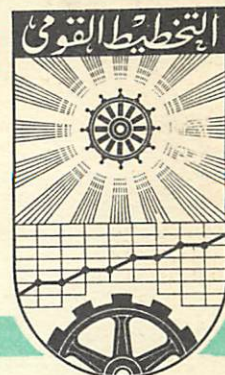


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Urbanization and Development :
Some Observations and Speculations.

By

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INTRODUCTION

The urbanization process, known to be intimately associated with economic development, deserves attention if we are to understand the recent and future mechanisms of change in developing areas. A discussion on the subject can be found in the literature. This literature, however, points to urban developments in the West as a model by means of which the interaction between urbanization and economic growth can best be studied.

Although there is much talk of industrialization and urbanization as two processes which are apparently closely and necessarily related, the whole array of forces making for urbanization in developing economies is often left unexamined, various types of urban centers are left undistinguished, and the moral and social-psychological as well as economic and political consequences of urbanization are left unexamined. Also, despite the interest of economists in the subject, the role of urbanization in the process of economic development has been generally neglected.

Hoselitz and a few others have examined this matter, but empirical studies are in short supply. Location theorists and land economists eventually throw more light on this problem but they rarely went on to link their discussion of spatial factors to more complex phenomena of economic growth. It is significant, perhaps, that, though there are established fields of research in urban sociology, urban geography, municipal government and finance, no branch of economics yet studied the city in a

comprehensive way. There are valuable items on the economic growth of particular towns, the whole area of medieval cities has provided a constant challenge to historians, but, no systematic study has ever been made of the role of cities in recent economic development.

However, there are many speculations and generalizations on the subject. Friedmann, for example, has explained the economic role of cities by stating that, "it is the cities that have accumulated the largest economic surplus for investment, and it is urban interests that make investments and thus give shape to the maturing space economy. It is completely natural that urban enterprises should seek out other cities and regions as the most logical localities for these investments."¹ Davis and Golden point out that the data on trends of city growth and urbanization in underdeveloped areas show them to possess highly dynamic attributes. Since the urbanization is not an isolated cultural trait but is a function of the total economy, its rapid growth indicates that fundamental changes are occurring at a rate sufficient to transform these pre-industrial societies within a few decades.²

Speaking about Latin American cities, Browning feels that there is a close and important association between economic growth and urbanization, but it is difficult to determine the exact nature of this relationship and its possible variability.

1. Friedmann, J., "Cities in Social Transformation," Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 4, No. 1, November 1961, p. 101.

2. Davis, K. and G.H. Hertz, "Urbanization and The Development of Pre-industrial Areas" Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 3, No. 1, (October, 1954), P. 14.

He also feels that many of the Latin American countries are "overurbanized" in the sense that city growth is running ahead of economic development.¹

The most striking conclusion of the United Nations' research on this question is that rapid urbanization in many countries is outstripping industrialization. This is contrary to the commonly held conception that industrialization comes first and draws people from the rural areas. Obviously, industry does draw people from the rural areas, but many other reasons for going to the city or for leaving the rural areas seem to be at least as powerful. An historical review shows that the role of the cities themselves in economic development has been a varied one.²

However, our belief is that sociologists as well as demographers can make a vital contribution to the study of urbanization in the context of economic development. This short paper will attempt to suggest the various problem areas that arise in probing somewhat more deeply into the process of urbanization in its relation to economic development. To speak more specific, however, our investigation will deal with three related problems:

- 1: The problem of economic growth and cultural change within a city with particular emphases on "the cultural role of cities."

¹ Browning, H.L., "Recent Trends in Latin American Urbanization," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 316, March 1958, p. 117.

² Henderson, Julia J., "Urbanization and the World Community," Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol. 314, November, 1957, p. 149.

II. The relation between a city's economic growth and cultural change and associated development in the region in which the city is dominant.

III. The functions of urban population.

I. THE CULTURAL ROLE OF THE CITY AND ITS ASSOCIATION TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

It has been said that cities developed in order to increase economic efficiency: to realize the optimal conditions of economy. But cities also provided a range of other social, civic, administrative, and psychological 'services'--each of which posed a different set of optimal conditions. Thus, as Lampard points out, at various times and places cities were centers for religion and secular administration, communication, defense, recreation, and other community purposes in addition to economy. Each city, in fact, serves a variety of social purposes and meets an array of human needs. Yet no two are exactly alike in every respect of their functions; each is a more or less unique product of its individual history and circumstances. Each city population attempts to reconcile its needs and purposes with the specific limitations of its culture and environment; limitation of size, resources, position, site, and technique.¹

The economic historian may sometimes be in a position to emphasize potentially relevant factors in socio-economic growth of the city which are not readily treated within the more rigorous confines of economic analysis. However, in the studies of

1. Lampard, E. E., "The History of Cities in The Economically Advanced Areas" Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Jan. 1955), P. 84.

economic historians and in the studies of the currently significant factors for economic development, the functions of the city are considered as it affects change; but the change chiefly in view is economic change. While the economists have been dealing with the general considerations regarding means and sources of economic growth, urban sociologists tend to furnish an essential framework for the study of urbanization as it is associated with economic growth. The theory of economic progress as such throws little light on that subject. It mostly ignores, as Lampard points out, socio-institutional, factors and is generally oblivious to consideration of 'space' or 'area'. "Nevertheless, it does call attention to the dynamic influence of techno-organization itself, but, it does not give much attention to the features of urban socio-economic structure and functions which may affect such economic growth.¹

Our main purpose in this section is to present a critical summing up of some discussions on the relations between urbanization and economic growth and cultural change in order to obtain more precise knowledge about the interrelations of the processes of urban growth and development and those of economic progress and cultural change. To achieve our purpose in this section, it might be necessary to mention here a general assumption which we may get from reviewing the literature on our subject; that is, the growth of an urban culture can be viewed as a vehicle for changing values and beliefs of the society so that as to make it more inclined to accept economic change. However, many questions

¹Lampard, E. E., op. cit., p. 87.

follow from this initial reflection:¹

- (a) What has been the relation of urban development to economic growth in the past?
- (b) Was the rise of the city merely passive index or itself an active ingredient of industrial development?
- (c) Have cities in some way generated a dynamic force making for socio-economic change?

The answers to these questions seem to be relevant to our present discussion of the role of cities in economic development. To review the literature on this point, we may find that location theorists and land economists eventually throw more light on this problem, but they rarely went on to link their discussion of spatial factors to the more complex phenomena of economic growth. "It is significant, perhaps, that though there are established fields of research in urban sociology, urban geography, municipal government and finance, no branch of economics yet studies the city in a comprehensive way."² They are valuable items on the economic growth of particular towns, the whole area of medieval cities has provided a constant challenge to historians, but, as Lampard points out, no systematic study has ever been made of the role of cities in recent economic development.³ In consequence, it must be emphasized that what can be said about the role of cities and urbanization in economic development is based largely on conclusions of a speculative character which appear to be plausible in the light of what is

¹Lampard, op. cit., p. 82.

²Ibid., p. 83.

³Ibid., p. 84.

known. Moreover, the facts which are available and such interpretations of them are drawn, it must be emphasized, largely from the experience of the West.¹

The Problem of Economic Growth and Cultural Change Within A City

An analysis of the relationship between urbanization and economic growth may start either with an historical description of the development of cities or with a distinction of the functional characteristics of cities and the relative frequency with which cities of a certain type appear in countries at different levels of economic performance. In distinguishing cities functionally, and even in describing the history of cities, their economic role is usually stressed. Yet it appears that in early times and in economically little advanced societies, the city plays predominantly a non-economic role. Its function is that of a religious or cult center, or a political administrative center, or a central place of protection.²

Although there is a high correlation between industrialization and urbanization, the development of towns and cities is not dependent upon the previous establishment of industries, nor must all industrial establishments be located in cities in order to flourish. "As it is mentioned above, cities have been the seats of learning and education, they have been the centers of

¹Hauser, P.M. (ed.), Urbanization in Asia and the Far East, Unesco, Calcutta, 1957, p. 66.

²Hoselitz, B.F., Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth, pp. 218-219.

governmental aid and administrative organizations, and they have performed the function of religious or cultural rallying points.¹

Modern writers on urban sociology have reiterated these aspects of cities in a more sophisticated and scientific manner, but they have added relatively little to the identification of the essential distinctive features of urban aggregations. This literature, however, points to urban developments in the West as a model by means of which the interaction between urbanization and economic growth can best be studied.

One way of exploring differences in urban function and the effects of different types of towns and cities upon the economic and cultural development of the surrounding regions may be through an historical study of the development of the cities in Western Europe and their interaction with the economic development. Lampard in his treatment of urban-industrial growth, considers urban industrial history in three phases:

- (1) The pre-industrial phase is seen as coming to a close in much of Europe and America towards the end of the 18th century.
- (2) The industrial phase encompasses largely the 19th century.
- (3) The metropolitan phase begins roughly with the 20th century.

Lampard places the economically advanced areas in the metropolitan phase and the remainder of the world in either the industrial or pre-industrial phases. He recognizes, of course, great diversity within each phase.

¹Ibid., p. 163.

Lampard, however, tries to differentiate urban and non-urban influences to some conceptual framework of economic progress.¹ His approach to cities and economic focuses on two related problems:²

- (2) The first problem deals with urban-industrial growth as a cultural process.
- (2) The second problem involves looking at urban-industrial growth as an economic contingency, i.e., meeting fundamental conditions of economy or as realizing certain economic optima.

Because Lampard presents the best short summary of the relation of industrialization to urbanization which the writer has seen, his materials as well as the materials presented by Hoselitz, Redfield, Singer, David and Golden, and Kolb are mainly employed in this section to present what the writer regards as the most relevant body of historical and economic generalization based on Western experience.

There is agreement among many of the writers whom I mentioned above that the growth and development of cities is a necessary condition of economic development. Lampard, in particular, points to the need for greater specialization of tasks which has been associated invariably with urban centers. In an urban-industrial society, as he points out, there is likely to be both wider opportunity and greater necessity for specialization than in earlier more relaxed modes of existence. As he continues,

In the city, for example, to specialize is to enjoy scarcity value, whereas in the country it is usually

¹Lampard, op. cit., p. 84.

²Ibid., p. 85.

acquiescence rather than initiative which pays. An increasing rivalry for place and preferment under urban conditions puts higher premiums on more specialized roles, functions, and instruments.¹ . . . We might generalize and say that, in the socio-psychological atmosphere of metropolitan existence, there is, an inherent inducement, a 'built in' tendency to specialize.²

Lompard has implied that the division of labor is culturally determined but, from Adam Smith to the present day, most economic writers have explained it as having a purely mechanical relation to "the extent to the market." They have held that the degree of specialization at any time is a function of the size of the market, it depends on the volumes of goods which the market can absorb, since the possibility of exchange is a necessary preliminary to any specialization. But, as Lampard believes, this logic led economists to ignore or to underestimate the "inner dynamisms" of specialization as a cultural process.³

The growth of the modern city and the industrial revolution are joint products of a single cultural trait--specialization. He concludes that from a socio-ecological standpoint, city growth is simply the concentration of differentiated and functionally integrated specialisms in rational locals. The modern city is a mode of social organization which furthers efficiency in economic activity.⁴

Kolb in his analysis of the "social structure and functions of cities,"⁵ stresses the need for a universalist-achievement-

¹Lampard, op. cit., p. 89.

²Ibid., p. 90.

³Ibid., p. 88.

⁴Ibid., pp. 91, 92.

⁵Kolb, W. L., "The Social Structure and Functions of Cities," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 3, No. 1, October, 1954, pp. 32, 33.

oriented value structure which is indispensable for a successful rationalization of production, and hence for industrialization, and finds also that the urban environment was a necessary condition for the evolution of such values. Speaking about Chicago, Kolb states:¹

Even in the Chicago of the first three decades of the twentieth century where the extreme stress on universalistic-achievement orientations did produce trade, commerce, industry, a rationalized division of labor and social heterogeneity, the dominant group of that city shared those value orientations and developed and supported an institutional system which shaped a dense population to produce such economic phenomena.

Such value-orientations which were predominant in the Western cities do not exist in the cities of underdeveloped areas. It seems very doubtful, he believes, that such cities can afford the degree of conflict-producing diversity which characterized Chicago. "This again means less stress on the purely laissez-faire, individualistic aspects of universalistic-achievement-orientations and the acceptance of the welfare, rising level of living for all politics of modern industrial societies."²

He also views the urban structure of the Western cities as having a secondary quality of social relations. The city itself, by virtue of its size, is a secondary group. Closely related to the stress on secondary relations in urban society is the corresponding stress on secondary means of social control.³ The urban community in order to control individual behavior is

¹ Ibid., p. 43.

² Ibid., p. 43.

³ Ibid., p. 44.

forced to use political and legal measures through secondary associations. Kolb points out that all this is true, at least to some degree of the modern American city. But that which makes it true is once again the stress upon universalistic-achievement orientations.¹

However, Kolb believes that an analysis of the urban structure in the cities of the underdeveloped areas along the lines suggested above, does not commit one to the belief that urbanization and industrialization will be easy processes for the people and social systems involved. It does mean that the growth and existence of cities, as such, will not produce tremendous heterogeneity, secondary social reactions, and secondary methods of social control. Rather these are the product of a development of a rational division of labor, the processes of uprooting and change, and an extreme emphasis upon universalism and achievement. However, he believes that the underdeveloped areas in order to industrialize must change and must at least moderately emphasize universalism and achievement.²

Davis and Hertz H. Golden re-echo these views and excellant conclude that "urbanization is not only an excellent index of economic development and social modernization but also itself a stimulus to such a change."³ Basically, as they continue, the city is an efficient mode of human settlement because, with great numbers concentrated in a small area, it minimizes one

¹ Ibid., p. 45.

² Ibid., p. 46.

³ Davis and Golden, op. cit., p. 24.

of the greatest obstacles to human production--what Haig has called the "friction of space." This achievement is not possible without a high degree of urbanization (i.e., not possible in a predominantly agricultural or non-industrial economy) because by their very nature such activities as hunting and tillage require a large area in relation to number of workers."¹

However, as they point out, space does not permit a full treatment of the matter here,² but the line of reasoning may be briefly intimated by the assumption that "urbanization is not only an excellent index of economic development and social modernization but also itself a stimulus to such change. They conclude that:³

As yet only a small part of the world has become highly urbanized, but that small part is dominant over the rest and is diffusing its urban pattern widely. As the whole world begins to become highly urbanized, human society can be expected to become more dynamic than in the past. The process of urbanization itself must come to an end when nearly all people live in urban aggregations, but the forms of life and the ecological patterns within these aggregates will doubtless continue to change and the innovating force of urbanism will continue to modify culture and society.

On the basis of the reasoning admitted by Lampard, Kolb, Davis and Golden, we may say that the most important phase of the history of a city from the point of view of its impact on economic growth is its phase of cultural heterogeneity. In this phase, a city most often exerts a generative impact on the economic growth of the regions it dominates.⁴ Concrete instances

¹Ibid., p. 23.

²This will be discussed in the subsequent section.

³Davis and Golden, op. cit., p. 24.

⁴Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 194.

of this process have been cited by Lampard, Kolb, and Davis and Hertz, and they need not be repeated here. An important question which imposes itself upon us is whether we can indicate the variables which determine whether a culturally heterogeneous city will have a generative or parasitic impact.

Kolb has shown that the formation of the western city, of which Chicago was chosen as the prototype, was associated with a transformation of a particularistic-ascriptive value orientation to an universalistic-achievement oriented one. He also argued, as we have mentioned before, that the process of urbanization in underdeveloped countries, in order to be successful must follow a similar pattern. This argument is in agreement with views expressed by Hoselitz in an article on the social-structural change associated with a transition from economic underdevelopment to economic advancement.¹ In this article, Hoselitz included in the analysis not merely the ascription-achievement and the universalism-particularism dichotomies but also a consideration of the other three pairs of pattern the specificity-diffuseness dichotomy. This last pair of variable is stressed by Lampard in his analysis of division of labor and increasing specialization.

As Hoselitz points out, it may appear that there exists a close functional correlation between ascription, particularism, and functional diffuseness on the one hand, and achievement, universalism, and functional specificity on the other hand. But although such a close functional relation between each pair

¹Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 197.

of pattern variables may be stipulated for a given area of social action, it is not necessary that in the same society all fields of social action display the same structural variables. "It is conceivable that economic relations, for example, are ruled by principles of achievement, universalism, and functional specificity, but that political relations display the principles of ascription, particularism, and functional diffuseness."¹

It is generally acknowledged, as Hoselitz feels, that one of the chief barriers to rapid economic advancement in many parts of the world--in spite of the widely prevalent aspirations for economic betterment--is the traditionalism in the social values on the part of the bulk of population.² Using Redfield's terminology³ a characteristic of many underdeveloped countries is the relatively high degree of prevalence of a folk-like society which is usually opposed to the rapid change and unable to adopt itself quickly enough to the pressures exerted on it by the increasing integration of underdeveloped countries into the world economy.

Redfield's typology has proved very fruitful for his analysis of the different forms of cultural integration found in urban centers and rural villages, but it suffers from a shortcoming of which he is by no means unaware. Rather than working out the independent determination of two contrasting ideal types,

¹Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 197.

²Ibid., p. 162.

³Redfield, R., "The Natural History of the Folk Society," Social Forces, Vol. 31, 1953, p. 225.

Redfield developed only the type of the folk society and assigned to the urban society all those characteristics which are nonfolk-like. In other words, in Redfield's schema, the urban society is really the nonfolk society.

Redfield would not deny that differences exist between urban center, but this schema does not penetrate them, because it was not designed to do so. However, Redfield and Singer make clear distinction between two types of urban centers or cities in the light of their contribution to economic development.¹ Here they speak of the orthogenetic type of cities as contrasted with the heterogenetic type.² If we combine the propositions of Lampard, Kolb, and Davis and Hertz about economic change with those of Redfield and Singer, we may attain a fairly complete generalizations about economic growth and cultural change within the confines of the city and its immediate environs. Let us briefly discuss Redfield and Singer's ideas.

In societies with little industrialization and a relatively low level of economic performance, the city has an influence primarily as a center of political and administrative power and place in which the cultural achievement of a society are brought to their highest point of elaboration. This process has been designated by Redfield and Singer as orthogenetic cultural transformation. It takes place characteristically in cities which

¹Redfield, R. and Singer, M.B., "The Cultural Role of Cities," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 3, No. 1, October, 1954.

²Ibid., p. 59.

exist in non-industrial environments. "In the medieval Muslim town we see an orthogenetic city; the market and the keeper of the market submitted economic activities to export of cultural and religious definitions of the norms." As they point out, many of the old centers in Asian countries have been-- and some still are--cities of orthogenetic cultural transformation.

In many of these cities, new functions and new tasks have been superimposed, and side by side with them new cities have been founded which have predominantly administrative or economic functions. These later cities have been described by Redfield and Singer as cities of heterogenetic transformation, and their characteristics are that:¹

. . . men are concerned with the market, with "rational" organization of production of goods, with expediential relations between buyer and seller, ruler and ruled, and native and foreigner. In this kind of city the predominant social types are businessmen, administrators alien to those they administer, and rebels, reformers, planners, and plotters of many varieties.

The dichotomy between orthogenetic and heterogenetic transformation which is implied in this schema must be regarded as a postulate of two ideal types, and the actual features of cities in western countries and in Asia and Africa fall somewhere in between.² To some extent, all or almost all cities have contributed to the intellectual development of the societies in which they were located, and perhaps only those towns which arose in the early industrial age in Europe and America, and which

¹Redfield and Singer, op. cit., p. 59.

²Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 221.

Lewis Mumford has called the "insensate industrial towns" come close to representing the heterogenetic form in a fairly pure style.

These observations presented by Lampard, Kolb, Moselitz, Davis and Hertz, and Redfield and Singer must serve as an introduction, setting the stage for our investigation of the role of cities in the economic development. Such observations are quite widely accepted by many persons, notably when they think of industrialization as a means of economic development, tacitly assume that this is bound with increasing urbanization.

However, following this general outline on the role of cities in economic development it seems clear that we need to look at this role of cities in its relations to economic growth and cultural change within the city and the associated development of the region in which the city is dominant. It seems that it is necessary to discuss in the next section two related problems:

- (1) The cultural dominance of cities and its relation to economic growth.
- (2) Urban location and its economic functions: The Locational Model.

II

THE RELATION BETWEEN A CITY'S ECONOMIC GROWTH AND CULTURAL CHANGE AND ASSOCIATED DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION

A further point which results from the preceding discussions is that the role of cities in economic development must not be judged only with references to economic growth and cultural change within the city, but also with reference to the wider region which the city dominates. This implies that the relation between a city and the region in which it is located to be one of urban dominance over the rural parts of the region.

It is worth noting, as a point of departure, that the cultural approach to urban-industrial growth sketched in the preceding pages is not inconsistent with certain approaches of economic theory. For example, Robert Murray Haig was perhaps the first economist to adopt location analysis to a general theory of urbanization. In two articles published during the mid-twenties he offered an explanation of urban growth and a rational of the internal economic arrangement of cities. He argued that improvement in communication services had reduced the time and cost involved in factor movements and had increased the overall capacity of the system. These considerations led him to develop the model of "a frictionless" distribution of economic activities. Basically, the city is an efficient mode of human settlement because, with great numbers concentrated in a small area, it minimizes one of the greatest obstacles to production--what Haig has called the "friction of space." This

achievement, as we mentioned before, is not possible without a high degree of urbanization.

The study of locational changes makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the city's role in economic development. It establishes the broad rationalizing effect of concentration and to that extent, supports the hypothesis that urbanization of economic activities tends to facilitate change.¹ Yet it does not develop the full implications contained in some of the axioms of location theory, implications which bear on the creative force of cities.

Thus, we feel that a complete picture of the creative force of cities can be presented here in terms of their cultural and economic dominance. We will begin our discussion on the cultural dominance of urban centers and its relation to economic growth.

The Cultural Dominance of Cities and Its Relation to Economic Growth

So far we have assumed that change occurs in the city and is transmitted to the surrounding countryside. This is questioned by Redfield and Singer. In their view of primary and secondary urbanization,² they believe that this will increase our knowledge of the cultural roles of cities in the civilization which they represent. This cannot be fully understood except in relation to the entire pattern of urbanization within that civilization,

¹Lampard, op. cit., p. 96.

²This distinction is an extension of the distinction between the primary and secondary phases of folk transformations in Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, Ithaca, New York, 1953, p. 41.

i.e., the number, size, composition, distribution, duration, sequence, morphology, function rates of growth and decline, and the relation to countryside and to each other of the cities within a civilization.¹

In the present state of our knowledge, as they continue, it may be useful to guide further inquiry by assuming two hypothetical patterns of urbanization: Primary and Secondary.

In the primary phase of precivilized folk society is transformed by urbanization into a peasant society and correlated urban center. It is primary in the sense that the people making up the precivilized folk more or less share a common culture which remains in the matrix too for the peasant and urban cultures which develop from it in the course of urbanization.

In the view of Redfield and Singer the process of primary urbanization is characterized by the development of a Great Tradition. This in its core an intellectual process which is viewed as leading to the development of a class of Literati, the final reduction of "sacred texts" and the evolution of a hierarchy of social control which often also is interpreted as being based on some sacred order. But the development of a Great Tradition may often be bound up with the release of forces which exert a beneficial effect on economic growth. In other words, the process of primary urbanization, though leading to a reinforcement of existing cultural patterns, may be generative of economic growth.

Primary urbanization thus takes place almost entirely within the framework of a core culture that develops, as the local culture becomes urbanized and transformed, into an indigenous

¹Redfield and Singer, The Cultural Role of Cities, p. 60.

civilization. This core culture donates the civilization despite occasional intrusions of foreign peoples and cultures. When the encounter with other peoples and civilization is too rapid and intense an indigenous civilization may be destroyed by de-urbanization or be variously mixed with other civilizations. This leads to the secondary patterns of urbanization.¹

In the secondary patterns of urbanization, a folk society, precivilized, peasant, or partly urbanized is further urbanized by contact with peoples of widely different cultures from that of its own members. This comes about through expansion of a local culture, now partly urbanized, to regions inhabited by peoples of different cultures, or by the invasion of a culture-civilization by alien colonists or conquerors.

This secondary pattern produces not only a new form of urban life in some part in conflict with local folk cultures but also new social types in both city and country. In the city appear "marginal" and "cosmopolitan" men and an "intelligentsia;" in the country various types of marginal folk: enclaved-, minority-, imperialized-, transplanted-, remade-, quasi-folk, etc., depending on the kind of relation to the urban center.

When the city is in the stage of secondary urbanization it undergoes culturally heterogenetic transformation. The early urban settlements of the various European nations in the New World appear to have been of that kind. It is granted that the new techniques introduced by the colonizing power, the increase of trade and commerce carried on by the Europeans, did result in economic growth within the city itself and its immediate

¹Redfield and Singer, op. cit., p. 61.

environs. But, as Hoselitz points out, the advantages accruing from this kind of urban growth to the wider region in which such a city was located were counterbalanced by an excessive depletion of natural resources, and the exploitation of peasants and other primary producers.¹

Thus, if we accept the distinction between an orthogenetic and a heterogenetic urbanization process, we are faced with many problems because this model may not apply on many cases. For example, we may obtain many possible classes into which cities may be placed. They may foster both economic growth and cultural change, they may foster cultural change but exert an unfavorable impact upon the economic development of their hinterlands, they may foster economic growth but resist cultural change, and they may induce economic stagnation and impede cultural change at the same time. It may be, of course, that one or more of these 'boxes' will prove to be empty. It should also be stressed that any one city may be placed into more than one class in the course of its history.

On the basis of this reasoning we may draw a number of conclusions, which may help us in our understanding of the problem of urbanization in its relation to economic development and cultural change. The most important phase of the history of a city from the point of view of its impact on economic growth is its phase of cultural heterogeneity. In this phase, a city most often exerts a generative impact on the economic

¹Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 190.

growth of the region it dominates. But in some cases a culturally heterogeneous may exert a parasitic impact on economic growth, and this impact may either be of short or long duration. An important question to resolve is whether we can indicate the variables which determine whether a culturally heterogeneous city will have a generative or a parasitic impact.

Urban Location and the Economic Influences of Cities

All told that any city exhibits a mixture of functions and its location is some kind of net resultant of several locational influences. The study of locational influences makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the city's role in economic development.

Using ideas which have since become common ground among location analysts, we may conclude that the locations of cities are so closely related that a full explanation of one requires an explanation of the other. For example, deep-water ports are busy with commerce and trade, an urban concentration of chemical industries arises in a valley endowed by nature with bituminous coal deposits, pools of petroleum, pockets of natural gas, sources of brines, and an abundance of water, and finally "gateway" cities collect the produce of agricultural belts and distribute it over wide regions.¹

The literature on cities provides valuable beginnings of a joint taxonomy of locations and functions. Cooley, for example, said in 1894 that, "population and wealth tend to collect wherever

¹Duncan, O., Scott, W. H., Lieberman, Duncan B., and Winshorou H.H., "Metropolis and Region," The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1960, p. 23.

there is a break in transportation."

At the junction of land with water transportation, of one kind of water transportation with another, or of one kind of land transportation with another, there are needs for storage and transfer facilities, means of servicing vehicles, and a complement of personnel organized to carry out transfers of a transportation route by a national boundary may have a similar effect.¹

Such a transfer point may be a convenient place for the processing of raw materials or even the fabrication of consumer goods. Using Cooley's hypothesis, Hoover, in his book, "The Location of Economic Activity," (1948) points out that the "linkage" of industries and the economies of agglomeration may attract industries to a site where the break in transportation has led to the formation of a commercial nucleus. Hence location at a break in transportation is expected to be associated with the performance of commercial functions and certain types of processing and fabricating functions.

"Even though the earth had a perfectly uniform surface there would still be towns." This is the upshot of a lengthy analysis by Losch who ranks with Christaller as co-founder of the "central place" concept of city location. Three basic ideas are contained in this theory:²

- (1) Cities are involved in symbiotic economic relationships with the immediately surrounding agricultural population and are centrally located in their trade area.
- (2) Within a region manifesting a central place locational pattern a hierarchy of central places emerges as a result of ecological position and functional differentiation.

¹ Ibid., p. 24.

² Mark, H., and K. Schwirian. Ecological Position, Urban Central Place Function, and Community Population Growth, *AJS*, Vol. 73, No. 1 (July 1967), p. 30.

- (3) The distance between cities of the same size exhibits regularities which are a function of the mode of transportation at the time of the location.

Application of the central-place scheme for descriptive or classificatory purposes assumes that the premises of the scheme do not correspond with reality to some degree. However, it is worth noting that the break in transportation and central-place principles are not wholly separate. Cooley observed that one type of break in transportation occurs at a collection center where numerous small movements of commodities are grouped into a few large movements. The local movements come together at a common point which, if "conditions are in every respect uniform," tends to occur "at the center of the tributary plain." Therefore, certain central-place functions may well appear as functions associated with a commercial break (as distinguished from a "mechanical" break like a land water junction) in transportation.¹

From reviewing all the concepts which were originally proposed by Cooley, Losh, Christaller and a few others like Ullman and Harris, it is not clear, however, whether "good location," say, with respect to markets, is to be considered as a factor addition to centrality, break in transportation, or even site factors as resources. This remark furnishes a clear anticipation of the "economic base" idea, which is an elaboration of the concept of "support" and to which we shall discuss briefly later on. Also, this remark implies that most of the foregoing concepts seem to be irrelevant to our problem and, thus, we have to find other adequate concepts. However, it seems

¹Duncan and others, op. cit., p. 26,

clear that the concepts of space economy which have originally developed by location analysts are the most appropriate.

These spatial problems of economy are most readily treated with the techniques of location analysis and land economics and, as Walter Isard has shown, such an approach focuses attention squarely on the spatial aspects of economic activity.¹ As Isard concludes:

In summary, the general theory of location and space economy is conceived as embracing the total spatial array of economic activities, with attention paid to the geographic distribution of inputs and outputs and the geographic variations in prices and costs.²

Following the main concepts in this theory, we can say that the optimum location for any enterprise is determined by striking a balance of all possible sites in terms of differences to be achieved in operating cost plus differences in transport cost. A rational choice of site should represent the most advantageous locus for the given type of activity in the light of all existing business conditions and prospects. Similarly, consumers should "locate themselves so as to minimize the proportion of their income spent in the "consumption" of transport services and other "distance inputs." If all producers and all consumers were located in one place, maximum efficiency of location would be devoted to surmounting disutilities of space.³

¹Isard, W., "The General Theory of Location and Space Economy," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. LXIII, No. 4, November, 1949, p. 505.

²Ibid., p. 506.

³Lampard, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

But the actual location of activities at any time is deeply rooted in past history and present circumstances. The pattern never approaches the high order of rationality sketched in the previous paragraph. The rationality of an economy, as Hoover has shown, "can only be understood in terms of the inter-relations among units of production."

To repeat what Haig mentioned before, the improvements in communication services had reduced the time and cost involved in factor movements. If "economically foot-free" population is to earn a living, it must reside in places where it can obtain work; in places where opportunities exist in manufacturing, distribution, and related business functions and where consumption goods can be supplied in quality at lowest cost. Haig continues to say that all activities apart from basic food-raising, extraction, and long distance transport should remove to the nearest metropolis. There could be no economic reason for anyone to live or work far from the great city.

As Lampard points out,¹ Haig's contribution to the logic of space-economy was immense. He developed a theory which showed urban growth to be part of a great rationalizing process in the industrial society and he indicated some of the obstacles and frictions which frustrate the realization of more rational patterns of land use. The economic historian of cities must be eternally grateful to Haig since much of his time is spent in tracing divergences between economic logic and historical fact.

¹Lampard, op. cit., p. 2-23.

In general, the study of locational changes makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the city's role in economic development. It establishes the broad rationalizing effect of concentration and, to that extent, supports the hypothesis that urbanization of economic activities tends to facilitate change and progress. However, as Lampard feels, it does not develop the full implications contained in some of the axioms of location theory; implications which bear on the creative force of cities.¹

Using ideas which have since become common ground among location analysts, many economists have tried to emphasize upon the economies of urban atmosphere or, as someone used to call it, the "external economies." People like Alfred Marshall, E.A.G. Robinson and Allyn Young are among the people who attributed an "external" character to so many of the economies of expansion. They offer some justifications for insisting on some investigation of the urban hypothesis. We need not be concerned with these details, but the broad implications of their contribution are important.

However, no one among those we cited so far did formulate a general theory of the role of urbanization in economic development. The gleanings of their wisdom gathered here are scattered through many articles and books. Unfortunately little has been done to test their generalities with empirical studies. Indeed, the whole subject of the city's role in economic development and cultural change remains a rather large "empty box". Some of the

¹ Ibid., 96.

generalizations which, we believe, deserve more investigations and empirical verification are the following:

- (a) The city is an efficient mode of human settlement since it reduces the friction of space and becomes one great factory.
- (b) Through transportation the city achieves urbanization of a hinterland.
- (c) The city increases efficiency in the accumulation of capital and personnel for purpose of formal education, public health, science, art . . . etc.
- (d) Urban living forces innovations which the countryside never would make such as in traffic and sanitation and for rationalistic calculation.

III

THE FUNCTION OF URBAN POPULATION

Economic development based on industrialization has, in the experience of the more advanced nations, been accompanied by increased urbanization, that is, by the increasing proportions of population resident in cities. This experience also points out to the fact that urbanization of a population is, therefore, positively correlated with level of economic development.¹

In the case of the less advanced nations, or what we like to call the newly developing nations, there has also been much causal observation to the effect that there is a direct correlation between the development of urbanization and the development of industrialization, each being cited by different authors as being the "cause" of the other. Although there is often an

¹Hauser, P.M., "Demographic Indicators of Economic Development," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 7, No. 2, January 1959, p. 98.

coincidence of industrialization and urbanization, the causal relationships are not at all clear."¹ The subject, as Breese continues, is somewhat confused by the fact that certain common features of industrialization--such as the extensive division of labor--are found in countries that are relatively unindustrialized. For example, it would be extremely difficult to find a more detailed, intensive, and comprehensive division of labor than is involved in the caste system which persisted over thousands of years in the absence of any significant degree of urbanization and industrialization."²

In spite of the difficulty and lack of success in establishing close or causal relationships between industrialization and urbanization it still is evident that urbanization plays an important role in economic development. This general reflection is well accepted by quite a few people even economists. Kuznets, for example, has explained very clearly the major phases of economic development in which he emphasized upon the role of "urbanization" "industrialization" and associated processes.³

Population Growth and Economic Development

It is worth noting that most economists who studied the process of economic development in developing areas have argued that the growth in population and continuous technological progress

¹Breese, Gerald, "Urbanization in Newly Developing Countries," Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966, p. 51.

²Ibid.; p. 52.

³Kuznets, Simon, "Six Lectures on Economic Growth," The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1959, p. 38.

are considered as the necessary condition for economic growth.¹

As Kuznets points out

The spread of the industrial system meant much higher rates of growth of population, per capita product, and total product than before. . . . At some period in the transition from pre-modern conditions to modern economic growth, therefore, there must have been a shift from lower to higher rates of growth.²

To illustrate the causes of such high rates of population growth which accompanied the process of economic development, Kuznets argues that the acceleration in the rate of growth of population occurs largely because new technology has the more immediate effect on death rates; birth rates are affected only with considerable lag, after the concomitant processes of urbanization, rising standard of living, and smaller family terms begin to exercise their influence. Once the crude death rate is low, further absolute decline is limited; but no such limits are imposed on the crude birth rates. Also, as Kuznets continues, the latter stages of modern economic growth in a country are likely, therefore, to be accompanied by a falling rate of natural increase, i.e., the excess of births over deaths as a percentage of total population.³

It seems to come as a surprise to many people to learn that there are a great many industries probably the majority of industries in the modern community--which are quite specifically benefited by increasing population. These, as Colin Clark

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²Ibid., p. 35.

³Kuznets, op. cit., p. 36.

points out, are the industries that work under the law of diminishing returns, rather than the law of diminishing returns. This is one of the simplest but at the same time most important propositions in economics.¹ On the contrary, as Jacob Viner believes, that a low ratio of population may induce underdevelopment. He mentions that a country is often labeled as underdeveloped merely or mainly because it has a low ratio of population to area.²

Speaking about the population movement and its relation to economic development, Kuznets goes on to say that the higher economic level and the different historical heritage in the pre-industrial phases of the developed countries must have been associated with patterns of population movement different from those characterizing the underdeveloped countries of today. These differences can be viewed in the light of the following:

- (a) The developed countries of today, in their pre-industrial phases represented small population growth.³
- (b) For all the developed countries of today the rates of growth in total population during a period preceding the initiation of industrialization can be measured. While similar data for the underdeveloped countries are not as abundant.⁴

¹Clark, Colin, "Population Growth and Living Standards," in Agarwala, A.N., and Singh, S.P. (eds.), The Economics of Underdevelopment, Oxford University Press, New York, 1963, p. 34.

²Viner, Jacob, "The Economics of Development," in Agarwala and Singh (eds.), op. cit., p. 10.

³Kuznets, "Underdeveloped Countries and the Pre-industrial Phase in the Advanced Countries," in Agarwala and Singh (eds.), op. cit., p. 147.

⁴Ibid., p. 148.

- (c) A view of the crude birth and death rates proves revealing. In general, the crude birth rates in the older of the developed countries ranged during the first half of the 19th century between 30 and 35 per thousand. The rather spotty data of limited quality for many underdeveloped countries suggest much higher levels.¹ Thus the Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations (1952) suggests rates of 40 or more (for 1941-50) for Egypt, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Bolivia, and Malaya. Thus one possible factor in the higher rate of population growth in many underdeveloped countries in their pre-industrial phase, may well be a significant higher crude birth rate.
- (d) Dealing with the crude death rates were more than 20 per 1,000 in the older European countries until the last quarter of the 19th century. In many underdeveloped countries of today, at least during recent decades, reported crude death rates were well below 20 per 1,000.²
- (e) There is finally the international migration variable. The older European countries, which entered the phase of rapid population growth and industrialization in the 19th century could take advantage of the escape value provided by migration.
- (f) In concluding Kusnets points out that higher birth rates may be said to reflect the lower economic level of many of the currently underdeveloped countries as over against that of older European units in their pre-industrial phase. On the other hand, their lower death rates may be said to reflect the more recent date for which we observe them in the underdeveloped countries of today.³

Finally, with respect to international migration, the penalty of being late on the scene, since expansion into the 'empty' territories of the New World is no longer politically feasible.

¹Kusnets, "Underdeveloped Countries and the Pre-industrial Phase in the Advanced Countries," p. 149.

²Ibid., p. 150.

³Kusnets, op. cit., p. 151.

Thus, differences in economic level and in historical timing between the developed countries in their pre-industrial phase and the presently underdeveloped countries are reflected in differences in their demographic patterns when we relate the present situation to the earlier "comparable" one.

IN spite of the fact that population growth is essential for economic development the rapid growth of population in developing countries, which we witness in many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America provoked a large amount of reflection as to the measures which might be taken in order to cope with this development which threatens to worsen average living standards in these countries. In the countries of Asia and the Middle East which already exhibit high population densities in rural areas, the problem of finding employment opportunities for the growing labour force is especially pressing because of fragmentation of land-holdings, and the exploitation of marginal lands sets limits to a further extension of employment in agriculture.¹ In addition, as Hollis B. Chenery points out, "densely populated areas are also likely to have fragmented land holdings which make mechanization less productive."²

The principal solution proposed to find productive employment for the growing labor force is planned industrialization and the past experiences of economically advanced countries have been cited as proof that this development is not merely

¹Hoselitz, op. cit., p. 115.

²Chenery, Hollis B., "The Role of Industrialization in Development Programmes," in Agarwala and Singh, op. cit., p. 462.

desirable, but virtually inevitable if living standards are to rise. In the long run, as Professor Ragnar Nurkse believes, the population problem will solve itself through the widespread change in the scale of values which education and urbanization tend to bring about. In the short run, as he continues, it may be possible to take active measures such as raising the legal minimum marriage age, or spreading the use of contraceptive methods, as is now being done apparently even in India, under a national fertility-control policy.¹

However, according to many writers industrialization is the only remedy for the population problem in countries like India, since emigration (if at all possible) cannot substantially help in reducing the pressure of population, and since birth control measures are extremely difficult to enforce.² Colin Clark, for example, denounced the advocates of birth control and maintains that large and densely population countries like India "have reached the stage where industrialization is obviously their only suitable prospects of economic development."³

Urban Population Growth and Economic Development

Statistics on Urban Population Growth

National practice differ considerably in the definition of

¹Nurkse, Ragnar, "Problems of Capital Formation in Under-developed Countries," Basil Blackwell, Inc., Oxford, 1953, p. 48.

²Bose, Ashish, "The Population Puzzle in India," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 7, No. 3, April 1959, p. 235.

³Colin Clark, "Population Growth and Living Standards," International Labour Review, August 1957, p. 19.

'urban' population. To obtain comparable indices of urbanization, therefore, it is desirable to follow the proposal of the United Nations that size of population agglomeration be used for purposes of international comparability. It is suggested that the problem of population resident in places of 50,000 population and over be taken as a suitable indicator of economic development.¹ The choice of this size classification would tend to avoid problems arising from differences in practices in incorporation and in designation of smaller agglomeration as "cities;" and tend also to minimize the inclusion of population as 'urban' which are essentially agricultural and rural in character.

Refinements of an index of urbanization are possible, of course, by introducing various city-size categories. Among the significant breaking points would be cities of 100,000 and over and cities of 1,000,000 and over. Improved collection of data promises to make urbanization data more useful in the coming years as indicators of economic development.²

In the world as a whole, in 1800, it is estimated by Davis and Hertz that of a total population of 906 million persons, 27.2 million or 3 per cent lived in urban places of 5,000 or more inhabitants. Only 21.7 million or 2.4 percent of the world's population and 15.6 million or 1.7 percent of the world's population lived in cities of 20,000 and over, and 100,000 and over respectively.

¹Hauser, P.M., Demographic Indicators of Economic Development, p. 110.

²Ibid., p. 111.

TABLE 1

WORLD'S URBAN POPULATION COMPARED TO
WORLD'S TOTAL POPULATION, 1800-1960

Year	World Pop. (Mil.)	Urban Places					
		5,000 & Over	% of	20,000 & Over	% of	100,000 +	% of
		Pop. (Mil.)	World Pop.	Pop. (Mil.)	World Pop.	Pop. (Mil.)	World Pop.
1800	906	27.2	3.0	21.7	2.4	15.6	1.7
1850	1,171	74.9	6.4	50.4	4.3	27.5	2.3
1900	1,608	218.7	13.6	147.9	9.2	88.6	5.5
1950	2,400	716.7	29.8	502.2	20.9	313.7	13.1
1960	2,962	803.2	27.1	803.2	27.1	590.0	19.1

Source: Kingsley Davis and H. Hertz.¹

The proportion of the world's population resident in cities increased continuously and rapidly since 1800. By 1950, about 30 percent of the population of the world lived in towns of 5,000 and over, about 21 per cent in cities of 20,000 and over, and about 13 per cent of 100,000 and over. This figure becomes 19.9 per cent by 1960.

During the past century and a half the population of the world has grown at an unprecedentedly rapid rate increasing 2½ times from about 900 to 2,400 million persons. But the growth of city population has been even more phenomenal as is seen by the comparisons in Table 2.

While the world's total population increased by 29 per cent between 1800 and 1850, the population in cities of 5,000 or more increased by 175 per cent, that in cities of 20,000 and over by 132 per cent, that in cities of 100,000 or more by 76

¹See Breese, op. cit., p. 19 for reference.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF WORLD'S URBAN POPULATION GROWTH RATES AND
WORLD TOTAL POPULATION GROWTH RATES 1800-1950

Period	Total World Pop.	Percentage increase in		
		5,000 +	20,000 +	100,000 +
1800-1850	29.2	175.4	132.3	76.3
1850-1900	37.3	192.0	193.5	222.2
1900-1950	49.3	227.7	239.6	254.1

Source: Calculated from statistics by Davis & Hertz.

per cent. Between 1850 and 1900 with the acceleration of industrialization in the Western countries urban populations increased by 192, 194, and 222 per cent respectively, for the three size categories, while the total population increased by 37 per cent. During the first half of this century, while world population increased by 49 per cent, city populations continued to increase even more phenomenally with percentage increases of 228, 240, and 245 per cent for each of the size groupings.¹

In 1800, it is estimated that there were 750 cities of 5,000 or more persons in the world, 200 of 200,000 or more and 45 of 100,000 or more. By 1950, urban places of 5,000 or more inhabitants had increased to 27,000, those with 20,000 or more to 5,500, and those 100,000 and over with 500,000 or over and 49 with over a million inhabitants.² The world's urban places

¹ Hauser, P.M., *World and Asian Urbanization in Relation to Economic Development*, in Hauser (ed.), *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East*, Unesco, Calcutta, 1957, p. 56.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

of various sizes in 1950, together with their populations and percentages of the world population are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3
WORLD'S URBAN PLACES OF VARIOUS SIZE, 1950

Size of Urban Place	Number	Population (Millions)	% of Total World Pop.
5,000 +	27,600	717	30
20,000 +	5,500	502	21
100,000 +	875	314	13
500,000 +	133	158	7
1,000,000 +	49	101	4

Source: From Davis and Hertz.

Over 700 million persons, nearly a third of the total world population today, live in cities of 5,000 or more; over 500 million, about one-fifth of the world's total population, and as many as inhabited the globe at the beginning of the modern era, in 1650, live in cities of 200,000 or more; over 300 million or about one-eighth of the total population live in cities of 100,000 or more; over 150 million or 7 per cent of the total live in cities of 500,000 or more; and over 100 million or 4 per cent of the total, in cities of a million and over.

Davis and Hertz have reconstructed the growth of urban population by continent since 1800. World population in cities of 100,000 and over increased from 15.6 in 1800 to 314 million in 1950 or more than 20 times. The rate of increase throughout the century and a half was an accelerating one. Between 1800 and 1850, population in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants

increased by over 75 per cent; between 1850 and 1900, by 220 per cent; between 1900 and 1950, by 250 per cent. This world pattern of large city population growth, however, obscures diverse patterns among the continents reflecting the differential impact of industrialization.

TABLE 4

SHARE OF WORLD'S LARGE CITY (100,000 +)
POPULATION IN MAJOR CONTINENTAL REGIONS¹

Region	1800		1850		1900		1950	
	Pop. Mil.	Per Cent	Pop. Mil.	Per Cent	Pop. Mil.	Per Cent	Pop. Mil.	Per Cent
World	15.6	100.0	27.5	100.0	88.6	100.0	313.7	100.0
Asia	9.8	62.8	12.2	44.5	19.4	21.9	105.6	33.7
Europe	4.8	30.8	12.1	43.9	32.1	47.5	83.1	26.5
USSR	0.57	3.7	1.1	4.1	5.9	6.7	35.1	11.2
Africa	4.30	1.9	0.25	0.9	1.4	1.5	10.2	3.2
America	0.17	0.8	1.8	6.6	18.6	21.2	74.6	23.8
Oceania	0.43	--	--	--	1.3	1.4	5.1	1.6

Urbanization Versus the Presence of Cities

The disparity in the data which have been presented points to the difference between the mere presence of cities and urbanization. Davis and Golden emphasize this distinction, reserving the term "urbanization" to refer to the proportion of the total population which is resident in cities.² It is the degree of urbanization of a nation rather than whether it has cities or not that, on the one hand, seems related to the degree of industrialization or economic development; and, on the other

¹ See Bressé, op. cit., p. 20 for reference.

² Davis and Golden, "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-Industrial Areas, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

hand; that has significant implications for changes in culture, the way of life and many of the problems associated with the city. As Davis and Golden point out, the extent to which an area is urbanized is highly correlated with its degree of industrialization--or inversely with the extent to which it is dependent on agriculture.¹

The inverse relationship between the degree of agriculturism (per cent of economically active males engaged in agriculture) and urbanization has been documented by Davis and Golden. Countries of the world grouped by per cent of males gainfully occupied in agriculture show a consistent pattern of decreasing urbanization with increasing dependence on agriculture as it is indicated in Table 5.²

TABLE 5

DEGREE OF URBANIZATION IN WORLD'S COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES CLASSIFIED BY DEGREE OF AGRICULTURALISM

% of Gainfully Occupied Males in Agriculture	Number of Countries	% of Population in Cities 100,000 +
0 - 19	11	32.3
20-29	11	23.6
30-39	7	23.2
40-49	7	21.9
50-59	16	17.7
60-69	17	8.9
70 +	86	6.3

By continent, the pattern remains essentially the same. Asia, with 70 per cent of economically active males engaged in

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Ibid.

agriculture, had only 8 per cent of its population in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants. Africa had a larger proportion of males in agriculture, 78 per cent. On the other hand, North America, with only 17 percent of her males in agriculture had, except for Oceania, the highest degree of urbanization.

Oceania, with a relatively small population, is the only continental area which breaks the pattern in the relationship between agriculture and urbanization which has been described.

TABLE 6

PER CENT OF POPULATION IN CITIES AND IN
AGRICULTURE IN MAJOR WORLD AREAS, CA 1950

Continent	% of Economically Active Males Engaged in Agriculture	% of Pop. in Cities 100,000 +
World	60	13
North America	17	29
Oceania	35	41
Europe	38	21
USSR	54	18
South America	62	18
Central America & Caribbean	69	12
Asia	70	8
Africa	78	6

If the percentage of economically active males in agriculture is taken as an index of economic development, then the less developed areas of the world, those with 50 per cent or more of their males in agriculture, have more people living in cities of 100,000 or more (160 million) than the more developed countries (155 million). But the less developed areas are less urbanized than the more developed countries.

The data presented in Table 6 may help us to explain the presence of urbanization as distinguished from cities, is to be

found in the efficiency of agriculture, of which agriculture density is an index. As Davis and Golden have shown, there is no correlation between urbanization and density of national population, there is an inverse relationship between urbanization and agricultural density¹ as measured by males in agriculture per square mile of agricultural land. Thus, countries with high agriculture density, thus defined, have the smallest proportion of urban population.

It is in the positive relationship between urbanization and industrialization on the one hand, and the inverse relationship between urbanization and agricultural density on the other, that Davis and Golden account for the historical occurrence of urbanization and discuss the prospects for the future. The present concentration of urbanization (as distinct from cities in the advanced nations) is almost wholly a product of the last 150 years. "In 1800 the population in large cities was distributed over the earth in much the same fashion as the general population. With the rise and spread of industrialism in the nineteenth century, the European peoples--rapidly and markedly--increased their degree of urbanization."² They also point out that, "the pace of urbanization in the backward areas shows that they are anything but static. Sometimes, when one looks at the myriad difficulties and inefficiencies in the pre-industrial countries, when it appears that immorial customs still prevail

¹Agricultural density is defined as "the numbers of males occupied with agriculture, hunting and forestry, per square mile of cultivated land," see Davis and Golden, op. cit., p. 10.

²Davis and Golden, op. cit., p. 11.

and that there is a vicious circle of poverty breeding poverty, one is tempted to think these societies are static. But the data on trends of city growth and urbanization show them to possess highly dynamic attributes. Since urbanization is not an isolated culture trait but is a function of the total economy, its rapid growth indicates that fundamental changes are occurring at a rate sufficient to transform these pre-industrial societies within a few decades.¹

Finally, the increased urbanization of population as we have seen, proceeded rapidly during the 19th century in the European and American countries which were in the vanguard of industrialization. Since 1900, however, the pace of industrialization in the Western countries has slowed up, whereas that of some countries in Asia has accelerated. Increased urbanization has accompanied industrial development and has been described both as an antecedent and consequent of economic development.²

¹ Ibid., p. 14.

² Hauser, op. cit., p. 65.

CONCLUSION

Urbanization has been observed to be generally connected with industrialization, defined as a movement away from employment in agriculture. Kingsley Davis and H. Hertz observe: As of 1950, the (Pearsonian) correlation between degree of industrialization and degree of urbanization, as measured by our indices, was 0.86 taking the countries and territories of the world as our limits.¹ This correlation holds good spatially as well as temporally in the case histories of practically all developed countries. Yet another feature of the past pattern of urbanization in advanced industrial countries is that the more highly urbanized a country becomes the more its population is concentrated in the bigger agglomeration. Thus, in a sense, comparative levels of urbanization, as measured, by the proportion of population living in cities of 100,000 or over, reflect comparative levels of industrial development. These observed tendencies appear to emphasize that, in the past at least, there has been a close interaction between the location of industrial, commercial and service activity on the one hand and the distribution of population agglomeration on the other hand.

Reference has already been made to the fact that, in the more advanced stages of urbanization, concentration of population in bigger agglomerations tends to be accentuated. In the wake of the growth of such agglomerations, a new economic pattern

¹Davis and Hertz, op. cit., p. 8.

based on a centralized and complex pattern of industrial specialization and differentiation emerges with vast hinterlands to support such large agglomerations. This movement of "metropolitanization" has also appeared in several countries like Asia. In fact, the distribution of urban population by size of localities in Asia suggests a comparatively greater concentration in big agglomerations.¹

Students of urbanization, thus, are agreed that, to the extent to which the process of modernization is mediated, through urban centers, the larger cities play a more crucial role, and that, in general, the larger a city, the more important is its general mediating function in the process of socio-economic change.² To some extent, therefore, the rapidity with which a country modernizes the dependent upon the growth of its cities and especially the large cities.

However, in dealing with the relationship of the city and urbanization to economic development in developing countries, therefore, one must be exceedingly cautious neither to confuse tentative and speculative generalizations for conclusions well grounded in empirical research; nor to assume that that which is known about the experience of the West is necessarily

¹See Davis and Hertz who mentioned that "while underdeveloped countries are predominantly rural in character, they have more people living in cities of 100,000 or over than the industrialized countries," op. cit., p. 7.

²See Hoselitz, "The Role of Urbanization in Economic Development: Some International Comparisons," in Roy Porter (ed.), India's Urban Future, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1962, p. 164.

applicable to the situation in the newly developing countries. I do not propose to dwell further on this place, except to say that all the observations which we have mentioned must serve as an introduction, setting the stage for an empirical investigation of the role of cities in the economic development of one or more newly developing countries.

On the basis of these observations a series of more detailed theoretical generalization could probably be made about the impact exerted by processes of urbanization on economic growth and the problems of the emergence of urban culture and its association with economic change. An empirical study on Egypt, for example, can be suggested as an empirical case for further verification of such theoretical generalizations.

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