomes. It is particularly concerned with the schooling systems of modern industrial societies. A classic 1966 study in this field by James Coleman, known as the "Coleman Report", analyzed the performance of over 150,000 students and found that student background and socioeconomic status are much more important in determining educational outcomes than are measured differences in school resources (i.e. per pupil spending). The controversy over "school effects" ignited by that study has continued to this day. The study also found that socially disadvantaged black students profited from schooling in racially mixed classrooms, and thus served as a catalyst for desegregation busing in American public schools.

**Family, gender, and sexuality**

Family, gender and sexuality form a broad area of inquiry studied in many subfields of sociology. The sociology of the family examines the family, as an institution and unit of socialization, with special concern for the comparatively modern historical emergence of the nuclear family and its distinct gender roles. The notion of "childhood" is also significant. As one of the more basic institutions to which one may apply sociological perspectives, the sociology of the family is a common component on introductory academic curricula. Feminist sociology, on the other hand, is a normative subfield that observes and critiques the cultural categories of gender and sexuality, particularly with respect to power and inequality. The primary concern of feminist theory is the patriarchy and the systematic oppression of women apparent in many societies, both at the level of small-scale interaction and in terms of the broader social structure. Feminist sociology also analyses how gender interlocks with race and class to
produce and perpetuate social inequalities. "How to account for the differences in definitions of femininity and masculinity and in sex role across different societies and historical periods" is also a concern. Social psychology of gender, on the other hand, uses experimental methods to uncover the microprocesses of gender stratification. For example, one recent study has shown that resume evaluators penalize women for motherhood while giving a boost to men for fatherhood. Another set of experiments showed that men whose sexuality is questioned compensate by expressing a greater desire for military intervention and sport utility vehicles as well as a greater opposition to gay marriage.

**Health and illness**

The sociology of health and illness focuses on the social effects of, and public attitudes toward, illnesses, diseases, disabilities and the aging process. Medical sociology, by contrast, focuses on the inner-workings of medical organizations and clinical institutions. In Britain, sociology was introduced into the medical curriculum following the Goodenough Report (1944).

**Internet**

The Internet is of interest to sociologists in various ways; most practically as a tool for research and as a discussion platform. The sociology of the Internet in the broad sense regards the analysis of online communities (e.g. newsgroups, social networking sites) and virtual worlds. Online communities may be studied statistically through network analysis or interpreted qualitatively through virtual ethnography. Organizational change is catalyzed through new media, thereby influencing social change at-large, perhaps forming the framework for a transformation from an industrial to an informational society. One notable text is Manuel Castells’ The Internet Galaxy—the title of which forms an inter-textual reference to Marshall McLuhan's The Gutenberg Galaxy.

**Knowledge and science**

The sociology of knowledge is the study of the relationship between human thought and the social context within which it arises, and of the effects prevailing ideas have on societies. The term first came into widespread use in the 1920s, when a number of German-speaking theorists, most notably Max Scheler, and Karl Mannheim, wrote extensively on it. With the dominance of functionalism through the middle years of the 20th century, the sociology of knowledge tended to remain on the periphery of mainstream sociological thought. It was largely reinvented and
applied much more closely to everyday life in the 1960s, particularly by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in The Social Construction of Reality (1966) and is still central for methods dealing with qualitative understanding of human society (compare socially constructed reality). The "archaeological" and "genealogical" studies of Michel Foucault are of considerable contemporary influence.

The sociology of science involves the study of science as a social activity, especially dealing "with the social conditions and effects of science, and with the social structures and processes of scientific activity." Important theorists in the sociology of science include Robert K. Merton and Bruno Latour. These branches of sociology have contributed to the formation of science and technology studies.

**Literature**

Sociology of literature is a subfield of sociology of culture. It studies the social production of literature and its social implications. A notable example is Pierre Bourdieu's 1992 Les Règles de L'Art: Genèse et Structure du Champ Littéraire, translated by Susan Emanuel as Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field (1996). None of the founding fathers of sociology produced a detailed study of literature, but they did develop ideas that were subsequently applied to literature by others. Marx's theory of ideology was directed at literature by Pierre Macherey, Terry Eagleton and Fredric Jameson. Weber's theory of modernity as cultural rationalisation, which he applied to music, was later applied to all the arts, literature included, by Frankfurt School writers such as Adorno and Jürgen Habermas. Durkheim's view of sociology as the study of externally-defined social facts was redirected towards literature by Robert Escarpit. Bourdieu's own work is clearly indebted to Marx, Weber and Durkheim.

**Media**

As with cultural studies, media study is a distinct discipline which owes to the convergence of sociology and other social sciences and humanities, in particular, literary criticism and critical theory. Though the production process or the critique of aesthetic forms is not in the remit of sociologists, analyses of socialising factors, such as ideological effects and audience reception, stem from sociological theory and method. Thus the 'sociology of the media' is not a subdiscipline per se, but the media is a common and often-indispensable topic.
Military

Military sociology aims toward the systematic study of the military as a social group rather than as an organization. It is a highly specialized subfield which examines issues related to service personnel as a distinct group with coerced collective action based on shared interests linked to survival in vocation and combat, with purposes and values that are more defined and narrow than within civil society. Military sociology also concerns civilian-military relations and interactions between other groups or governmental agencies. Topics include the dominant assumptions held by those in the military, changes in military members’ willingness to fight, military unionization, military professionalism, the increased utilization of women, the military industrial-academic complex, the military’s dependence on research, and the institutional and organizational structure of military.
Chapter 3

Political sociology

Historically political sociology concerned the relations between political organization and society. A typical research question in this area might be: "Why do so few American citizens choose to vote?" In this respect questions of political opinion formation brought about some of the pioneering uses of statistical survey research by Paul Lazarsfeld. A major subfield of political sociology developed in relation to such questions, which draws on comparative history to analyze socio-political trends. The field developed from the work of Max Weber and Moisey Ostrogorsky. Contemporary political sociology includes these areas of research, but it has been opened up to wider questions of power and politics. Today political sociologists are as likely to be concerned with how identities are formed that contribute to structural domination by one group over another; the politics of who knows how and with what authority; and questions of how power is contested in social interactions in such a way as to bring about widespread cultural and social change. Such questions are more likely to be studied qualitatively. The study of social movements and their effects has been especially important in relation to these wider definitions of politics and power

Race and ethnic relations

The sociology of race and of ethnic relations is the area of the discipline that studies the social, political, and economic relations between races and ethnicities at all levels of society. This area encompasses the study of racism, residential segregation, and other complex social processes between different racial and ethnic groups. This research frequently interacts with other areas of sociology such as stratification and social psychology, as well as with postcolonial theory. At the level of political policy, ethnic relations are discussed in terms of either assimilationism or multiculturalism. Anti-racism forms another style of policy, particularly popular in the 1960s and 70s.

Religion

The sociology of religion concerns the practices, historical backgrounds, developments, universal themes and roles of religion in society. There is particular emphasis on the recurring
role of religion in all societies and throughout recorded history. The sociology of religion is distinguished from the philosophy of religion in that sociologists do not set out to assess the validity of religious truth-claims, instead assuming what Peter L. Berger has described as a position of "methodological atheism". It may be said that the modern formal discipline of sociology began with the analysis of religion in Durkheim's 1897 study of suicide rates amongst Roman Catholic and Protestant populations. Max Weber published four major texts on religion in a context of economic sociology and his rationalization thesis: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1905), The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism (1915), The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism (1915), and Ancient Judaism (1920). Contemporary debates often center on topics such as secularization, civil religion, and the role of religion in a context of globalization and multiculturalism.

Social networks

A social network is a social structure composed of individuals (or organizations) called "nodes", which are tied (connected) by one or more specific types of interdependency, such as friendship, kinship, financial exchange, dislike, sexual relationships, or relationships of beliefs, knowledge or prestige. Social networks operate on many levels, from families up to the level of nations, and play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals. Social network analysis makes no assumption that groups are the building blocks of society: the approach is open to studying less-bounded social systems, from non-local communities to networks of exchange. Rather than treating individuals (persons, organizations, states) as discrete units of analysis, it focuses on how the structure of ties affects individuals and their relationships. In contrast to analyses that assume that socialization into norms determines behavior, network analysis looks to see the extent to which the structure and composition of ties affect norms. Unlike most other areas of sociology, social network theory is usually defined in formal mathematics.

Social psychology

Sociological social psychology focuses on micro-scale social actions. This area may be described as adhering to "sociological miniaturism", examining whole societies through the study of
individual thoughts and emotions as well as behavior of small groups. Of special concern to psychological sociologists is how to explain a variety of demographic, social, and cultural facts in terms of human social interaction. Some of the major topics in this field are social inequality, group dynamics, prejudice, aggression, social perception, group behavior, social change, nonverbal behavior, socialization, conformity, leadership, and social identity. Social psychology may be taught with psychological emphasis. In sociology, researchers in this field are the most prominent users of the experimental method (however, unlike their psychological counterparts, they also frequently employ other methodologies). Social psychology looks at social influences, as well as social perception and social interaction.

**Stratification**

Social stratification is the hierarchical arrangement of individuals into social classes, castes, and divisions within a society. Modern Western societies stratification traditionally relates to cultural and economic classes arranged in three main layers: upper class, middle class, and lower class, but each class may be further subdivided into smaller classes (e.g. occupational). Social stratification is interpreted in radically different ways within sociology. Proponents of structural functionalism suggest that, since the stratification of classes and castes is evident in all societies, hierarchy must be beneficial in stabilizing their existence. Conflict theorists, by contrast, critique the inaccessibility of resources and lack of social mobility in stratified societies.

Karl Marx distinguished social classes by their connection to the means of production in the capitalist system: the bourgeoisie own the means, but this effectively includes the proletariat itself as the workers can only sell their own labour power (forming the material base of the cultural superstructure). Max Weber critiqued Marxist economic determinism, arguing that social stratification is not based purely on economic inequalities, but on other status and power differentials (e.g. patriarchy). According to Weber, stratification may occur amongst at least three complex variables: (1) Property (class): A person's economic position in a society, based on birth and individual achievement. Weber differs from Marx in that he does not see this as the supreme factor in stratification. Weber noted how managers of corporations or industries control firms they do not own; Marx would have placed such a person in the proletariat. (2) Prestige (status): A person's prestige, or popularity in a society. This could be determined by the kind of job this person does or wealth. and (3) Power (political party): A person's ability to get
their way despite the resistance of others. For example, individuals in state jobs, such as an employee of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or a member of the United States Congress, may hold little property or status but they still hold immense power. Pierre Bourdieu provides a modern example in the concepts of cultural and symbolic capital. Theorists such as Ralf Dahrendorf have noted the tendency toward an enlarged middle-class in modern Western societies, particularly in relation to the necessity of an educated work force in technological or service-based economies. Perspectives concerning globalization, such as dependency theory, suggest this effect owes to the shift of workers to the Third World.

**Urban and rural sociology**

Urban sociology involves the analysis of social life and human interaction in metropolitan areas. It is a discipline seeking to provide advice for planning and policy making. After the industrial revolution, works such as Georg Simmel's *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1903) focused on urbanization and the effect it had on alienation and anonymity. In the 1920s and 1930s The Chicago School produced a major body of theory on the nature of the city, important to both urban sociology and criminology, utilising symbolic interactionism as a method of field research. Contemporary research is commonly placed in a context of globalization, for instance, in Saskia Sassen's study of the "Global city". Rural sociology, by contrast, is the analysis of non-metropolitan areas.

**Work and industry**

The sociology of work, or industrial sociology, examines "the direction and implications of trends in technological change, globalization, labour markets, work organization, managerial practices and employment relations to the extent to which these trends are intimately related to changing patterns of inequality in modern societies and to the changing experiences of individuals and families the ways in which workers challenge, resist and make their own contributions to the patterning of work and shaping of work institutions."
Chapter 4

Sociology and the Other Academic Disciplines

Sociology overlaps with a variety of disciplines that study society, in particular anthropology, political science, economics, and social philosophy. Many comparatively new fields such as communication studies, cultural studies, demography and literary theory, draw upon methods that originated in sociology. The terms "social science" and "social research" have both gained a degree of autonomy since their origination in classical sociology. The distinct field of social psychology emerged from the many intersections of sociological and psychological interests, and is further distinguished in terms of sociological or psychological emphasis.

Sociology and applied sociology are connected to the professional and academic discipline of social work. Both disciplines study social interactions, community and the effect of various systems (i.e. family, school, community, laws, political sphere) on the individual. However, social work is generally more focused on practical strategies to alleviate social dysfunctions; sociology in general provides a thorough examination of the root causes of these problems. For example, a sociologist might study why a community is plagued with poverty. The applied sociologist would be more focused on practical strategies on what needs to be done to alleviate this burden. The social worker would be focused on action; implementing these strategies "directly" or "indirectly" by means of mental health therapy, counseling, advocacy, community organization or community mobilization.

Social anthropology is the branch of anthropology that studies how contemporary living human beings behave in social groups. Practitioners of social anthropology, like sociologists, investigate various facets of social organization. Traditionally, social anthropologists analysed non-industrial and non-Western societies, whereas sociologists focused on industrialized societies in the Western world. In recent years, however, social anthropology has expanded its focus to modern Western societies, meaning that the two disciplines increasingly converge.

Sociobiology is the study of how social behavior and organization have been influenced by evolution and other biological process. The field blends sociology with a number of other sciences, such as anthropology, biology, and zoology. Sociobiology has generated controversy within the sociological academy for allegedly giving too much attention to gene expression over
socialization and environmental factors in general (see 'nature versus nurture'). Entomologist E. O. Wilson is credited as having originally developed and described Sociobiology.

Irving Louis Horowitz, in his The Decomposition of Sociology (1994), has argued that the discipline, whilst arriving from a "distinguished lineage and tradition", is in decline due to deeply ideological theory and a lack of relevance to policy making: "The decomposition of sociology began when this great tradition became subject to ideological thinking, and an inferior tradition surfaced in the wake of totalitarian triumphs." Furthermore: "A problem yet unmentioned is that sociology's malaise has left all the social sciences vulnerable to pure positivism—to an empiricism lacking any theoretical basis. Talented individuals who might, in an earlier time, have gone into sociology are seeking intellectual stimulation in business, law, the natural sciences, and even creative writing; this drains sociology of much needed potential." Horowitz cites the lack of a 'core discipline' as exacerbating the problem. Randall Collins, the Dorothy Swaine Thomas Professor in Sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and a member of the Advisory Editors Council of the Social Evolution & History journal, has voiced similar sentiments: "we have lost all coherence as a discipline, we are breaking up into a conglomerate of specialities, each going on its own way and with none too high regard for each other."

In 2007, The Times Higher Education Guide published a list of 'The most cited authors of books in the Humanities' (including philosophy and psychology). Seven of the top ten are listed as sociologists: Michel Foucault (1), Pierre Bourdieu (2), Anthony Giddens (5), Erving Goffman (6), Jürgen Habermas (7), Max Weber (8), and Bruno Latour (10).

**Urbanization**

Urbanization (or urbanisation) refers to the increasing number of people that live in urban areas. It predominantly results in the physical growth of urban areas, be it horizontal or vertical. The United Nations projected that half of the world's population would live in urban areas at the end of 2008. By 2050 it is predicted that 64.1% and 85.9% of the developing and developed world respectively will be urbanized.

Urbanization is closely linked to modernization, industrialization, and the sociological process of rationalization. Urbanization can describe a specific condition at a set time, i.e. the proportion of total population or area in cities or towns, or the term can describe the increase of this proportion over time. So the term urbanization can represent the level of urban development
relative to overall population, or it can represent the rate at which the urban proportion is increasing.

Urbanization is not merely a modern phenomenon, but a rapid and historic transformation of human social roots on a global scale, whereby predominantly rural culture is being rapidly replaced by predominantly urban culture. The last major change in settlement patterns was the accumulation of hunter-gatherers into villages many thousand years ago. Village culture is characterized by common bloodlines, intimate relationships, and communal behavior whereas urban culture is characterized by distant bloodlines, unfamiliar relations, and competitive behavior. This unprecedented movement of people is forecast to continue and intensify in the next few decades, mushrooming cities to sizes incomprehensible only a century ago. Indeed, today, in Asia the urban agglomerations of Dhaka, Karachi, Mumbai, Delhi, Manila, Seoul and Beijing are each already home to over 20 million people, while the Pearl River Delta, Shanghai-Suzhou and Tokyo are forecast to approach or exceed 40 million people each within the coming decade. Outside Asia, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, New York City, Lagos and Cairo are fast approaching being, or are already, home to over 20 million people.

**History**

From the development of the earliest cities in Mesopotamia and Egypt until the 18th century, an equilibrium existed between the vast majority of the population who engaged in subsistence agriculture in a rural context, and small centres of populations in the towns where economic activity consisted primarily of trade at markets and manufactures on a small scale. Due to the primitive and relatively stagnant state of agriculture throughout this period the ratio of rural to urban population remained at a fixed equilibrium.

With the onset of the agricultural and industrial revolution in the late 18th century this relationship was finally broken and an unprecedented growth in urban population took place over the course of the 19th century, both through continued migration from the countryside and due to the tremendous demographic expansion that occurred at that time. In England, the urban population jumped from 17% in 1801 to 72% in 1891 (for other countries the figure was: 37% in France, 41% in Prussia and 28% in the United States).
As labourers were freed up from working the land due to higher agricultural productivity they converged on the new industrial cities like Manchester and Birmingham which were experiencing a boom in commerce, trade and industry. Growing trade around the world also allowed cereals to be imported from North America and refrigerated meat from Australasia and South America. Spatially, cities also expanded due to the development of public transport systems, which facilitated commutes of longer distances to the city centre for the working class.

Urbanization rapidly spread across the Western world and, since the 1950s, it has begun to take hold in the developing world as well. At the turn of the 20th century, just 15% of the world population lived in cities. According to the UN the year 2007 witnessed the turning point when more than 50% of the world population were living in cities, for the first time in human history.

Movement

As more and more people leave villages and farms to live in cities, urban growth results. The rapid growth of cities like Chicago in the late 19th century, Tokyo in the mid twentieth, and Mumbai in the 21st century can be attributed largely to rural-urban migration. This kind of growth is especially commonplace in developing countries. This phenomenal growth can also be attributed to the lure of not just economic opportunities, but also to loss or degradation of farmland and pastureland due to development, pollution, land grabs, or conflict, the attraction and anonymity of hedonistic pleasures of urban areas, proximity and ease of mass transport, as well as the opportunity to assert individualism.

The rapid urbanization of the world’s population over the twentieth century is described in the 2005 Revision of the UN World Urbanization Prospects report. The global proportion of urban population rose dramatically from 13% (220 million) in 1900, to 29% (732 million) in 1950, to 49% (3.2 billion) in 2005. The same report projected that the figure is likely to rise to 60% (4.9 billion) by 2030.

According to the UN State of the World Population 2007 report, sometime in the middle of 2007, the majority of people worldwide will be living in towns or cities, for the first time in history; this is referred to as the arrival of the "Urban Millennium" or the 'tipping point'. In regard to future trends, it is estimated 93% of urban growth will occur in developing nations, with 80% of urban growth occurring in Asia and Africa.
Urbanization rates vary between countries. The United States and United Kingdom have a far higher urbanization level than India, Swaziland or Niger, but a far slower annual urbanization rate, since much less of the population is living in a rural area. Some nations make a distinction between suburban and urban areas, while others do not; indeed, human conditions within such areas differ greatly.

- Urbanization in the United States never reached the Rocky Mountains in locations such as Jackson Hole, Wyoming; Telluride, Colorado; Taos, New Mexico; Douglas County, Colorado and Aspen, Colorado. The state of Vermont has also been affected, as has the coast of Florida, the Birmingham-Jefferson County, AL area, the Pacific Northwest and the barrier islands of North Carolina.

- In the United Kingdom, two major examples of new urbanization can be seen in Swindon, Wiltshire and Milton Keynes, Buckinghamshire. These two towns show some of the quickest growth rates in Europe.

- Urbanization occurs as individual, commercial, social and governmental efforts reduce time and expense in commuting and transportation and improve opportunities for jobs, education, housing, and transportation. Living in cities permits the advantages of the opportunities of proximity, diversity, and marketplace competition. However, the advantages of urbanization are weighed against alienation issues, stress, increased daily life costs, and negative social aspects that result from mass marginalization. Suburbanization, which is happening in the cities of the largest developing countries, was sold and seen as an attempt to balance these negative aspects of urban life while still allowing access to the large extent of shared resources.

- Cities are known to be places where money, services, wealth and opportunities are centralized. Many rural inhabitants come to the city for reasons of seeking fortunes and social mobility. Businesses, which provide jobs and exchange capital are more concentrated in urban areas. Whether the source is trade or tourism, it is also through the ports or banking systems that foreign money flows into a country, commonly located in cities.

- Economic opportunities are just one reason people move into cities, though they do not go to fully explain why urbanization rates have exploded only recently in places like
China and India. Rural flight is a contributing factor to urbanization. In rural areas, often on small family farms or collective farms in villages, it has traditionally been difficult to access manufactured goods, though overall quality of life is very subjective, and may certainly surpass that of the city. Farm living has always been susceptible to unpredictable environmental conditions, and in times of drought, flood or pestilence, survival may become extremely problematic.

Environmental effects

The phenomenon of Urban heat islands has become a growing concern. Incidence of this phenomenon as well as concern about it has increased over the years. An urban heat island is formed when industrial and urban areas are developed resulting in greater production and retention of heat. A large proportion of solar energy that affects rural areas is consumed evaporating water from vegetation and soil. In cities, where there is less vegetation and exposed soil, the majority of the sun’s energy is absorbed by urban structures and asphalt. Hence, during warm daylight hours, less evaporative cooling in cities results in higher surface temperatures than in rural areas. Vehicles and factories release additional city heat, as do industrial and domestic heating and cooling units. As a result, cities are often 2 to 10 °F (1 to 6 °C) warmer than surrounding landscapes. Impacts also include reducing soil moisture and a reduction in re-uptake of carbon dioxide emissions. In his book Whole Earth Discipline, Stewart Brand argues that the effects of urbanization are primarily positive for the environment. Firstly, the birth rate of new urban dwellers falls immediately to replacement rate, and keeps falling, reducing the risk of environmental stresses caused by population growth. Secondly, migration away from rural areas reduces the prevalence of destructive subsistence farming techniques, such as improperly implemented slash and burn agriculture.

A July 2013 report issued by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, however warns that with the additional 2.4 billion people by 2050, the amount of food produced will have to increase by 70 percent straining food resources, especially in countries already facing food insecurity due to changing environmental conditions. The mix of changing environmental conditions and the growing number of people living in urban regions, according to UN experts, will strain basic sanitation systems, health care, and potentially cause a humanitarian and environmental nightmare.
Changing forms

Different forms of urbanization can be classified depending on the style of architecture and planning methods as well as historic growth of areas.

In cities of the developed world urbanization traditionally exhibited a concentration of human activities and settlements around the downtown area, the so-called in-migration. In-migration refers to migration from former colonies and similar places. The fact that many immigrants settle in impoverished city centres led to the notion of the " peripheralization of the core", which simply describes that people who used to be at the periphery of the former empires now live right in the centre.

Recent developments, such as inner-city redevelopment schemes, mean that new arrivals in cities no longer necessarily settle in the centre. In some developed regions, the reverse effect, originally called counter urbanization has occurred, with cities losing population to rural areas, and is particularly common for richer families. This has been possible because of improved communications, and has been caused by factors such as the fear of crime and poor urban environments. It has contributed to the phenomenon of shrinking cities experienced by some parts of the industrialized world.

When the residential area shifts outward, this is called suburbanization. A number of researchers and writers suggest that suburbanization has gone so far to form new points of concentration outside the downtown both in developed and developing countries such as India. This networked, poly-centric form of concentration is considered by some emerging pattern of urbanization. It is called variously exurbia, edge city (Garreau, 1991), network city (Batten, 1995), or postmodern city (Dear, 2000). Los Angeles is the best-known example of this type of urbanization. Interestingly, in the United States, this process has reversed as of 2011, with "re-urbanization" occurring as suburban flight due to chronically high transport costs.

Rural migrants are attracted by the possibilities that cities can offer, but often settle in shanty towns and experience extreme poverty. In the 1980s, this was attempted to be tackled with the urban bias theory which was promoted by Michael Lipton.

Most of the urban poor in developing countries able to find work can spend their lives in insecure, poorly paid jobs. According to research by the Overseas Development Institute pro-
poor urbanization will require labour intensive growth, supported by labour protection, flexible land use regulation and investments in basic services.'

Urbanization can be planned urbanization or organic. Planned urbanization, i.e.: planned community or the garden city movement, is based on an advance plan, which can be prepared for military, aesthetic, economic or urban design reasons. Examples can be seen in many ancient cities; although with exploration came the collision of nations, which meant that many invaded cities took on the desired planned characteristics of their occupiers. Many ancient organic cities experienced redevelopment for military and economic purposes, new roads carved through the cities, and new parcels of land were cordoned off serving various planned purposes giving cities distinctive geometric designs. UN agencies prefer to see urban infrastructure installed before urbanization occurs. Landscape planners are responsible for landscape infrastructure (public parks, sustainable urban drainage systems, greenways etc.) which can be planned before urbanization takes place, or afterward to revitalize an area and create greater livability within a region. Concepts of control of the urban expansion are considered in the American Institute of Planners.

**Urbanisation in India**

Urbanisation in India was mainly caused after independence, due to adoption of mixed system of economy by the country which gave rise to the development of private sector. Urbanisation is taking place at a faster rate in India. Population residing in urban areas in India, according to 1901 census, was 11.4%. This count increased to 28.53% according to 2001 census, and crossing 30% as per 2011 census, standing at 31.16%. According to a survey by UN State of the World Population report in 2007, by 2030, 40.76% of country's population is expected to reside in urban areas. As per World Bank, India, along with China, Indonesia, Nigeria and the United States, will lead the world's urban population surge by 2050. Mumbai saw large scale rural-urban migration in the 21st century. Mumbai accommodates 12.5 million people, and is the largest metropolis by population in India, followed by Delhi with 11 million inhabitants. Witnessing the fastest rate of urbanisation in the world, as per 2011 census, Delhi's population rose by 4.1%, Mumbai's by 3.1% and Kolkata's by 2% as per 2011 census compared to 2001 census. Estimated population, at the current rate of growth, by year 2015, Mumbai stands at 25 million, Delhi and Kolkata at 16 million each, Bangalore and Hyderabad at 10 million
History

Pre-modern India

The first appearance of cities and urban development in India was around 2600 BCE with the advent of the Indus Valley Civilisation. The settlement displayed a level of sophistication superior to contemporary development with its unique Grid plan city layout. During its peak, the city had a novel sanitation system with a water supply and sewerage system in place. Trading helped the city to flourish and it had significant trade routes with Central Asia and the Middle East. The city had its unique system of weights and measures, script, religion and a flourishing crafts industry.

The decline of the Indus Valley Civilisation due to climate change and drought led to a migration towards northern India in the advent of the Iron Age better known for the Vedic Civilisation. The epic Mahabharata of this time describes the city of Indraprastha which stood at the present location of Delhi and served as capital for the Pandavas. This period and its later years saw the rise of various powerful city kingdoms or republics, known in popular literature as the 16 Mahajanapadas, such as Kashi, Magadha and Avanti, whose capital cities became powerful through trade and being notable centres of learning. The prominent among them being Varanasi, Pataliputra (modern day Patna) and Ujjayini among others. The later period, from 399 BCE, became famous with the Maurya empire. A detailed account of life during the time of Chandragupta Maurya is given by the Greek ethnographer Megasthenes in his book the Indica. The book describes the caste system prevalent at the time that has been deeply rooted in the present day Indian community, both rural and urban. Cities like Takshashila became renowned in the old world as a centre for higher learning, probably best known for its association with the strategist and adviser Chanakya who aided the emperor. Takshashila was the terminus of several major inlands, connecting India and Central Asia. In the south, the Pandyan Dynasty established its capital at Madurai, one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world, and boasting a rich cultural and architectural heritage. Port cities such as Muziris and Tyndis thrived with trade with the Roman empire.

The transition period

After independence, India faced poverty, unemployment and economic backwardness. The first Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, focused on the domain of science and
technology, for economic development. The mixed economy system was adopted, resulting in the growth of the Public sector in India.

**Causes of urbanisation in India**

The main causes of urbanisation in India are:

- Expansion in government services, as a result of Second World War
- Migration of people from Pakistan after partition of India
- The Industrial Revolution
- Eleventh five year plan that aimed at urbanisation for the economic development of India
- Economic opportunities are just one reason people move into cities
- Infrastructure facilities in the urban areas
- Growth of private sector after 1990.

**Consequences of urbanisation**

Rapid rise in urban population, in India, is leading to many problems like increasing slums, decrease in standard of living in urban areas, also causing environmental damage.

The Industrial Revolution in the 18th century caused countries like United States and England to become superpower nations but the present condition is worsening. India's urban growth rate is 2.07% which seems to be significant compared to Rwanda with 7.6%. India has around 300 million people living in metropolitan areas. This has greatly caused slum problems, with so many people over crowding cities and forcing people to live in unsafe conditions which also includes illegal buildings. Water lines, roads and electricity are lacking which is causing fall of living standards. It is also adding to the problem of all types of pollution.

Urbanisation also results in a disparity in the market, owing to the large demands of the growing population and the primary sector struggling to cope with them.

**Slum**

A slum is a heavily populated urban informal settlement characterized by substandard housing and squalor.[1] While slums differ in size and other characteristics from country to country, most lack reliable sanitation services, supply of clean water, reliable electricity, timely law
enforcement and other basic services. Slum residences vary from shanty to poorly built, deteriorated buildings.

Slums were common in 19th and early 20th century urban history of the United States and Europe.\(^3\)\(^4\)

In the 20th century, slums were predominantly found in urban regions of developing and undeveloped parts of the world, but also found in developed economies.

According to UN-HABITAT, around 33% of the urban population in the developing world in 2012, or about 863 million people, lived in slums. The proportion of urban population living in slums was highest in Sub-Saharan Africa (61.7%), followed by South Asia (35%), Southeast Asia (31%), East Asia (28.2%), West Asia (24.6%), Oceania (24.1%), Latin America and the Caribbean (23.5%), and North Africa (13.3%). Among individual countries, the proportion of urban residents living in slum areas in 2009 was highest in the Central African Republic (95.9%). Between 1990 and 2010, the percentage of people living in slums dropped, even as the total urban population increased. The world's largest slum city is in Mexico City.

Slums form and grow in many different parts of the world, for many different reasons. Some causes include rapid rural-to-urban migration, economic stagnation and depression, high unemployment, poverty, informal economy, poor planning, politics, natural disasters and social conflicts. Strategies tried to reduce and transform slums in different countries, with varying degrees of success, include a combination of slum removal, slum relocation, slum upgrading, urban planning with city wide infrastructure development, and public housing projects.
Poverty in India is widespread, with the nation estimated to have a third of the world's poor. In 2010, the World Bank reported that 32.7% of all people in India fall below the international poverty line of US$1.25 per day (PPP) while 68.7% live on less than US$ 2 per day.

According to 2010 data from the United Nations Development Programme, an estimated 29.8% of Indians live below the country's national poverty line. A 2010 report by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) states that 8 Indian states have 421 million poor people. A 2013 UN report stated that a third of the world's poorest people live in India.

According to a 2011 poverty Development Goals Report, as many as 320 million people in India and China are expected to come out of extreme poverty in the next four years, with India's poverty rate projected to drop from 51% in 1990 to about 22% in 2015. The report also indicates that in Southern Asia, only India is on track to cut poverty by half by the 2015 target date.

Defining the poverty line is itself a subjective matter, and many feel that it should be raised further. Indian journalist Ravi S Jha suggests measuring poverty by segregating India's poor in different groups; those living in abject poverty, those who are vulnerable to poverty and those who are lifted out of poverty through government welfare. The urban areas where India’s middle and upper classes make their living have seen the greatest degree of economic growth, while the rural areas have lagged further behind. Since 1991, India has undergone a great deal of liberalisation internally and externally, but its benefits have mostly gone to the middle and upper classes.

The latest UNICEF data shows that one in three malnourished children worldwide are found in India, whilst 42% of the nation's children under five years of age are underweight. It also shows that a total of 58% of children under five surveyed were stunted. Rohini Mukherjee, of the Naadi foundation – one of the NGOs that published the report – stated India is "doing worse than sub-Saharan Africa." However, the main cause for this malnourishment is dietary practices, and not economic poverty. To quote the same Rohini Mukherjee "It is very clear that in Africa (malnutrition) is a result of absolute poverty. They are starving... In our case, to me it seems it is about eating and feeding practices... Most children we measured have never been hungry, but
what the child is eating is almost all carbohydrate." Too many women underestimate the need to breastfeed an infant during its first six months. People often consider Colostrum—a vital high-protein milk-form produced just before birth—as being impure and discard it.

The 2011 Global Hunger Index (GHI) Report places India amongst the three countries where the GHI between 1996 and 2011 went up from 22.9 to 23.7, while 78 out of the 81 developing countries studied, including Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Vietnam, Kenya, Nigeria, Myanmar, Uganda, Zimbabwe and Malawi, succeeded in improving hunger conditions.

**Poverty estimates**

Pre-independence

National Planning Committee (1936)

The National Planning Committee in 1936 under Nehru recognized that "there was lack of food, of clothing, of housing and of every other essential requirement of human existence". Against this assessment, the Committee declared that the development policy objective should be to "ensure an adequate standard of living for the masses, in other words, to get rid of the appalling poverty of the people". Towards this end, the Committee defined goals for the total population in terms of nutrition (involving a balanced diet of 2400 to 2800 calories per adult worker), clothing (30 yards per capital per annum), and housing (100 sq. ft per capital).

**Working Group (1962)**

After taking into account the recommendations of the 1958 – Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research regarding balanced diet, the first attempt to define a poverty line after independence, was made in 1962 by a Working Group of eminent economists and social thinkers. The Working Group was set up by the Seminar on Some Aspects of Planning and consisted of Prof. D.R. Gadgil, Dr. B.N. Ganguli, Dr. P.S. Lokanathan, M.R. Masani, Ashok Mehta, Pitambar Pant, Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Shriman Narayan, Anna Saheb Sahasrabuddhe. It recommended in 1962 that: The national minimum for each household of 5 persons (4 adult consumption units) should be not less than 100 per month in terms of 1960–61 prices or 20 per-capita. For urban areas, this figure will have to be raised to 125 per month per household or 25 per capita to cover the higher prices of the physical volume of commodities on which the national minimum is calculated.
An element of subsidy in urban housing will have to be included after taking 10 per month, or 10 per-cent as the rent element payable from the proposed national minimum of 100 per month.

But, this national minimum, considered adequate to ensure minimum energy requirements for an active and healthy life and also minimum clothing and shelter, did not include expenditures on health and education, which are to be provided by the State as per the Directive Principles of State Policy of Indian Constitution.

Dandekar and Rath (1971)

V M Dandekar and Nilakantha Rath in their work poverty in India” used an average calorie norm of 2,250 calories per capita per day for both rural and urban areas, as a criterion to define the poverty line. On the basis of NSSO data on consumer expenditure, the study revealed that, in rural area, the households with an annual per capita expenditure of 170.80 (or equivalently ₹ 14.20 per-capita per month) at the 1960–61 prices consumed on an average food with calorie equivalent of 2250 per capita per day together with such non-food items as they chose.

The corresponding figures in the urban area were ₹ 271.70 and ₹ 22.60 at 1960–61 prices. Comparing their studies with that of the 1962 Work Group Report, they revised the rural minimum upwards to ₹ 180 per-annum or ₹ 15 per month. Similarly, they rounded off the urban minimum to ₹270 per annum or ₹ 22.50 per month, both at 1960–61 prices. According to their estimate, about 40 percent of the rural population and 50 percent urban population lived below this poverty line in 1960–61.

Task Force (1979)

The "Task Force on Projections of Minimum Needs and Effective Consumption Demand", of the Perspective Planning Division, under Planning Commission defined the poverty line as the per-capita expenditure level at which the average per-capita, per day calorie intake was 2435 calories in rural areas and 2095 calories for urban areas. The Task Force used the age, sex-activity specific calorie allowances recommended by the Nutrition Expert Group (1968) to estimate the average daily per capita requirements for rural and urban areas using the age-sex-occupational structure of their respective population (as projected for 1982–83). For reasons of convenience the calorie norms were rounded off to 2400 calories per capita per day for rural areas and 2100 calories per capita per day for urban areas. The monetary equivalent of these norms (i.e., poverty
lines), were calculated using the 28th Round (1973–74) NSS data relating to household sector consumption both in quantitative and value terms were used. Based on the observed consumer behaviour in 1973–74 it was estimated that, on an average, consumer expenditure of Rs.49.09 per capita per month was associated with a calorie intake of 2400 per capita per day in rural areas and Rs.56.64 per capita per month with a calorie intake of 2100 per day in urban areas.

Expert Group (1993)

An Expert Group on 'Estimation of Proportion and Number of Poor' was constituted under the Chairmanship of Professor D.T. Lakdawala, to look into the methodology for estimation of poverty and re-define the poverty line, if necessary. The Expert Group submitted its report in 1993. The Expert Group recommended that the poverty line approach anchored in a calorie norm and associated with a fixed consumption basket (as recommended by the 1979 Task Force) might be continued. However, the Expert Group further recommended that the state–specific poverty lines be worked out. This was done in two steps.

1. To work out State-specific poverty line for the base year 1973–74 by taking the standardised commodity basket corresponding to the poverty line at the national level and valuing it at the prices prevailing in each state in the base year.

2. Updating the poverty line to reflect current prices in a given year by applying state-specific consumer price indices.

Other recommendation of the Expert Group was to abandon the pro-rata adjustment of NSS based total household consumption expenditure to National Accounts Statistics based total private consumption expenditure as the gap between the two had widened overtime. The Expert Group observed that it was better to rely exclusively on the NSS for estimating the poverty ratios. The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the Expert Group with minor modifications in 1997. There has been no uniform measure of poverty in India. The Planning Commission of India has accepted the Tendulkar Committee report which says that 33% of people in India live below the poverty line (BPL).

The Arjun Sengupta Report (from the National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector), based on data between the period 1993–94 and 2004–05, states that 77% of Indians live on less than ₹20 a day (about US$0.50 per day). The N.C. Saxena Committee report states, on
account of calorific intake apart from nominal income, that 50% of Indians live below the poverty line.

A study by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative using a Multi-dimensional Poverty Index (MPI) found that there were 650 million people (53.7% of population) living in poverty in India, of which 340 million people (28.6% of the population) were living in severe poverty, and that a further 198 million people (16.4% of the population) were vulnerable to poverty. 421 million of the poor are concentrated in eight North Indian and East Indian states of Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. This number is higher than the 410 million poor living in the 26 poorest African nations. The states are listed below in increasing order of poverty based on the Multi-dimensional Poverty Index. Kerala has the lowest percentage of people below poverty line.

**Impact of poverty**

Since the 1950s, the Indian government and non-governmental organisations have initiated several programmes to alleviate poverty, including subsidising food and other necessities, increased access to loans, improving agricultural techniques and price supports, and promoting education and family planning. These measures have helped eliminate famines, cut absolute poverty levels by more than half, and reduced illiteracy and malnutrition.

The presence of a massive parallel economy in the form of black (hidden) money derived from foreign aid has also contributed to the slow pace of poverty alleviation in India.

Although the Indian economy has grown steadily over the last two decades, its growth has been uneven when comparing social groups, economic groups, geographic regions, and rural and urban areas. Between 1999 and 2008, the annualised growth rates for Gujarat, Haryana, or Delhi were much higher than for Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, or Madhya Pradesh. Poverty rates in rural Orissa (43%) and rural Bihar (41%) are among the world's most extreme. Despite significant economic progress, one quarter of the nation's population earns less than the government-specified poverty threshold of ₹32 per day (approximately US$ 0.6).

According to a 2010 World Bank report, India is on track to meet its poverty reduction goals. However by 2015, an estimated 53 million people will still live in extreme poverty and 23.6% of
the population will still live under US$1.25 per day. This number is expected to reduce to 20.3% or 268 million people by 2020. However, at the same time, the effects of the worldwide recession in 2009 have plunged 100 million more Indians into poverty than there were in 2004, increasing the effective poverty rate from 27.5% to 37.2%.

As per the 2001 census, 35.5% of Indian households availed of banking services, 35.1% owned a radio or transistor, 31.6% a television, 9.1% a phone, 43.7% a bicycle, 11.7% a scooter, motorcycle or a moped, and 2.5% a car, jeep or van; 34.5% of the households had none of these assets. According to Department of Telecommunications of India the phone density reached 73.34% by December 2012 and has an annual growth decreased by −4.58%. This tallies with the fact that a family of four with an annual income of ₹137,000 could afford some of these luxury items.

**Causes**

One cause is a high population growth rate, although demographers generally agree that this is a symptom rather than cause of poverty. While services and industry have grown at double-digit figures, agriculture growth rate has dropped from 4.8% to 2%. About 60% of the population depends on agriculture whereas the contribution of agriculture to the GDP is about 18%. The surplus of labour in agriculture has caused many people to not have jobs. Farmers are a large vote bank and use their votes to resist reallocation of land for higher-income industrial project.

**Caste system**

According to S. M. Michael, Dalits constitute the bulk of poor and unemployed. According to William A. Haviland, casteism is widespread in rural areas and continues to segregate Dalits. Others, however, have noted the steady rise and empowerment of the Dalits through social reforms and the implementation of reservations in employment and benefits.

**India's economic policies**

In 1947, the average annual income in India was US$619, compared with US$439 for China, US$770 for South Korea, and US$936 for Taiwan. By 1999, the numbers were US$1,818 India; US$3,259 China; US$13,317 South Korea; and US$15,720 Taiwan, respectively. (Numbers are in 1990 international Maddison dollars.) In other words, the average income in India was not much different from South Korea in 1947, but South Korea became a
developed country by the 2000s. At the same time, India was left as one of the world's poorer countries. India had to somehow manage and facilitate its resources and planning in such a way that the poverty ratio could be reduced.

License Raj refers to the elaborate licenses, regulations and the accompanying red tape that were required to set up and run business in India between 1947 and 1990. The License Raj was a result of India's decision to have a planned economy, where all aspects of the economy are controlled by the state and licenses were given to a select few. Corruption flourished under this system.

The labyrinthine bureaucracy often led to absurd restrictions – up to 80 agencies had to be satisfied before a firm could be granted a licence to produce and the state would decide what was produced, how much, at what price and what sources of capital were used.

—BBC

India had started out in the 1950s with high growth rates, openness to trade and investment, a promotional state, social expenditure awareness and macro stability but ended the 1980s with low growth rates, closure to trade and investment, a license-obsessed, restrictive state (License Raj), inability to sustain social expenditures and macro instability, indeed economic crisis.

**Liberalisation policies and their effects**

Other points of view hold that the economic reforms initiated in the early 1990s are responsible for the collapse of rural economies and the agrarian crisis currently underway. As journalist and the Rural Affairs editor for The Hindu, P Sainath describes in his reports on the rural economy in India, the level of inequality has risen to extraordinary levels, when at the same time, hunger in India has reached its highest level in decades. He also points out that rural economies across India have collapsed, or on the verge of collapse due to the neo-liberal policies of the government of India since the 1990s. The human cost of the "liberalisation" has been very high. The huge wave of farm suicides in Indian rural population from 1997 to 2007 totalled close to 200,000, according to official statistics. That number remains disputed, with some saying the true number is much higher. Commentators have faulted the policies pursued by the government which, according to Sainath, resulted in a very high portion of rural households getting into the
debt cycle, resulting in a very high number of farm suicides. As professor Utsa Patnaik, India's top economist on agriculture, has pointed out, the average poor family in 2007 has about 100 kg less food per year than it did in 1997.

Government policies encouraging farmers to switch to cash crops, in place of traditional food crops, has resulted in an extraordinary increase in farm input costs, while market forces determined the price of the cash crop. Sainath points out that a disproportionately large number of affected farm suicides have occurred with cash crops, because with food crops such as rice, even if the price falls, there is food left to survive on. He points out that inequality has reached one of the highest rates India has ever seen. In a report by Chetan Ahya, executive director at Morgan Stanley, it is pointed out that there has been a wealth increase of close to US$1 trillion in the time frame of 2003–2007 in the Indian stock market, while only 4%–7% of the Indian population hold any equity. During the time when public investment in agriculture shrank to 2% of the GDP, the nation suffered the worst agrarian crisis in decades, the same time as India became the nation of second highest number of dollar billionaires. Sainath argues that

The per capita food availability has declined every five years without exception from 1992–2010 whereas from 1972–1991 it had risen every five-year period without exception.

Farm incomes have collapsed. Hunger has grown very fast. Public investment in agriculture shrank to nothing a long time ago. Employment has collapsed. Non-farm employment has stagnated. (Only the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act has brought some limited relief in recent times.) Millions move towards towns and cities where, too, there are few jobs to be found.

In one estimate, over 85 per cent of rural households are either landless, sub-marginal, marginal or small farmers. Nothing has happened in 15 years that has changed that situation for the better. Much has happened to make it a lot worse.

Those who have taken their lives were deep in debt – peasant households in debt doubled in the first decade of the neoliberal "economic reforms,” from 26 per cent of farm households to 48.6 per cent. Meanwhile, all along, India kept reducing investment in agriculture (standard neoliberal procedure). Life was being made more and more impossible for small farmers.
As of 2006, the government spends less than 0.2% of GDP on agriculture and less than 3% of GDP on education. However, some government schemes such as the mid-day meal scheme, and the NREGA have been partially successful in providing a lifeline for the rural economy and curbing the further rise of poverty.

**Reduction in poverty**

Despite all the causes, India currently adds 40 million people to its middle class every year. Analysts such as the founder of Forecasting International, Marvin J. Cetron writes that an estimated 300 million Indians now belong to the middle class; one-third of them have emerged from poverty in the last ten years. However, this has to be seen in perspective as the population of India has increased by 370 million from 1991 and 190 million from 2001 so the absolute number of poor has increased.

Despite government initiatives, corporate social responsibility (CSR) remains low on the agenda of corporate sector. Only 10% of funding comes from individuals and corporate and "a large part of CSR initiatives are artfully masqueraded and make it back to the balancesheet." The widening income gap between the rich and the poor over the years has raised fears of a social backlash.

**Efforts to alleviate poverty**

Since the early 1950s, govt has initiated, sustained, and refined various planning schemes to help the poor attain self-sufficiency in food production. Probably the most important initiative has been the supply of basic commodities, particularly food at controlled prices, available throughout the country as the poor spend about 80% of their income on food. The schemes have however not been very successful because the rate of poverty reduction lags behind the rapid population growth rate.

**Outlook for poverty alleviation**

Eradication of poverty in India is generally only considered to be a long-term goal. Poverty alleviation is expected to make better progress in the next 50 years than in the past, as a trickle-down effect of the growing middle class. Increasing stress on education, reservation of seats in government jobs and the increasing empowerment of women and the economically weaker sections of society, are also expected to contribute to the alleviation of poverty. It is incorrect to say that all poverty reduction programmes have failed. The growth of the middle class (which
was virtually non-existent when India became a free nation in August 1947) indicates that economic prosperity has indeed been very impressive in India, but the distribution of wealth is not at all even.

**Controversy over extent of poverty reduction**

The definition of poverty in India has been called into question by the UN World Food Programme. In its report on global hunger index, it questioned the government of India's definition of poverty saying:

The fact that calorie deprivation is increasing during a period when the proportion of rural population below the poverty line is said to be declining rapidly, highlights the increasing disconnect between official poverty estimates and calorie deprivation.

While total overall poverty in India has declined, the extent of poverty reduction is often debated. While there is a consensus that there has not been increase in poverty between 1993–94 and 2004–05, the picture is not so clear if one considers other non-pecuniary dimensions (such as health, education, crime and access to infrastructure). With the rapid economic growth that India is experiencing, it is likely that a significant fraction of the rural population will continue to migrate toward cities, making the issue of urban poverty more significant in the long run.

Some, like journalist P Sainath, hold the view that while absolute poverty may not have increased, India remains at an abysmal rank in the UN Human Development Index. India is positioned at 136th place in the 2012 UN HDI index. It is the lowest rank for the country in over 10 years. In 1992, India was at 122nd place in the same index. It can even be argued that the situation has become worse on critical indicators of overall well-being such as the number of people who are undernourished (India has the highest number of malnourished people, at 230 million, and is 94th of 119 in the world hunger index), and the number of malnourished children (43% of India's children under 5 are underweight (BMI<18.5), the highest in the world) as of 2008.

A 2007 report by the state-run National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) found that 77% of Indians, or 836 million people, lived on less than ₹20 per day (USD 0.50 nominal, USD 2.0 in PPP), with most working in "informal labour sector with no job or social security, living in abject poverty." However, a 2010 report from the UN disputes this,
finding that the number of people living on US$1.25 a day is expected to go down from 435 million or 51.3 percent in 1990 to 295 million or 23.6 percent by 2015 and 268 million or 20.3 percent by 2020.

**Persistence of malnutrition among children**

According to the New York Times, it is estimated that about 55% of the children in India suffer from malnutrition. The World Bank, citing estimates made by the World Health Organisation, states that "About 49 percent of the world's underweight children, 34 percent of the world's stunted children and 46 percent of the world's wasted children, live in India." The World Bank also noted that "while poverty is often the underlying cause of malnutrition in children, the superior economic growth experienced by South Asian countries compared to those in Sub-Saharan Africa, has not translated into superior nutritional status for the South Asian child."

A special commission to the Indian Supreme Court has noted that the child malnutrition rate in India is twice as great as sub-Saharan Africa.

Data from the World Bank shows that the percentage of underweight children in sub-Saharan Africa is 24% while India has almost twice the amount at 47%. Out of the 47%, 50% were from rural areas, 38% from urban areas, 48.9% of the underweight are girls and 45.5% are boys.

Malnutrition is often associated with diseases like diarrhoea, malaria and measles due to the lack of access in health care which are also linked to the problem of poverty. The United Nations had estimated that "2.1 million Indian children die before reaching the age of 5 every year – four every minute." The Indian government came up with the Integrated Childhood Development Service (ICDS) in 1975 to combat the problem of malnutrition in the country. ICDS is the world's largest child development programme, but its effects on the problem in India are limited. This is because the programme failed to focus on children under 3, the group that should receive the most help from the ICDS; most growth retardation would have developed during the age of 2 and are mostly irreversible. With the lack of help, the chances that newborn babies are unable to develop fully would be higher.

The quality of ICDS centres varies from states to states and often the babies with the most serious problem of malnutrition have the lowest amount of help given. "Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, all rank in the bottom ten in terms of ICDS
coverage." Despite the poor distribution of help, the ICDS is still considered to be efficient in improving the health of the children in the country. Statistics from UNICEF shows that the mortality rate of children under 5 has improved from 118 per 1000 live births in 1990 to 66 in the year 2009.

However, malnutrition is still a problem for India; it has been found that "micronutrient deficiencies alone may cost India US$2.5 billion annually." Malnutrition can lead to children not being able to attend school or perform to their fullest potential, which in turn leads to a decrease in labour productivity, affecting India’s economic growth as a whole.

**Abuse**

In 2013 it was reported that women were being coerced into sterilisation in an unhygienic medical environment, for a week's pay. In the same year it has been claimed that the Indian poor are subject to clinical tests, that would not be accepted elsewhere. Slavery and in particular child slavery and sex slavery, have been shown to exist in the poverty stricken regions of India. An NGO organisation has been formed specifically to free slaves in India, claiming that India has the largest concentration of slavery in the world. A large number of Indian work migrants, migrate from the poverty stricken areas of India to other countries where they are employed in poor conditions and at low grade jobs – called 3D jobs: Dirty, Dangerous and Degrading, and in some cases, are held in slavery conditions. A similar fate awaits migrants inside India itself.
Chapter 6
Urban Culture

Urban culture is the culture of towns and cities. In the United States, Urban culture may also sometimes be used as a euphemistic reference to (post-Great Migration) contemporary African American culture.

African American culture

In the United States, "urban" is often used as a euphemism to describe contemporary African American culture.

Background

Prior to the 20th century, the African American population was primarily rural. The Great Migration of African-Americans created the first large, urban black communities in the American North. It is conservatively estimated that 400,000 left the South during the two-year period of 1916-1918 to take advantage of a labor shortage created in the wake of the First World War. The 20th century cultures of many of the United States’ modern cities were forged in this period.

In 1910, the African American population of Detroit was 6,000. By the start of the Great Depression in 1929, this figure had risen to 120,000.

In 1900 Chicago had a total population of 1,698,575. By 1920 the population had increased by more than 1 million residents. During the second wave of the Great Migration (from 1940–1960), the African American population in the city grew from 278,000 to 813,000. The South Side of Chicago was considered the black capital of America.

The massive number of African Americans to Ohio, in particularly to Cleveland, greatly changed the demographics of the state and Cleveland. Prior to the Great Migration, an estimated 1.1 - 1.6% of Cleveland’s population was African American. In 1920, 4.3% of Cleveland’s population was African American. The number of African Americans in Cleveland continued to rise over the next twenty years of the Great Migration. Other cities, such as St.
Louis, Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York, also experienced surges in their African-American populations.

In the South, the departure of hundreds of thousands of African Americans caused the black percentage of the population in most Southern states to decrease. For example, in Mississippi, blacks decreased from about 56% of the population in 1910 to about 37% by 1970 and in South Carolina, blacks decreased from about 55% of the population in 1910 to about 30% by 1970.

By the end of the Second Great Migration, African Americans had become an urbanized population. More than 80 percent lived in cities. Fifty-three percent remained in the Southern United States, while 40 percent lived in the Northeast and North Central states and 7 percent in the West.

**Canada**

In Canada, urban culture is also sometimes used as a euphemism for the culture of visible minorities (non-Whites). Sometimes this means Black Canadian culture, but since Blacks are a much smaller part of Canada's population than in the United States, the connection is less obvious.

**Urban cities**

Globally, urban areas tend to also be home to concentrations of power, such as government capitals and corporate headquarters, and the wealthy and powerful people that are employed in them. Though, in some countries, elites have built themselves enclaves outside of the central city (e.g. white flight in the United States).

**Politics and social trends**

In most of the Western World, urban areas tend to be to the left of suburban and rural areas, even if deindustrialization has reduced the influence of labour unions and the working class, the new urban left is supported by upper middle class white-collar workers, students and academics, and creative types (artists). Urbanites also tend to be much less religious, more environmentalist, and more open to immigration than rural people.
Street culture

Children's street culture refers to the cumulative culture created by young children. Collectively, this body of knowledge is passed down from one generation of urban children to the next, and can also be passed between different groups of children (e.g. in the form of crazes, but also in intergenerational mixing). It is most common in children between the ages of seven and twelve. It is strongest in urban working class industrial districts where children are traditionally free to "play out" in the streets for long periods without supervision.

Difference from mass media culture

Children's street culture is invented and largely sustained by children themselves, although it may come to incorporate fragments of media culture and toys in its activities. It is not to be confused with the commercial media-culture produced for children (e.g., comics, television, mass-produced toys, and clothing), although it may overlap.

Location and play materials

Young children's street culture usually takes place on quiet backstreets and sidewalks, and along routes that venture out into local parks, playgrounds, scrub and wasteland, and to local shops. It can often incorporate many found and scavenged materials such as old car seats, tyres, planks, bricks, etc. Sometimes found materials will be combined to create objects (e.g. making guys for Guy Fawkes Night — see Beck 1984). Play will often incorporate crazes (sometimes incorporating seasonal elements that are freely collected, such as conkers, snowballs, sycamore seeds). It also imposes imaginative status on certain sections of the urban realm (local buildings, street objects, road layouts, etc.). In summer children may use scavenged materials to create a temporary and semi-hidden 'den' or 'hideout' or 'HQ' in a marginal area near their homes, that serves as an informal meeting and relaxation place during the summer (see: Sobel, 2001). An urban area that looks faceless or neglected to an adult may have deep 'spirit of place' meanings in children's street culture.

History and research

Although it varies from place to place, research shows that it appears to share many commonalities across many cultures. It is a traditional phenomenon that has been closely investigated and documented in the western world during the 20th century.
by anthropologists and folklorists such as Iona Opie; street photographers such as Roger Mayne, Helen Levitt, David Trainer, Humphrey Spender and Robert Doisneau; urbanists such as Colin Ward and Robin Moore, as well as being described in countless novels of childhood. The research of Robin Moore stresses children's need for 'marginal' unsupervised areas 'within running distance' of homes (scrubby bushes and hedges, disused buildings). There are now two academic journals devoted to this area, the Journal of Children's Geographies and Play & Folklore.

It has occasionally been central to feature films, such as the Our Gang ("Little Rascals") series, Ealing's Hue and Cry (1947) and some Children's Film Foundation films such as Go Kart, Go! and Soap Box Derby.

Since the advent of distractions such as video games, and television, concerns have been expressed about the vitality - or even the survival - of children's street culture.

**Children's urban legends**

Many informal groups of small children will develop some level of superstitious beliefs about their local area. For instance:- they will believe that there are certain places that are 'unlucky' to step on (e.g.: certain large cracks in a sidewalk) or touch (e.g.: gateposts of a certain colour), or that an old woman is a 'witch', or that an abandoned house is 'haunted'. But in some extreme circumstances a consistent mythos may emerge among young children, and across a large area. One example dates from 1997, The Miami New Times published Lynda Edwards' report "Myths Over Miami", which describes a huge consistent mythology spreading among young homeless children in the American South. The story has been picked up and reprinted many times on internet blogs and websites. There is no known verification or confirmation that the mythology she describes actually exists, but these "secret stories" are clearly based on known elements of street culture, such as labeling certain places "haunted" or recycling legends of dangerous spirits such as Mary Worth. The article was the basis for Mercedes Lackey's novel Mad Maudlin, co-written with Rosemary Edghill.
Leisure

Leisure, or free time, is time spent away from business, work, and domestic chores. It also excludes time spent on necessary activities such as sleeping and, where it is compulsory, education.

The distinction between leisure and unavoidable activities is not a rigidly defined one, e.g. people sometimes do work-oriented tasks for pleasure as well as for long-term utility. A distinction may also be drawn between free time and leisure. For example, Situationist International maintains that free time is illusory and rarely free; economic and social forces appropriate free time from the individual and sell it back to them as the commodity known as "leisure". Certainly most people's leisure activities are not a completely free choice, and may be constrained by social pressures, e.g. people may be coerced into spending time gardening by the need to keep up with the standard of neighbouring gardens.

Another concept of leisure is social leisure, which involves leisurely activities in a social settings, such as extracurricular activities, e.g. sports, clubs.

Leisure studies is the academic discipline concerned with the study and analysis of leisure.

Cultural differences

Time available for leisure varies from one society to the next, although anthropologists have found that hunter-gatherers tend to have significantly more leisure time than people in more complex societies. As a result, band societies such as the Shoshone of the Great Basin came across as extraordinarily lazy to European colonialists. Workaholics are those who work compulsively at the expense of other activities. They prefer to work rather than spend time socializing and engaging in other leisure activities.

Men generally have more leisure time than women. In Europe and the United States, adult men usually have between one and nine hours more leisure time than women do each week.

Adolescents

Free time has potential for youth development, which is influenced by parental attitudes of interest and control, mediated by adolescent motivational style.
Social Leisure

Social leisure involves leisurely activities in a social settings, such as extracurricular activities, e.g. sports, clubs. There are many benefits that come from social leisure, such as the development of character, self-identity, and understanding of a communal setting or hierarchy. One key ingredient of social leisure that tends to be overlooked is the concept of mealtime being an important part of social leisure. It is during mealtimes where many individuals develop their social skills and character that defines an individual.

The relation between social leisure and mealtime, which is essentially the act accompanied with food, is uncanny. Both are used as a form of socialization, both develop character as well as create development in youth, and both help create social capital, these similarities are what make food a form a social leisure. Food, the main ingredient in mealtime, also shares this similar quality of self-identity through development and socialization, making food another positive form of social leisure.

Lifestyle (sociology)

Lifestyle is the typical way of life of an individual, group, or culture. The term was originally used by Austrian psychologist Alfred Adler (1870-1937). The term was introduced in the 1950s as a derivative of that of style in modernist art. The term refers to a combination of determining intangible or tangible factors. Tangible factors relate specifically to demographic variables, i.e. an individuals demographic profile, whereas intangible factors concern the psychological aspects of an individual such as personal values, preferences, and outlooks.

A rural environment has different lifestyles compared to an urban metropolis. Location is important even within an urban scope. A particular neighborhood affects lifestyle due to varying degrees of affluence and proximity to open spaces. For example, in areas within a close proximity to the sea, a surf culture or lifestyle is often present. The concept of Lifestyle Management has developed as a result of the growing focus on lifestyle.

Individual identity

A lifestyle typically reflects an individual's attitudes, values or world view. Therefore, a lifestyle is a means of forging a sense of self and to create cultural symbols that resonate with personal identity. Not all aspects of a lifestyle are voluntary. Surrounding social and technical systems can
constrain the lifestyle choices available to the individual and the symbols she/he is able to project to others and the self. The lines between personal identity and the everyday doings that signal a particular lifestyle become blurred in modern society. For example, "green lifestyle" means holding beliefs and engaging in activities that consume fewer resources and produce less harmful waste (i.e. a smaller ecological footprint), and deriving a sense of self from holding these beliefs and engaging in these activities. Some commentators argue that, in modernity, the cornerstone of lifestyle construction is consumption behavior, which offers the possibility to create and further individualize the self with different products or services that signal different ways of life.

Lifestyle may include views on politics, religion, health, intimacy, and more. All of these aspects play a role in shaping someone's lifestyle. In the magazine and television industries, "lifestyle" is used to describe a category of publications or programs.

Health

An individual's health depends a lot on their lifestyle. Maintaining physical and mental health are crucial to an individual's longevity. The more time spent on hygiene, physical fitness, and diet regulation, the healthier lifestyle they have. Those who chose to participate in any kind of physical activity on a weekly basis are generally healthier than those who don't. Mental illness may occur through various variables. For example, depression may promote mental illness through stress and anxiety. Reasons for being depressed can be due to a number of things including job loss, recently widowed, divorce, etc. Depression may lead to or increase the frequency of poor habits not promoting physical health. Poor habits may eventually lead to a poor or even dangerous lifestyle.

More interestingly, a healthy or unhealthy lifestyle will most likely be transmitted across generations. According to the study done by Case et al. (2002), when a 0-3 year old child has a mother who practices a healthy lifestyle, this child will be 27% more likely to become healthy and adopt the same lifestyle. For instance, high income parents are more likely to eat organic food, have time to exercise, and provide the best living condition to their children. On the other hand, low income parents are more likely to participate in unhealthy activities such as smoking to help them release poverty-related stress and depression. Parents are the first teacher for every child. Everything that parents do will be very like to be transferred to their children through the learning process.
Environment

There are two types of environment for a lifestyle: nature and social. Natural environment involves the conditions in which a person, animal, or plant lives and operates. An individual dedicated to this healthy lifestyle will prefer to walk to close places, recycle plastic, papers, cans, etc. In an individual's lifestyle some of this natural environment is needed, such as fresh air, clean water, clean home, clean neighborhood and a clean example for those at home. Those who are nature involved decide to plant flowers, vegetables and other crops in their backyard and are extremely strict on how to organize their household waste and uses positive and proactive ways to environmental sustainability. Social environment is totally different. Social Environment includes an individual's living and working conditions, income level, educational background, community and religious beliefs if they have any. In a social environment there are certain expectations from one's self or from those around. Expectations like success and wanting the best. Along with success come a lot of stress. If there is failure, then there may be mood swings and disappointment. In order for this not to happen, there are better ways to avoid disappointment and failure; organization and structure is the main key element.

Technology

Technology and diversity have greatly changed the lives of people in society. Technology has positive and negative effects on our daily lives. However, the positivity and negativity of technology depends on how much we use it and how much we are exposed to it. In other words, our lifestyle controls our use of technology, while technology influences our lifestyles. To begin, technology has changed the fields of agriculture, manufacturing, warfare, transportation, information, medicine, communication, among others. Technology has also made it easier for other factors to affect our lifestyles, such as the media. All in all, technology has made our lives much easier, therefore we no longer are required to live vigorous lifestyles that, in the past, contributed to the decline in our health. On the other hand, technology has complicated many lives and has many negative effects. Technology has the power to deliver media to us that can change our values and views on the world, which in return will change our lifestyles. Also, technology has negative effects on the environment such as pollution. Because of technology such as computers and television, people have a much more sedentary lifestyle, which leads to health complications and issues.
Chapter 7
Class

Class
Life style research can contribute to the question of the relevance of the class concept.

Media culture
According to Adorno, the media culture of advanced capitalism typically creates new 'life-styles' to drive the consumption of new commodities. The term 'lifestyle' was introduced in the 1950s as a derivative of that of style in art.

The Theory of the Leisure Class
The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions (1899), by Thorstein Veblen, is an economic treatise and detailed social critique of conspicuous consumption, as a function of social-class consumerism, which proposes that the social strata and the division of labor of the feudal period continued into the modern era. The lords of the manor employed themselves in the economically useless practices of conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure, whilst the middle and lower classes were employed in the industrial occupations that support the whole of society; economically wasteful activities are those activities that do not contribute to the economy or to the material productivity required for the fruitful functioning of society. Veblen's analyses of business cycles and prices, and of the emergent technocratic division of labor by speciality (scientists, engineers, technologists) at the beginning of the 20th century proved to be accurate predictions of the nature of an industrial society.

Background and reception
The Theory of the Leisure Class was based on a trio of articles published in the American Journal of Sociology in 1898, and contained most of the major themes Veblen would develop in his later works. Upon its publication, one reviewer opined that the book "requires no other commendation for its scholarly performance than that which a casual reading of the work readily inspires", while
William Dean Howells devoted two long reviews to it, and overnight the book became the vade mecum of the intelligentsia of the day: as an eminent sociologist told Veblen, "It fluttered the dovecotes of the East."

This immediate success also came unexpectedly, including to Veblen.

**Editions**

Later editions of *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1899) are distinguished by the author of the introduction; among the noteworthy introducers to Thorstein Veblen's magnum opus are C. Wright Mills, John Kenneth Galbraith, Stuart Chase, and Robert Lekachman.

**Thesis**

The Theory of the Leisure Class proposes that economic life is driven by the vestiges of the social stratification of tribal society, rather than by social and economic utility. The supporting examples, contemporary and anthropological, propose that many economic behaviors of contemporary society (c. late 19th century) are variants of the corresponding tribal-society behaviors, when men and women practiced the division of labor according to the person's status group, thus, the high-status people practiced hunting and war, whilst the low-status people practiced farming, cooking, et cetera.

Such a division of labor was due to the barbarian culture of conquest, domination, and exploitation, wherein, once in control, the conquerors assigned the labor-intensive jobs to the vanquished people, and, for themselves, assumed the military profession, and other less labor-intensive work, the elementary leisure class. In practice, it was sociologically unimportant that the low-status occupations provided greater economic support to society than did the high-status jobs of soldier, hunter, etc. Moreover, within an unconquered tribe, certain men and women disregarded the collective division-of-labor system, and emulated the behavior of the leisure class, the high-status social group of the tribe.

Although the leisure class did perform some useful work, and so contributed to the collective well-being of the tribe, such work tended to be minor and peripheral, functioning more as symbolic economic participation than as practical economic production. For example, although hunting could provide food for the tribe, it was less productive and less reliable than were
farming and animal domestication, and easier, less labor-intensive, than the latter work. Likewise, whilst tribes required warriors for war, the members of the military stratum of the leisure class retained their high social-status and economic positions—exemption from menial, physical work—even during peace, despite being physically capable of performing labor-intensive, "menial" work that was more productive, and economically beneficial, to the collective well-being of the tribe.

Simultaneously, the leisure class retained its superior social status in the tribe by means of direct and indirect coercion; for example, the leisure class reserved for themselves the (honorable) profession of soldiering in defense of the tribe; and so withheld weapons and military skills from the lower-order social classes. Such a division of labor rendered the lower social classes dependent upon the leisure class, and so perpetuated and justified their existence for defense against enemies, natural (other tribes) and against supernatural (ghosts and gods), because the first clergy were members of the leisure class.

Hence, contemporary society did not psychologically supersede the tribal stage of the division of labor, but merely evolved different forms and expressions of said assignments of productive labor; for example, during the Middle Ages (5th to 15th centuries), only the nobility were allowed to hunt and soldier; likewise, in contemporary society, manual laborers usually are paid less than managers and professionals, whose importance to society's economic well-being (by organizing work systems, inventing machinery and methods for working, obtaining and coordinating work, etc.) is less directly productive.

**Conspicuous consumption and leisure**

In order to gain and to hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence.

Thorsten Veblen, "The Theory of the Leisure Class", Chapter 3 "Conspicuous Leisure"

In *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1899), Veblen presented the concepts of conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure. Conspicuous consumption is the application of money, and other resources, to display a higher social-status, e.g. the use of silver flatware at meals, although flatware made of other materials might equally serve the function of eating. Moreover, Veblen goods are consumer goods made greatly desirable by high
manufacturing cost, sale price, and scarcity in the market, especially "socially visible" consumer
goods, rather than goods that are consumed in private.

Conspicuous leisure is the extended length of time that a person devotes to pleasurable pursuits
that grant him or her a higher social-status. For example, a gentleman of Veblen's day must
study philosophy and the fine arts, which do not directly earn a living. Therefore, such intellectual activities displayed the rich person's freedom from the economic need to perform directly economically productive manual labor. In Veblen's view, higher social status derives from not having to perform manual labor, and not the other way around.

**Economic drive**

Whereas neoclassical economics define humans beings as rational, utility-seeking agents who try
to maximize their pleasure, Veblen recast people as irrational, economic creatures who
pursues social status with little regard to their own happiness; thus, people emulate the more
respected members of their socio-economic class in order to attain a greater status within that
social group. Certain brands and retail shops are considered of a higher class than other such
shops; people might buy from such businesses even when they cannot economically afford to do
so, despite the utility of consumer goods of lesser brands and lower prices.

Hence, businessmen were just the latest manifestation of the leisure class, because businessmen
do not produce consumer goods and services, but simply shift them about the market in order to
increase the profit yielded by the goods and services. The contemporary businessman, then, is no
different from a barbarian, in that he uses prowess (business acumen) and competitive skills
(marketing) to make increased sums of money from the conspicuous consumption of the buyers
of the goods and services for sale; and then lives off the spoils of economic conquest rather than
from producing consumer goods and services, himself.

**Implications for society**

As a sociologist Thorstein Veblen outlined some consequences of a tribalistic social order that
underpins contemporary consumer society:

- The subjugation of women: Because women once were war booty won by raiding barbarians,
in contemporary society, the housewife is the trophy who attests to a man's socio-economic
success. In disallowing his wife to have a discrete, independent socio-economic life—such as
a profession, a trade, a job—a man can display her unemployed status as a form of his conspicuous leisure and as an object of his conspicuous consumption.

- The popularity of sport: In the case of American football, although its practice could be socially advantageous to the psychological cohesion of the community, it is an economic side-effect, because it is a display of conspicuous leisure.

- Supernatural worship: Religion is a tribal expression of conspicuous leisure and conspicuous consumption, of social, but not economic, consequence. Hence, a church building is an economic waste of land and resources, whilst the clergy are people employed in unproductive "work".

- Social formalities: Contemporary manners and etiquette are remnant formal practices of the social strata of barbarian society, of little practical, economic value, but much cultural value in identifying, establishing, and enforcing distinctions of place within a social stratum; a place for everyone, and everyone in his and her place.

In his introduction to the 1973 edition of Theory of the Leisure Class, J. K. Galbraith identified Thorstein Veblen as a man of his time, who reflected his Weltanschauung in his person and in his personality: his house often was unkempt; his grooming neglected, and his clothes disheveled; he was an agnostic in an anti-intellectual and superstitious society; and he tended to curtness in dealing with people less intelligent than himself.

Literary style

Although a socio-economic treatise about economic consumption, Thorstein Veblen's language in The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899) is idiosyncratic and satirical in its presentation of the consumerist mores of modern American society.

A better illustration [of conspicuous leisure], or at least a more unmistakable one, is afforded by a certain King of France who was said to have lost his life in the observance of good form. In the absence of the functionary whose office it was to shift his master's seat, the King sat uncomplaining before the fire, and suffered his royal person to be toasted beyond recovery. But, in so doing, he saved his Most Christian Majesty from menial contamination.

The publishing success of The Theory of the Leisure Class derives from Veblen's pointed sociological reportage; the writer and critic William Dean Howells favourably reviewed the book as an economic treatise and as a social satire about the American way of life, and the pursuit
of prestige through the ownership of consumer goods. The satirical usages of the word "evolve", in describing the socio-economic behaviour of the Leisure Class, underscore the proposition that a social class cannot evolve, given its human nature, and because the concept of "evolution by natural selection" is inapplicable to an industrial society whose fundamental system of values remains that of a barbarian tribe from the feudal period of human history. Nonetheless, Thorstein Veblen's reports of the business-cycle behaviour of businessmen in The Theory of Business Enterprise (1904), is straightforwardly objective. Nevertheless, in the opinion of Robert Lekachman, an interpretive problem arises from the personality of Thorstein Veblen, whom he considered amisanthrope; thus, in his Introduction to the 1967 Penguin edition of The Theory of the Leisure Class, he said:

As a child, Veblen was a notorious tease, and an inveterate inventor of malicious nicknames. As an adult, Veblen developed this aptitude into the abusive category and the cutting analogy. In this volume [The Theory of the Leisure Class] the most striking categories are four in number: Conspicuous Consumption, Vicarious Consumption, Conspicuous Leisure, and Conspicuous Waste. It is amazing what a very large proportion of social activity, higher education, devout observance, and upper-class consumer goods seemed to fit snugly into one, or another, of these classifications.


That opinion was seconded by the economist John Kenneth Galbraith, in his introduction to the 1973 Houghton Mifflin edition of The Theory of the Leisure Class, wherein he proposes that the book is Veblen's intellectual put-down of American society; and that Veblen might have spoken satirically in order to soften the negative social implications of his social and economic analyses—because they are more threatening to the socio-economic status quo of American society than are the implications of the like analyses by Karl Marx. That, unlike Marx, who recognised that capitalism was superior to feudalism in providing goods and services, Veblen did not recognise that distinction, because capitalism was just a form of barbarism, and that goods and services, for conspicuous consumption, are fundamentally worthless.

**Intellectual significance**

While Veblen was an economist and published this book as a treatise on economics, many modern classical economists take issue with some of his ideas. The primary reason
for this appears to be his attack on the rational expectations theories that continue to dominate the discipline. Only in recent years, with the rise of such theories as Butterfly Economics, is Veblen being given serious consideration by economists.

In contrast, Veblen quickly became influential within the field of sociology. The classic Middletown studies made much use of Veblen's theories. More to the point, these and many other sociological studies supplied empirical evidence that confirmed Veblen's theories. In the Middletown studies, for example, researchers learned that lower-class families were willing to go without necessities such as food or new clothes to maintain a certain level of conspicuous consumption.

The concept of conspicuous consumption has been applied to advertising, and to explain why poorer classes have been unable to advance economically. Veblen's views on the uselessness of "businessmen", while usually discarded, have been adopted by Warren Buffett who has criticized the growth of practices such as day trading and arbitrage which make money solely through abstract means, with no value being added. However, the technocratic society predicted by Veblen in later books has not yet come to pass.

Filmmaker Gabriel Bologna wrote and directed a film called The Theory of The Leisure Class in 2001 about the disintegration of American culture. The movie starred Christopher McDonald, Tuesday Knight, and Brad Renfro. The film received awards from The New York International Independent Film and Video Festival, Milan International Film Festival, and the Los Angeles International Film Awards.

**Criticism**

About author, book, and thesis of The Theory of the Leisure Class, the American intellectual H. L. Mencken said:[9]

Do I enjoy a decent bath because I know that John Smith cannot afford one—or because I delight in being clean? Do I admire Beethoven's Fifth Symphony because it is incomprehensible to Congressmen and Methodists—or because I genuinely love music? Do I prefer terrapin à la Maryland to fried liver, because plowhands must put up with the liver—or because the terrapin is intrinsically a more charming dose?

— Mencken, Professor Veblen, Prejudices, First Series, 1919
Nonetheless, despite such disagreement, Mencken considered the game of golf to be a conspicuous leisure activity, of no useful function. Attempts at a definitive denotation of the theory of conspicuous consumption have been criticised as "élitist", most notably the pertinent works of Herbert Marcuse, wherein a group of hyper-educated people is empowered to define what items of consumption become luxury commodities. Robert Heilbroner said that, although valid for their late 19th-century time (the Gilded Age of the 1890s), the economic and sociological theories of Thorstein Veblen have limited, contemporary application, because the studies are specific to the societies of the U.S. and the city of Chicago.
Chapter 8

Impact of Poverty

Since the 1950s, the Indian government and non-governmental organisations have initiated several programmes to alleviate poverty, including subsidising food and other necessities, increased access to loans, improving agricultural techniques and price supports, and promoting education and family planning. These measures have helped eliminate famines, cut absolute poverty levels by more than half, and reduced illiteracy and malnutrition.

The presence of a massive parallel economy in the form of black (hidden) money derived from foreign aid has also contributed to the slow pace of poverty alleviation in India.

Although the Indian economy has grown steadily over the last two decades, its growth has been uneven when comparing social groups, economic groups, geographic regions, and rural and urban areas. Between 1999 and 2008, the annualised growth rates for Gujarat, Haryana, or Delhi were much higher than for Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, or Madhya Pradesh. Poverty rates in rural Orissa (43%) and rural Bihar (41%) are among the world’s most extreme. Despite significant economic progress, one quarter of the nation's population earns less than the government-specified poverty threshold of ₹32 per day (approximately US$ 0.6).

According to a 2010 World Bank report, India is on track to meet its poverty reduction goals. However by 2015, an estimated 53 million people will still live in extreme poverty and 23.6% of the population will still live under US$1.25 per day. This number is expected to reduce to 20.3% or 268 million people by 2020. However, at the same time, the effects of the worldwide recession in 2009 have plunged 100 million more Indians into poverty than there were in 2004, increasing the effective poverty rate from 27.5% to 37.2%.

As per the 2001 census, 35.5% of Indian households availed of banking services, 35.1% owned a radio or transistor, 31.6% a television, 9.1% a phone, 43.7% a bicycle, 11.7% a scooter, motorcycle or a moped, and 2.5% a car, jeep or van; 34.5% of the households had none of these assets. According to Department of Telecommunications of India the phone density reached 73.34% by December 2012 and has an annual growth decreased by −4.58%. This tallies with the fact that a family of four with an annual income of ₹137,000 could afford some of these luxury items.
Causes

One cause is a high population growth rate, although demographers generally agree that this is a symptom rather than cause of poverty. While services and industry have grown at double-digit figures, agriculture growth rate has dropped from 4.8% to 2%. About 60% of the population depends on agriculture whereas the contribution of agriculture to the GDP is about 18%. The surplus of labour in agriculture has caused many people to not have jobs. Farmers are a large vote bank and use their votes to resist reallocation of land for higher-income industrial project.

Caste system

According to S. M. Michael, Dalits constitute the bulk of poor and unemployed. According to William A. Haviland, casteism is widespread in rural areas and continues to segregate Dalits. Others, however, have noted the steady rise and empowerment of the Dalits through social reforms and the implementation of reservations in employment and benefits.

India's economic policies

In 1947, the average annual income in India was US$619, compared with US$439 for China, US$770 for South Korea, and US$936 for Taiwan. By 1999, the numbers were US$1,818 India; US$3,259 China; US$13,317 South Korea; and US$15,720 Taiwan, respectively. (Numbers are in 1990 international Maddison dollars.) In other words, the average income in India was not much different from South Korea in 1947, but South Korea became a developed country by the 2000s. At the same time, India was left as one of the world's poorer countries. India had to somehow manage and facilitate its resources and planning in such a way that the poverty ratio could be reduced.

License Raj refers to the elaborate licenses, regulations and the accompanying red tape that were required to set up and run business in India between 1947 and 1990. The License Raj was a result of India's decision to have a planned economy, where all aspects of the economy are controlled by the state and licenses were given to a select few. Corruption flourished under this system.

The labyrinthine bureaucracy often led to absurd restrictions – up to 80 agencies had to be satisfied before a firm could be granted a licence to produce and the state would decide what was produced, how much, at what price and what sources of capital were used.
India had started out in the 1950s with high growth rates, openness to trade and investment, a promotional state, social expenditure awareness and macro stability but ended the 1980s with low growth rates, closure to trade and investment, a license-obsessed, restrictive state (License Raj), inability to sustain social expenditures and macro instability, indeed economic crisis.

**Liberalisation policies and their effects**

Other points of view hold that the economic reforms initiated in the early 1990s are responsible for the collapse of rural economies and the agrarian crisis currently underway. As journalist and the Rural Affairs editor for The Hindu, P Sainath describes in his reports on the rural economy in India, the level of inequality has risen to extraordinary levels, when at the same time, hunger in India has reached its highest level in decades. He also points out that rural economies across India have collapsed, or on the verge of collapse due to the neo-liberal policies of the government of India since the 1990s. The human cost of the "liberalisation" has been very high. The huge wave of farm suicides in Indian rural population from 1997 to 2007 totalled close to 200,000, according to official statistics. That number remains disputed, with some saying the true number is much higher. Commentators have faulted the policies pursued by the government which, according to Sainath, resulted in a very high portion of rural households getting into the debt cycle, resulting in a very high number of farm suicides. As professor Utsa Patnaik, India's top economist on agriculture, has pointed out, the average poor family in 2007 has about 100 kg less food per year than it did in 1997.

Government policies encouraging farmers to switch to cash crops, in place of traditional food crops, has resulted in an extraordinary increase in farm input costs, while market forces determined the price of the cash crop. Sainath points out that a disproportionately large number of affected farm suicides have occurred with cash crops, because with food crops such as rice, even if the price falls, there is food left to survive on. He points out that inequality has reached one of the highest rates India has ever seen. In a report by Chetan Ahya, executive director at Morgan Stanley, it is pointed out that there has been a wealth increase of close to US$1 trillion in the time frame of 2003–2007 in the Indian stock market, while only 4%–7% of the Indian population hold any equity. During the time when public investment in agriculture shrank to 2%
of the GDP, the nation suffered the worst agrarian crisis in decades, the same time as India became the nation of second highest number of dollar billionaires. Sainath argues that

The per capita food availability has declined every five years without exception from 1992–2010 whereas from 1972–1991 it had risen every five-year period without exception.

Farm incomes have collapsed. Hunger has grown very fast. Public investment in agriculture shrank to nothing a long time ago. Employment has collapsed. Non-farm employment has stagnated. (Only the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act has brought some limited relief in recent times.) Millions move towards towns and cities where, too, there are few jobs to be found.

In one estimate, over 85 per cent of rural households are either landless, sub-marginal, marginal or small farmers. Nothing has happened in 15 years that has changed that situation for the better. Much has happened to make it a lot worse.

Those who have taken their lives were deep in debt – peasant households in debt doubled in the first decade of the neoliberal “economic reforms,” from 26 per cent of farm households to 48.6 per cent. Meanwhile, all along, India kept reducing investment in agriculture (standard neoliberal procedure). Life was being made more and more impossible for small farmers.

As of 2006, the government spends less than 0.2% of GDP on agriculture and less than 3% of GDP on education. However, some government schemes such as the mid-day meal scheme, and the NREGA have been partially successful in providing a lifeline for the rural economy and curbing the further rise of poverty.

Reduction in poverty

Despite all the causes, India currently adds 40 million people to its middle class every year. Analysts such as the founder of Forecasting International, Marvin J. Cetron writes that an estimated 300 million Indians now belong to the middle class; one-third of them have emerged from poverty in the last ten years. However, this has to be seen in perspective as the population of India has increased by 370 million from 1991 and 190 million from 2001 so the absolute number of poor has increased.

Despite government initiatives, corporate social responsibility (CSR) remains low on the agenda of corporate sector. Only 10% of funding comes from individuals and corporate and "a large part
of CSR initiatives are artfully masqueraded and make it back to the balancesheet." The widening income gap between the rich and the poor over the years has raised fears of a social backlash.

**Efforts to alleviate poverty**

Since the early 1950s, govt has initiated, sustained, and refined various planning schemes to help the poor attain self-sufficiency in food production. Probably the most important initiative has been the supply of basic commodities, particularly food at controlled prices, available throughout the country as the poor spend about 80% of their income on food. The schemes have however not been very successful because the rate of poverty reduction lags behind the rapid population growth rate.

**Outlook for poverty alleviation**

Eradication of poverty in India is generally only considered to be a long-term goal. Poverty alleviation is expected to make better progress in the next 50 years than in the past, as a trickle-down effect of the growing middle class. Increasing stress on education, reservation of seats in government jobs and the increasing empowerment of women and the economically weaker sections of society, are also expected to contribute to the alleviation of poverty. It is incorrect to say that all poverty reduction programmes have failed. The growth of the middle class (which was virtually non-existent when India became a free nation in August 1947) indicates that economic prosperity has indeed been very impressive in India, but the distribution of wealth is not at all even.

**Controversy over extent of poverty reduction**

The definition of poverty in India has been called into question by the UN World Food Programme. In its report on global hunger index, it questioned the government of India's definition of poverty saying:

The fact that calorie deprivation is increasing during a period when the proportion of rural population below the poverty line is said to be declining rapidly, highlights the increasing disconnect between official poverty estimates and calorie deprivation.[58]

While total overall poverty in India has declined, the extent of poverty reduction is often debated. While there is a consensus that there has not been increase in poverty between 1993–94 and 2004–05, the picture is not so clear if one considers other non-pecuniary dimensions (such as
health, education, crime and access to infrastructure). With the rapid economic growth that India is experiencing, it is likely that a significant fraction of the rural population will continue to migrate toward cities, making the issue of urban poverty more significant in the long run.

Some, like journalist P Sainath, hold the view that while absolute poverty may not have increased, India remains at an abysmal rank in the UN Human Development Index. India is positioned at 136th place in the 2012 UN HDI index. It is the lowest rank for the country in over 10 years. In 1992, India was at 122\textsuperscript{nd} place in the same index. It can even be argued that the situation has become worse on critical indicators of overall well-being such as the number of people who are undernourished (India has the highest number of malnourished people, at 230 million, and is 94\textsuperscript{th} of 119 in the world hunger index), and the number of malnourished children (43\% of India's children under 5 are underweight (BMI<18.5), the highest in the world) as of 2008.

A 2007 report by the state-run National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (NCEUS) found that 77\% of Indians, or 836 million people, lived on less than ₹20 per day (USD 0.50 nominal, USD 2.0 in PPP), with most working in "informal labour sector with no job or social security, living in abject poverty." However, a 2010 report from the UN disputes this, finding that the number of people living on US$1.25 a day is expected to go down from 435 million or 51.3\% percent in 1990 to 295 million or 23.6\% percent by 2015 and 268 million or 20.3\% percent by 2020.

**Persistence of malnutrition among children**

According to the New York Times, it is estimated that about 55\% of the children in India suffer from malnutrition. The World Bank, citing estimates made by the World Health Organisation, states that "About 49\% of the world's underweight children, 34\% of the world's stunted children and 46\% of the world's wasted children, live in India." The World Bank also noted that "while poverty is often the underlying cause of malnutrition in children, the superior economic growth experienced by South Asian countries compared to those in Sub-Saharan Africa, has not translated into superior nutritional status for the South Asian child."

A special commission to the Indian Supreme Court has noted that the child malnutrition rate in India is twice as great as sub-Saharan Africa.
Data from the World Bank shows that the percentage of underweight children in sub-Saharan Africa is 24% while India has almost twice the amount at 47%. Out of the 47%, 50% were from rural areas, 38% from urban areas, 48.9% of the underweight are girls and 45.5% are boys.

Malnutrition is often associated with diseases like diarrhoea, malaria and measles due to the lack of access in health care which are also linked to the problem of poverty. The United Nations had estimated that "2.1 million Indian children die before reaching the age of 5 every year – four every minute." The Indian government came up with the Integrated Childhood Development Service (ICDS) in 1975 to combat the problem of malnutrition in the country. ICDS is the world's largest child development programme, but its effects on the problem in India are limited. This is because the programme failed to focus on children under 3, the group that should receive the most help from the ICDS; most growth retardation would have developed during the age of 2 and are mostly irreversible. With the lack of help, the chances that newborn babies are unable to develop fully would be higher.

The quality of ICDS centres varies from states to states and often the babies with the most serious problem of malnutrition have the lowest amount of help given. "Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, all rank in the bottom ten in terms of ICDS coverage." Despite the poor distribution of help, the ICDS is still considered to be efficient in improving the health of the children in the country. Statistics from UNICEF shows that the mortality rate of children under 5 has improved from 118 per 1000 live births in 1990 to 66 in the year 2009.

However, malnutrition is still a problem for India; it has been found that "micronutrient deficiencies alone may cost India US$2.5 billion annually." Malnutrition can lead to children not being able to attend school or perform to their fullest potential, which in turn leads to a decrease in labour productivity, affecting India’s economic growth as a whole.

**Abuse**

In 2013 it was reported that women were being coerced into sterilisation in an unhygienic medical environment, for a week's pay. In the same year it has been claimed that the Indian poor are subject to clinical tests, that would not be accepted elsewhere. Slavery and in particular child slavery and sex slavery, have been shown to exist in the poverty stricken regions of India. An NGO organisation has been formed specifically to free slaves in India, claiming that India has
the largest concentration\(^1\) of slavery in the world. A large number of Indian work migrants, migrate from the poverty stricken areas of India to other countries where they are employed in poor conditions and at low grade jobs – called 3D jobs: Dirty, Dangerous and Degrading, and in some cases, are held in slavery conditions. A similar fate awaits migrants inside India itself.
Chapter 9

Index of Urban Sociology

Air Pollution Index

The Air Pollution Index (API) is a simple and generalized way to describe the air quality, which is used in China, Hong Kong and Malaysia. It is calculated from several sets of air pollution data. In mainland China the API was replaced by an updated Air Quality Index in early 2012.

China

China's State Environment Protection Agency (SEPA) is responsible for measuring the level of air pollution in China. As of 28 August 2008, SEPA monitors daily pollution level in 86 of its major cities. The API level is based on the level of 5 atmospheric pollutants, namely sulfur dioxide (SO₂), nitrogen dioxide (NO₂), suspended particulates (PM₁₀), carbon monoxide (CO), and ozone (O₃) measured at the monitoring stations throughout each city.

API Mechanics

An individual score is assigned to the level of each pollutant and the final API is the highest of those 5 scores. The pollutants can be measured quite differently. SO₂, NO₂ and PM₁₀ concentration are measured as average per day. CO and O₃ are more harmful and are measured as average per hour. The final API value is calculated per day.

The scale for each pollutant is non-linear, as is the final API score. Thus an API of 100 does not mean twice the pollution of API at 50, nor does it mean twice as harmful. While an API of 50 from day 1 to 182 and API of 100 from day 183 to 365 does provide an annual average of 75, it does not mean the pollution is acceptable even if the benchmark of 100 is deemed safe. This is because the benchmark is a 24-hour target. The annual average must match against the annual target. It is entirely possible to have safe air every day of the year but still fail the annual pollution benchmark.

Hong Kong

The API has been in use in Hong Kong since June 1995. It is measured and updated hourly by the Environmental Protection Department (EPD). Moreover, the EPD makes forecast on the API for the following day everyday.
The API is based on the level of 6 atmospheric pollutants, namely sulfur dioxide (SO$_2$), nitrogen dioxide (NO$_2$), respirable suspended particulates, carbon monoxide (CO), ozone (O$_3$), lead (Pb), measured at all the monitoring stations throughout the territory. It will be replaced by the Air Quality Health Index in 30 December 2013.

There are 11 General Stations and 3 Roadside Stations. The former includes Central / Western, Eastern, Kwai Chung, Kwun Tong, Sha Tin, Sham Shui Po, Tai Po, Tap Mun, Tsuen Wan, Tung Chung, and Yuen Long; the latter Causeway Bay, Central, and Mong Kok. In Hong Kong, there are two types of API: General API and Roadside API. The EPD reports the latest APIs hourly.

The index and the air quality objectives were set in 1987; and pollutant levels are measured over varying periods, in μg/m$^3$. There are hourly, 24-hour and annual targets for sulfur dioxide and nitrogen dioxide, and 24-hour and annual targets for particulates.

In 1998, the Education Bureau's recommended schools to curtail outdoor activities when the index reached 200, whereas leading healthcare advocates are urging that the level be revised to 100'. The World Health Organisation revised its air quality guideline levels of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and ozone in 2006 in light of new scientific evidence. The WHO also introduced new measurement guidelines for very small particulates which are more dangerous to pulmonary function. At the '200' level, Hong Kong levels of SO$_2$ (800μg/m$^3$) and NO$_2$ (1,130μg/m$^3$) are 40 times and 5½ times WHO guidelines respectively; the equivalent for particulates (350μg/m$^3$) is 7 times WHO guidelines.

Malaysia

Similar to Hong Kong, the air quality in Malaysia is reported as the API (Air Pollutant Index) or in Malay as IPU (Indeks Pencemaran Udara). It is based closely on the Pollutant Standard Index. Four of the index's pollutant components (i.e., carbon monoxide, ozone, nitrogen dioxide and sulfur dioxide) are reported in ppmv but PM$_{10}$ particulate matter is reported in μg/m$^3$.

Air quality index

An air quality index (AQI) is a number used by government agencies to communicate to the public how polluted the air is currently or how polluted it is forecast to become. As the AQI increases, an increasingly large percentage of the population is likely to experience increasingly
severe adverse health effects. Different countries have their own air quality indices which are not all consistent. Different countries also use different names for their indices such as Air Quality Health Index, Air Pollution Index and Pollutant Standards Index.

**History**

In 1968, the National Air Pollution Control Administration of the government of the United States of America undertook an initiative to develop an air quality index and to apply the methodology to Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The impetus was to draw public attention to the issue of air pollution and indirectly push responsible local public officials to take action to control sources of pollution and enhance air quality within their jurisdictions.

Jack Fensterstock, the head of the National Inventory of Air Pollution Emissions and Control Branch, was tasked to lead the development of the methodology and to compile the air quality and emissions data necessary to test and calibrate resultant indices. The initial iteration of the air quality index used standardized ambient pollutant concentrations to yield individual pollutant indices. These indices were then weighted and summed to form a single total air quality index. The overall methodology could use concentrations that are taken from ambient monitoring data or are predicted by means of a diffusion model. The concentrations were then converted into a standard statistical distribution with a preset mean and standard deviation. The resultant individual pollutant indices are assumed to be equally weighted, although values other than unity can be used. Likewise, the index can incorporate any number of pollutants although it was only used to combine SOx, CO, and TSP because of a lack of available data for other pollutants.

While the methodology was designed to be robust, the practical application for all metropolitan areas proved to be inconsistent due to the paucity of ambient air quality monitoring data, lack of agreement on weighting factors, and non-uniformity of air quality standards across geographical and political boundaries. Despite these issues, the publication of lists ranking metropolitan areas achieved the public policy objectives and led to the future development of improved indices and their routine application.

**Definition and usage**

Air quality is defined as a measure of the condition of air relative to the requirements of one or more biotic species or to any human need or purpose. To compute the AQI requires an air
pollutant concentration from a monitor or model. The function used to convert from air pollutant concentration to AQI varies by pollutant, and is different in different countries. Air quality index values are divided into ranges, and each range is assigned a descriptor and a color code. Standardized public health advisories are associated with each AQI range. The AQI can go up (meaning worse air quality) due to a lack of dilution of air pollutants. Stagnant air, often caused by an anticyclone, temperature inversion, or low wind speeds, lets air pollution remain in a local area, leading to high concentrations of pollutants and hazy conditions. An agency might encourage members of the public to take public transportation or work from home when AQI levels are high.

Most air contaminants do not have an associated AQI. Many countries monitor ground-level ozone, particulates, sulfur dioxide, carbon monoxide, and nitrogen dioxide and calculate air quality indices for these pollutants.

Indices by location

**Canada**

Air quality in Canada has been reported for many years with provincial Air Quality Indices (AQIs). Significantly, AQI values reflect air quality management objectives, which are based on the lowest achievable emissions rate, and not exclusively concern for human health. The Air Quality Health Index or (AQHI) is a scale designed to help understand the impact of air quality on health. It is a health protection tool used to make decisions to reduce short-term exposure to air pollution by adjusting activity levels during increased levels of air pollution. The Air Quality Health Index also provides advice on how to improve air quality by proposing behavioural change to reduce the environmental footprint. This index pays particular attention to people who are sensitive to air pollution. It provides them with advice on how to protect their health during air quality levels associated with low, moderate, high and very high health risks.

The Air Quality Health Index provides a number from 1 to 10+ to indicate the level of health risk associated with local air quality. On occasion, when the amount of air pollution is abnormally high, the number may exceed 10. The AQHI provides a local air quality current value as well as a local air quality maximums forecast for today, tonight, and tomorrow, and provides associated health advice.
**Birth rate**

The birth rate is the total number of births per 1,000 of a population each year. The rate of births in a population is calculated in several ways: live births from a universal registration system for births, deaths, and marriages; population counts from a census, and estimation through specialized demographic techniques. The birth rate (along with mortality and migration rate) are used to calculate population growth.

The *crude birth rate* is the number of births per 1,000 people per year. Another term used interchangeably with *birth rate* is *natality*. When the crude death rate is subtracted from the crude birth rate, the result is the rate of natural increase (RNI). This is equal to the rate of population change (excluding migration).

The total (crude) birth rate (which includes all births)—typically indicated as births per 1,000 population—is distinguished from an age-specific rate (the number of births per 1,000 persons in an age group). The first known use of the term "birth rate" in English occurred in 1859.

**Political issues**

The birth rate is an issue of concern and policy for national governments. Some (including those of Italy and Malaysia) seek to increase the birth rate with financial incentives or provision of support services to new mothers. Conversely, other countries have policies to reduce the birth rate (for example, China's one-child policy). Measures such as improved information on birth control and its availability have achieved similar results in countries such as Iran.

There has also been discussion on whether bringing women into the forefront of development initiatives will lead to a decline in birth rates. In some countries, government policies have focused on reducing birth rates by improving women's rights, sexual and reproductive health. Typically, high birth rates are associated with health problems, low life expectancy, low living standards, low social status for women and low educational levels. Demographic transition theory postulates that as a country undergoes economic development and social change its population growth declines, with birth rates serving as an indicator.

At the 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest, Romania, women's issues gained considerable attention. Family programs were discussed, and 137 countries drafted a World Population Plan of Action. As part of the discussion, many countries accepted modern birth
control methods such as the birth control pill and the condom while opposing abortion. In 1994, another action plan was drafted in Cairo, Egypt, under the aegis of the United Nations. Population and the need to incorporate women into the discourse were discussed; it was agreed that improvements in women's status and initiatives in defense of reproductive health and freedom, the environment, and sustainable socioeconomic development were needed.

Birth rates ranging from 10–20 births per 1,000 are considered low, while rates from 40–50 births per 1,000 are considered high. There are problems associated with both extremes. High birth rates may stress government welfare and family programs. Additional problems faced by a country with a high birth rate include educating a growing number of children, creating jobs for these children when they enter the workforce, and dealing with the environmental impact of a large population. Low birth rates may stress the government to provide adequate senior welfare systems and stress families who must support the elders themselves. There will be fewer children (and a working-age population) to support an aging population.

National birth rates

According to the CIA's *The World Factbook*, the country with the highest birth rate is Niger (at 51.26 births per 1,000 people). The country with the lowest birth rate is Japan, at 7.64 births per thousand. (Hong Kong, a special administrative region of China, has a birth rate of 7.42 per thousand.)

Compared with the 1950s (when the birth rate was 36 per thousand), the birth rate has declined by 16 per thousand. In July 2011, the U.S. National Institutes of Health announced that the adolescent birth rate continues to decline.

Birth rates vary within a geographic area. In Europe as of July 2011, Ireland's birth rate is 16.5 per 1000 (3.5 percent higher than the next-ranked country, the UK). France has a birth rate of 12.8 per thousand, while Sweden is at 12.3. In July 2011, the UK's Office for National Statistics (ONS) announced a 2.4 percent increase in live births in the UK in 2010. This is the highest birth rate in the UK in 40 years. However, the UK record year for births and birth rate remains 1920 (when the ONS reported over 957,000 births to a population of "around 40 million"). In contrast, the birth rate in Germany is only 8.3 per thousand—so low that the UK and France (which have smaller populations) had more births in the past year. Birth rates also vary in a geographic area among demographic groups. For example, in April 2011 the U.S. Centers for
Disease Control and Prevention announced that the birth rate for women over age 40 in the U.S. rose between 2007 and 2009 and fell in every other age group during the same period.

In August 2011 Taiwan's government announced that its birth rate declined in the previous year, despite the fact that the government implemented approaches to encourage fertility.

**United States**

According to U.S. federal-government data released in March 2011, births fell four percent from 2007 to 2009 (the largest drop in the U.S. for any two-year period since the 1970s). Births have declined for three consecutive years, and are now seven percent below the peak in 2007. This drop has continued through 2010, according to data released by the U.S. National Center for Health Statistics in June 2011. Experts have suggested that this decline is a reflection of unfavorable economic conditions. The connection between birth rate and economic conditions stems from the fact that American birth rates have fallen to levels comparable to those during the Great Depression during the 1930s. A state-level look at fertility, based on a report published by the Pew Research Center in October 2011, points out the strong correlation between lower birth rates and economic distress. In 2008, North Dakota had the nation’s lowest unemployment rate (3.1 percent) and was the only state to show an increase (0.7 percent) in its birth rate. All other states either remained the same or declined.

The research center’s study also found evidence of a correlation between economic difficulties and fertility decline by race and ethnicity. Hispanics (particularly affected by the recession) have experienced the largest fertility decline, particularly compared to Caucasians (who have less economic hardship and a smaller decline in fertility). In 2008–2009 the birth rate declined 5.9 percent for Hispanic women, 2.4 percent for African American women and 1.6 percent for white women. This may be associated with the fact that Hispanics have suffered the most loss of wealth since the beginning of the recession, and have a high unemployment rate.

Other factors (such as women’s labor-force participation, contraceptive technology and public policy) make it difficult to determine how much economic change affect fertility. Research suggests that much of the fertility decline during an economic downturn is a postponement of childbearing, not a decision to have fewer (or no) children; people plan to “catch up” to their plans of bearing children when economic conditions improve. Younger women are more likely
than older women to postpone pregnancy due to economic factors, since they have more years of fertility remaining.

Teenage birth rates in the U.S. are at the lowest level in U.S. history. Teen birth rates in the U.S. have decreased from 1991 through 2012 (except for an increase from 2005–2007). The other aberration from this otherwise-steady decline in teen birth rates is the six percent decrease in birth rates for 15–19 year olds between 2008 and 2009. Despite the decrease, U.S. teen birth rates remain higher than those in other developed nations. Racial differences affect teen birth and pregnancy rates; American Indian/Alaska Native, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic black teen pregnancy rates are more than double the non-Hispanic white teenage birth rate.

Measurement methods

The crude birth rate may be measured as the number of births in a given population during a given time period (such as a calendar year), divided by the total population and multiplied by 1,000.

According to the United Nations' World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision Population Database, the crude birth rate is the number of births over a given period, divided by the person-years lived by the population over that period. It is expressed as the number of births per 1,000 population.

Another frequently-used indicator is the total fertility rate, the average number of children born to a woman during her lifetime. The total fertility rate is generally a better indicator of current fertility rates because unlike the crude birth rate, it is not affected by the age distribution of the population. Fertility rates tend to be higher in less economically-developed countries and lower in more economically-developed countries.

Factors affecting birth rate

Government population policy, such as pronatalist or antinatalist policies (for instance, a tax on childlessness)

- Availability of family planning services, such as birth control and sex education
- Availability and safety of abortion and the safety of childbirth
- Infant mortality rate: A family may have more children if a country's infant mortality rate is high, since it is likely some of those children will die.
• Existing age-sex structure
• Typical age of marriage
• Social and religious beliefs, especially in relation to contraception and abortion
• Industrialization: In a preindustrial agrarian economy, unskilled (or semiskilled) manual labor was needed for production; children can be viewed as an economic resource in developing countries, since they can earn money. As people require more training, parents tend to have fewer children and invest more resources in each child; the higher the level of technology, the lower the birth rate (the demographic-economic paradox).
• Economic prosperity or economic difficulty: In difficult economic times, couples delay (or decrease) childbearing.
• Poverty levels
• Urbanization
• Pension availability
• Conflict
• Illiteracy and unemployment

Different cultures also affect the birth rate. Some religions perhaps would prefer a certain number of children or even none at all until a certain age.

Demographic transition

Demographic transition refers to the decline in population mortality and fertility decline with social and economic development. The two major factors affecting demographic transition are the crude birth rate (CBR) and the crude death rate (CDR).

Demographic transition may be considered in four stages. During the first and second stages, the birth rate remains high because people still live in agrarian cultures and require farm labour; infant mortality is high. During the third stage, the birth rate begins to decline due to women's increasing participation outside the home and a reduced need for farm labour. During the fourth stage the birth rate is sustained at a low level, with some countries having rates below the replacement level in other countries.
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