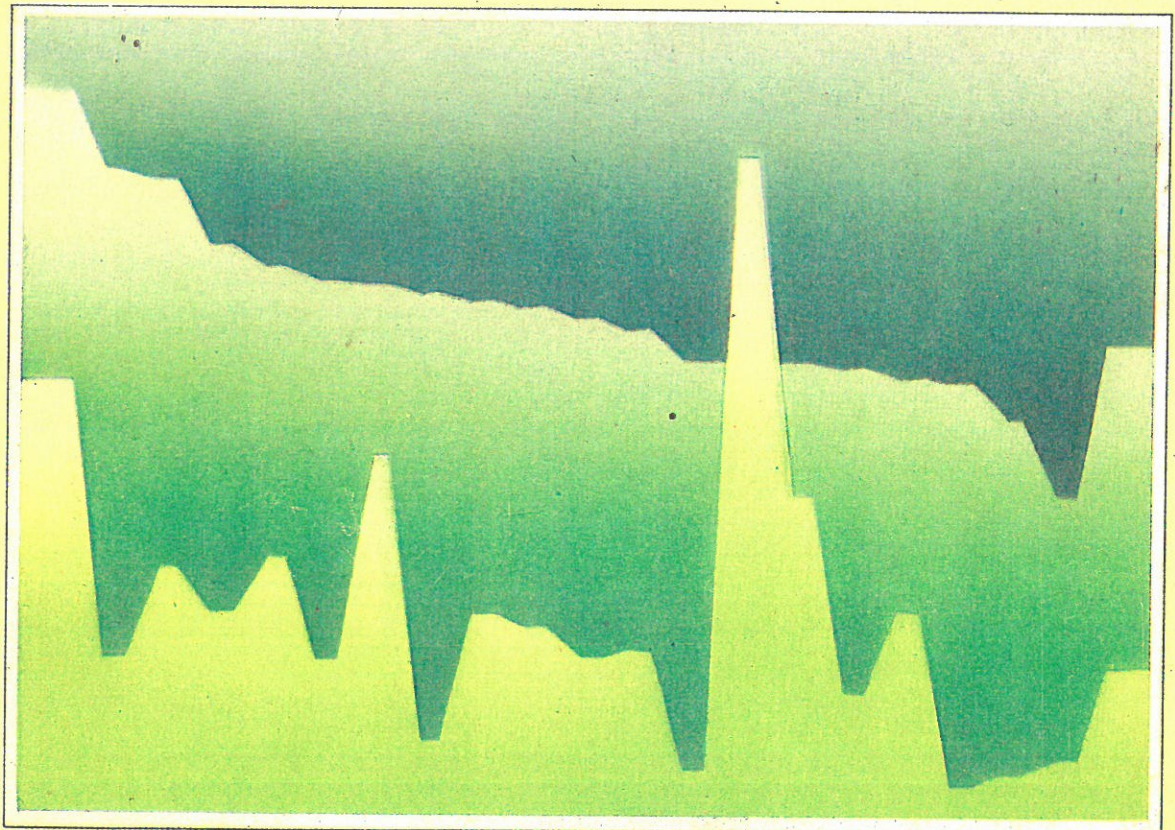


State of India's Urbanisation



National Institute of Urban Affairs

Preface

Urbanisation is a relatively recent but by far the most dominant social transformation of our times. From an overwhelmingly rural, the world has fast transformed itself into an urban society; in 1985, 1.98 billion persons, or 41 percent of the world's total population were estimated to be living in urban settlements.¹ What is more, urbanisation is likely to "overshadow" the other upcoming changes and transformations, that is, if we put faith in the predictions of Rafael M. Salas which he made in his report on the *State of World Population, 1986*.²

The predictions of Rafael Salas do not seem to be unfounded in the Indian context. This year, in 1988, India's urban population will cross the 200 million mark. Seven years ago when the last census count was made, it stood at 159.7 million, having risen from 109.1 million a decade earlier. During the 1971-81 decade, the country's urban population increased by approximately 5 million per annum, or at an average annual growth rate of 3.87 percent compared to the growth rate of 1.78 per cent for the rural population. On an average, 13,500 persons were added every day to India's numerous urban areas; every minute, the number was 9.5 persons.

Studies on population projections indicate that the forces of urbanisation in the country will persist in the foreseeable future. The 1981-2001 period, according to the projections, is expected to register an extraordinarily large accretion of 160 million which would mean, significantly enough, a doubling of the urban population in a short span of twenty years. Related studies on global urbanisation further indicate that, of the twenty largest cities in the world which will attain the "mega-city" status by the turn of the century, India will have the distinction of having at least three: Calcutta, 16.53 million; Greater Bombay, 16.0 million; and Delhi, 13.24 million.³ Cumulatively, the population of these three cities is already in excess of the populations of 101 out of 128 countries of the world.

This general scenario underlines the contemporary and upcoming importance of urbanisation in India which with only 23.72 percent of its population living in urban areas, remains among the least urbanised countries of the world. Urbanisation in India thus presents a highly chequered and complex picture in terms of size, pace, pattern, history and consequences. When we look at the state of urbanisation we find that the growth of urban population has been uneven in terms of pattern as well as spatial and regional distribution. There are vast tracts of India's space which have not witnessed any appreciable urban growth in contrast with, for example, the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Tamil Nadu which contain over one-third of the country's urban population. A large number of districts, 26.9 percent of the total, have urbanisation levels of less than 10 percent; 55 percent of these had not been able to attain by 1981 even the 1951 level of urbanisation. Even though we often draw comfort from the low level of urban primacy in the country compared with the countries of Southeast Asia and Africa where the centripetal forces have been far too strong and overwhelming, the fact that primacies (ratio between the populations of the largest and the second largest at state levels—West Bengal 25.05:1; Maharashtra 4.89:1; and Karnataka 5.54:1, are high cannot but indicate the skewness in the urbanisation processes. The hegemony of large cities too has continued unabated despite the many attempts to thin it down by paying special attention to the comparatively lower-order urban settlements.

This is a brief from the *State of India's Urbanisation*, the title of this publication. This publication provides a comprehensive assessment of the urbanisation processes in India, by examining especially its scale, the growth behaviour, the components of growth, the share of migration, the pattern of urban spread, the contributions of urbanisation to the Indian economy, and, to a minor extent, its consequences.

The *State of India's Urbanisation* does not examine whether urbanisation, that is, the way in

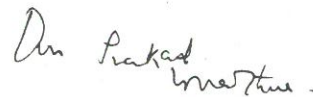
which it has progressed, is desirable or undesirable, or whether it has generated progress or drained the economy of its strength for development. In our view, the desirability or otherwise of the urbanisation processes is less of an issue now than it was in the past. The issue is how we can facilitate the future course of urbanisation. The issue is how we can design policy responses so as to provide better interface between the urban and the national economy. This report provides foundation for examining such issues.

This publication is the first detailed account of the state of India's urbanisation. It, however, covers only the demographic aspects; there are other aspects too that have equal importance. A recent study showed that a city of 50,000 imports for its sustenance 100 tons of food and about 31,000 tons of water every day.⁵ Another study has reported that the areas of closed forest within a 100-kilometre radius of nine of India's principal cities fell sharply between the mid 1970s and the early 1980s. These estimates may be on the higher side for a country at the level of development that India has attained, but it underscores the point that food, water and energy are important determinants in the future pattern of urban living. Assessments on such aspects are necessary and will follow.

Producing a report of this kind depends on the support and assistance of a number of institutions and individuals. Among the institutions who should be acknowledged are the Ministry of Urban Development (Government of India) who have funded

the study, and the Office of the Registrar General of India who have provided the required data, often from the manuscripts of the census reports of states. Among the individuals, I would like to single out the contributions of Gopal Krishan, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Geography, Panjab University, Chandigarh who served as a Consultant to this project; and Pushpa Pathak, Research Fellow at this Institute and coordinator of this project. Gopal Krishan prepared several drafts of the report to bring it to its present shape. Likewise Pushpa Pathak attended to the statistical details and accuracy. The Computer Unit of the National Institute of Urban Affairs led by R.K. Dahiya deserves my appreciation for timely processing of the volume of data on urbanisation, which are now available from the Institute on diskettes.

Let me repeat that this is the first assessment of the state of India's urbanisation. It responds to the growing importance of urbanisation in the country. We hope that readers will find it a basic document on the subject, and be able to utilise it in policy making and policy oriented research.



Om Prakash Mathur
Director

8 March 1988

Notes & References

1. United Nations, *The Prospects of World Urbanisation*, revised as of 1984-85, New York, United Nations, 1987.
2. Rafael M. Salas, *State of World Population, 1986*, United Nations Fund For Population Activities, New York, 1987.
3. Ibid.
4. The World Bank, *World Development Report, 1987*, Table 33, Washington D.C., 1987.
5. David Morris, "The City as Nation", in *Development*, Journal of the Society for International Development, Rome, 1986.
6. B. Bowonder, et al., *Deforestation and Fuelwood Use in Urban Centres*, Centre for Energy, Environment, and Technology, and National Remote Sensing Agency, Hyderabad, India, 1985.

***State of
India's
Urbanisation***

National Institute of Urban Affairs

New Delhi

1988

© *National Institute of Urban Affairs*

New Delhi

1988

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the National Institute of Urban Affairs.

Published in India by

National Institute of Urban Affairs
11 Nyaya Marg, Chanakyapuri
New Delhi-110021

Printed by Venus Advertisers
1307, Gulian Street, Dariba
Delhi-110006

Photosetting by
Iplex Photo Setter, Delhi

The report is the outcome of an inhouse research project undertaken by a small team comprising Gopal Krishan (Project Consultant), Pushpa Pathak (Project Coordinator), and Nalini Shangloo, Archana Roy, M. Ahmed, Naveen Mathur, Rajalakshmi Rama Rao, and D.P. Dubey. The team led by Pushpa Pathak compiled, edited and processed the data which forms the statistical base for this report. Gopal Krishan has done most of the drafting. Sangita Vijn, Indu Senan, Tek Chand, and Ravinder Grover of the Computer Unit at the Institute led by R.K. Dahiya share the honours for programming and computing the data; and Durga Goplani and Meera Bhagchandani for secretarial and typing assistance. The Institute acknowledges the association of Dharamvir of the Department of Chemical Engineering and Technology, Panjab University, Chandigarh, for help in the population projections; Arvind Mehtani, Assistant Town Planner, Haryana for providing research assistance; and Meher Singh, Map Curator, Department of Geography, Panjab University, Chandigarh for preparing the charts and graphs.

The National Institute of Urban Affairs wishes to acknowledge the financial support from the Ministry of Urban Development for this research project. It further acknowledges the assistance of the Office of the Registrar General of India, and in particular, of A. Rama Rao who provided the 1981 census data to the Institute, often from unpublished sources.

The research project has been carried out under the overall direction of Om Prakash Mathur, Director, National Institute of Urban Affairs who has been assisted by Suhasini Ramaswamy and Indu Patnaik for editing and production.

11	India : Percentage Share of Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sector in the State Net Domestic Product (at Constant Prices) in Major States, 1960-61 and 1980-81	12
12	India : Spacing of Towns by States, 1981	14
13	India : Number of Towns by States and Union Territories, 1961-81	15
14	India : Grouping of National Sample Survey Regions by Levels of Urbanisation in 1981	15
15	India : Grouping of Districts by Percentage of Urban Population in 1981	16
16	India : Listing of Entirely Urban, Entirely Rural and Urban Majority Districts, 1981	17
17	India : Urban Growth Rate by States and Union Territories, 1961-71 and 1971-81	18
18	India : Rural and Urban Growth Rates, 1971-81	19
19	India : Distribution of States/Union Territories by Urban Growth Rate during 1971-81	19
20	India : National Sample Survey Regions with an Urban Growth Rate Higher than the National Average (46.24 percent) during 1971-81	21
21	India : Number of Districts with Fast and Slow Urban Growth during 1971-81 by States and Union Territories	22
22	India : Urban Growth Patterns, 1971-81 at Local Level	23
23	India : Distribution of Towns by Growth Behaviour, 1971-81	24
24	India : Components of Urban Growth, 1971-81	30
25	India : Birth and Death Rates by States and Union Territories, 1971-81	31
26	India : Correlates of Urban Birth and Death Rates	33
27	India : Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Place of Birth, 1971 and 1981	34
28	India : Rural-Urban and Urban-Urban Migrants among Internal Migrants (Excluding those Born in Other Countries), 1971 and 1981	35
29	India : Reasons for Migration to Urban Areas, 1981	36
30	India : Urban Migrants (Rural-Urban and Urban-Urban) Classified by Duration of Residence, 1981	37
31	India : New Towns by States and Union Territories, 1981	40
32	India : Locational Pattern of New Towns, 1981	41
33	India : Urban Area Change, 1971-81 (km ²)	44
34	India : Classification of Towns/Urban Agglomerations by Area Change during 1971-81	45
35	India : List of Cities with Territorial Jurisdiction Extended by at least 50 km ² during 1971-81	46
36	India : Number of Towns by Size Class, 1981	48
37	India : Percentage Share of Urban Population by Size Class of Towns, 1981	49
38	Maharashtra and Punjab : A Comparison in Morphology of Urbanisation, 1981	50
39	India : Number of Towns Accounting for at least 50 percent of the Urban Population and the percentage Share of the Largest Town in Urban Population of States and Union Territories, 1981	51
40	India : Percentage Share of Cities (Class I Towns) in Urban Population, 1961, 1971 and 1981	52
41	India : City Size and Growth Rate, 1971-81	53
42	India : Funds Approved and Released under the IDSMT Programme by States and Union Territories, 1979-1985	54
43	India : Area, Population and Growth Rate of Metropolitan Cities, 1971-81	55
44	India : Population Size (1981) and Growth Rate (1971-81) of Second Cities	56
45	India : Grouping of Cities by Population Size, 1981	57
46	India : Grouping of Cities by Growth Rate during 1971-81	57
47	India : Urban Primacy by States and Union Territories, 1981	59
48	India : Density of Urban Population by States and Union Territories, 1971 and 1981	61
49	India : Grouping of Cities by Population Density, 1981	62
50	India : Population Density of Metropolitan Cities, 1981	62
51	India : Percentage of Developed and Undeveloped Urban Land by Population Size of Towns	63
52	India : Land under Residential Use by Population Size of Towns	63
53	India : Distribution of Vacant Land by Population Size of Towns	63
54	India : Land Use Classification of Developed Land in Towns	63
55	India : Incidence of Urban and Rural Poverty by States, 1983-84	65

Contents

Preface

Text titles

- 1 Urbanisation in India : An Overview 1
- 2 The Overurbanisation Thesis 4
- 3 Levels of Urbanisation 7
- 4 Patterns of Urban Growth 18
- 5 Components of Urban Growth 27
- 6 Birth and Death Rates 32
- 7 Urbanward Migration 34
- 8 New Towns of 1981 39
- 9 Change in Urban Area 43
- 10 Morphology of Urbanisation 47
- 11 Metropolises and Cities 55
- 12 Primacy Patterns 58
- 13 Urban Crowding 61
- 14 Urban Poverty 65
- 15 Urban Slums 68
- 16 Urban Population: Future Estimates 71

Annexures

- 1 India: Districtwise Urban Population, Urban Growth Rate and Level of Urbanisation 77
- 2 India: Districtwise Distribution of Towns by their Growth Pattern, 1971-81 86
- 3 India: Area, Population and Population Growth Rate of Cities (Population above 100,000 in 1981) 95
- 4 India: Data Sheet Showing the Computation of the Components of Urban Growth during 1971-81 100

Text tables

- 1 World Urbanisation Patterns by Groups of Economies, 1981 2
- 2 India: Urban Population, 1901-81 2
- 3 India and the Developing Countries: Cross Tabulation of Levels of Urbanisation and Industrialisation, 1981 5
- 4 India and the Developing Countries : Cross Tabulation of Levels of Urbanisation and Diversification of Economy, 1981 5
- 5 India and the Developing Countries: Cross Tabulation of Levels of Urbanisation and Per Capita Gross National Product, 1981 5
- 6 India : Size of Urban Population by States and Union Territories, 1961-81 7
- 7 India: Levels of Urbanisation, 1961-81 8
- 8 India: Ranking of States and Union Territories by Levels of Urbanisation, 1981 8
- 9 India: Correlates of the Levels of Urbanisation by States in 1981 9
- 10 India: Percentage Share of States and Union Territories in Urban Population (1961, 1971 and 1981) and Towns (1981) 11

56	India : Estimated Slum Population by Size Class of Towns, 1981	68
57	India : Percentage of Urban Population Living in Slums by States and Union Territories, 1981	69
58	Developing World : Incidence of Slums and Squatter Areas in Some Selected Cities	70
59	India : Projected Percentage of Urban Population to Total Population as on 1 March by States and Union Territories, 1971-91	72
60	India : Projected Total, Rural and Urban Population, and Percentage of Urban Population (Medium Projections) in 1971-2011	73
61	India: Urban Population Actuals for 1971 and Estimates for 1974, 1979, 1984 and 1986 (as on 1 March)	73
62	India : Projections of Urbanisation to the Year 2001	74
63	India : A Summary of Urban Population Projections	74
64	India : Actual and Projected Urban Population by States and Union Territories	75

Insets

1	Urban Explosion	2
2	Hyper-or Overurbanisation	4
3	Overurbanisation : Shape of Things to Come	6
4	Definition of Urban : India	7
5	How Reliable are the Statistics Used for International Urban Comparisons?	9
6	The Level of Urbanisation	11
7	Patterns of Urbanisation	20
8	Composition of Urban Population Growth and Stages of Development	27
9	Migration and Urbanisation	34
10	The Economics of City Size	47
11	The Primate City in Population Distribution Goals	58
12	An Impending Urban Crisis	65
13	Urban Slums : Cancer or Panacea	68
14	Future Urban Challenges	71

Text figures

1	India: Level of Urbanisation by States, 1971 and 1981	10
2	India : Statewise Per Capita Income and Level of Urbanisation	13
3	India : Components of Urban Growth, 1971-81	28
4	India : Statewise Components of Urban Growth, 1971-81	29
5	India : Urban Migration, 1971-81	35
6	India : Percentage Share of Urban Population and Number of Towns by Size Class, 1981	50
7	India : Percentage of Urban Population Below the Poverty Line, 1983-84	66
8	India : Growth of Urban Population, 1901-2001	73

I *Urbanisation in India* *An Overview*

The most impressive feature of India's urbanisation is its massive size : 157.68 million persons in 1981, or about 160 million if we add to it the estimated population of Assam.¹ This virtually equals the urban population of the United States of America (161 million), and is only a trifle lower than that of the Soviet Union (169 million). China, however, has a considerably larger urban population of about 209 million.² In numerical terms, India's urban population is the fourth largest in the world, and is higher than the total urban population of all countries put together barring the three mentioned above.

In terms of its share in the total population, India's urban population is 23.70 percent (23.31 percent including Assam) according to the 1981 census.³ This figure is somewhat higher than that of China (21 percent), but only one-third of the level in the United States (70 percent). A majority of the developing countries, including Pakistan (29 percent), Egypt (44 percent), and Brazil (68 percent), are more urbanised than India. To be precise, out of the ninety-four countries classified as low- and middle-income economies, sixty surpass India in terms of the percentage of urban population.⁴

Rapid rate of growth is another salient feature of India's urbanisation. The decadal growth rate of India's urban population during 1971-81 was 46.24 percent. This yields an annual growth rate of 3.87 percent for the decade. If the estimated figures for Assam are included, the decadal urban growth works out to 46.39 percent and the annual growth rate to 3.88 percent.⁵ This rate is distinctly higher than that of the high-income industrial market economies (1.4 percent) and of the East European nonmarket economies (2.6 percent). The low-income economies as a group with a 4.4 percent growth rate and the middle-income economies with 4.1 percent do have an edge over India in this regard. As many as sixty out of a total of ninety-four countries belonging to low- and middle-income categories outrate India in urban growth. The annual urban growth rate is 4.2

percent in Mexico, 4.8 percent in Nigeria and 6.5 percent in Bangladesh. The corresponding rate in the high-income oil-exporting countries is still higher, being about 8.2 percent.

India's urbanisation structure is marked by a high concentration of the urban population in a few large cities. India's twelve metropolitan cities, each with a population of over one million, account for over one-fourth of India's urban population while its forty-two cities, each with a population of half a million or above, share a little less than two-fifths.⁶ This is, however, not unique to India. In the low- and middle-income, and industrial market economies approximately half of the urban population lives in places with populations exceeding 500,000. It is only in the East European nonmarket economies that this proportion is somewhat lower, being one-third. In this sense, India's urbanisation morphology bears a close resemblance to that of the Soviet Union and several East European socialist countries.

This is corroborated further by data on primacy. The largest city of Calcutta, with a population of about nine million in 1981, accounts for less than six percent of the country's urban population while the comparable figures for the low- and middle-income economies are 16 percent and 29 percent respectively. Even in the industrial market economies, the largest city accounts for 18 percent of urban population on an average. It is only in the East European nonmarket economies that the pattern is similar to that of India. There the largest city accounts for an average of just about 7 percent of the total population (Table 1).

What distinguishes India most from many countries in the world is its long tradition of urbanisation. This tradition goes back to nearly five thousand years when the Indus Valley civilisation saw the birth of some of the earliest urban settlements in human history. In course of time, urbanisation spread to several other parts of the country and came under the impact of varied forces operating in successive periods—ancient, medieval and modern.⁷ As

Inset 1 : Urban Explosion

Urban dwellers are rapidly becoming a majority of the population. Most of them live in developing countries and an even higher proportion in the biggest cities. Most of the world's largest cities are now in developing countries and they are growing to sizes never before experienced.... This urban drama calls for the immediate attention of the world's best minds in conjunction with those in a position to take decisive action.

a consequence, India's urban pattern today is a mosaic of the pre-British, colonial and post-Independence periods. This is best represented in the form and life style of most of the Indian cities which are composed of indigenous cores, the additions of the civil lines, cantonment areas and railway colonies of the British era, and the more recent residential, industrial, institutional and other extensions on the periphery particularly along the main road and rail routes emanating from them.

Table 1 World Urbanisation Patterns by Groups of Economies, 1981

Groups of economies	Per capita GNP (in US \$)	Percentage of urban population	Annual urban growth rate (percent)	Percentage of urban population in	
				largest city	cities of over 500,000 population
Low income	270	21	4.4	16	55
India	260	24	3.7	6	39
Middle income	1,500	45	4.1	29	48
Lower	850	33	4.4	32	47
Upper	2,490	63	3.8	29	51
High income					
Oil exporting economies	13,460	68	8.2	28	34
Industrial market economies	11,120	78	1.4	18	55
East European nonmarket economies	N.A.	62	1.8	7	32

Source : World Development Report, 1983, Tables 1 and 22.
N.A. = Not available.

Although India has a long tradition of urbanisation, it entered the twentieth century as only one-tenth urban. Some de-urbanisation took place under the initial impact of colonial rule which caused a decline of several traditional industrial towns. The proportion of urban population in India is said to have decreased during the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century.⁸ The urbanisation process regained its pace in the later phases of British rule.

But it was only after Independence that urbanisation began to acquire momentum. The country's total population doubled while its urban population tripled during 1947-81. During 1901-81 India's population grew by 2.9 times, its rural population by 2.5 times, and urban population by no less than 6.1 times, from 26 million to 160 million (Table 2). Evidently this was the outcome of massive rural-urban migration, in addition to the contributions made by natural increase and the reclassification of erstwhile rural settlements into urban. Over one-third of India's urban population was recorded as migrant at the time of the 1981 census. Such an urbanisation experience is similar to that of most developing countries which gained independence after World War II.

Table 2 India : Urban Population, 1901-81

India	Urban population	Percentage of urban population to total population	Decadal urban growth rate (percent)
1901	25,851,873	10.84	0.00
1911	25,941,633	10.29	0.35
1921	28,086,167	11.17	8.27
1931	33,455,989	11.99	19.12
1941	44,153,297	13.85	31.97
1951	65,443,709	17.29	41.43
1961	78,936,603	17.97	26.41
1971	109,113,977	19.90	38.23
1981	159,727,357*	23.31	46.39

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Including projected population of Assam.

A note on the political economy of urban India will be in order here. The politico-economic context of Indian urbanisation has undergone a dramatic transformation since Independence. The feudal-colonial set-up of the earlier phase has been substituted by a democratic set-up with a planned mixed economy after Independence. The dominance of the traditional private sector has continued but the role of the government and organised political action has increased enormously in recent decades.

Such a politico-economic transition has influenced the urbanisation process in several ways. First, the earlier trend of migration from the rural to urban areas gained further momentum. A large number of rural-urban migrants got absorbed in the informal sector, and several among them took shelter in the slums, with the result that today nearly one half of India's urban employment sector is informal and unorganised.⁹ Secondly, the rural-urban disparities widened over time. This is reflected in the increasing differential between the rural and urban per capita net domestic product from 1:1.8 in 1950-51 to about 1:2.6 in 1970-71.¹⁰ This ratio is estimated at 1:2.9 in

1980-81 and is projected to further widen, the figures being 1:3:2 for 1989-90 and 1:3:3 for 1994-95.

Finally, while the private sector dominated the spheres of urban housing and employment, the provision of urban services, including public transport, devolved mainly on the government. Since the public at large had neither the capacity nor the inclination to pay adequately for the services it received, the resources available with the government for servicing the urban places proved far from adequate. As a result the infrastructure has deteriorated in most urban areas and is grossly insufficient for the fast increasing urban population. The tenets of the prevailing political economy and the accompanying compulsions have gradually but surely brought about on the country's urban space an uneasy mix of economy, efficiency and social justice, of centralisation and decentralisation, and organised growth and quasi- and totally unplanned settlements. Thus, the policies towards the informal sector and proliferation of slums are far more accommodative than at any time in the past. The same applies to cities because centralisation is viewed as less expensive than any contrived decentralisation. Many city plans have either not been taken seriously or have been

altered on grounds of expediency.

In brief:

- Though relatively less urbanised, the size of India's urban population is one of the largest in the world.
- India's urban growth rate is high in itself but is still significantly lower than in several developing countries.
- India's urbanisation structure is not as distorted or exceptional as many scholars tend to believe. The largest city in the country is not as primate as in many of the developing and even developed countries.
- The urbanisation structure of India resembles in many ways that of the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union, China and the East European countries.
- An appreciation of the political economy of Indian urbanisation is imperative for understanding any of its distortions or for recommending a suitable and corrective strategy.

Notes & References

1. The 1981 Census was not held in Assam State.
2. The World Bank (1983): *World Development Report*, Tables 1 and 22.
3. In subsequent discussions, the percentage of India's urban population in 1981 will be taken as 23.70 unless otherwise stated.
4. *World Development Report*, op. cit. Table 22.
5. In all subsequent discussions, India's urban growth rate during 1971-81 will be taken as 46.24 percent of 3.87 percent per annum, unless otherwise stated.
6. The twelve "million" cities of India include Calcutta, Greater Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Pune, Kanpur, Nagpur, Jaipur and Lucknow. These cities are listed in descending order of population.
7. Raj Bala (1986): *Trends in Urbanisation in India*, Rawat, Jaipur, p. 195.
8. Victor Petrov (1985): *India, Spotlight on Population*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, p. 22
9. M.N. Buch (1987): *Planning the Indian City*, Vikas, New Delhi, p. 124.
10. Rakesh Mohan (1985): "Urbanisation in India's future", *Population and Development Review*, 4:639.

Source

Inset 1 :

Rafael M. Salas (1986): *The State of World Population*, UNFPA, New York, p. 1.

2 *The Overurbanisation Thesis*

The massive size of India's urban population, coupled with staggering regular increments to it, has put a severe strain on urban resources. Strain is evident particularly in the housing, transport, water supply, sanitation, power and employment sectors giving rise to the much-talked about notion that India is "overurbanised".¹ This statement is supported by several observations:

- At a comparable level of urbanisation, India is much less industrialised than today's developed countries were in the past. Also the process of tertiarisation of its economy has outpaced its secundarisation. As a result, urban unemployment and underemployment are widespread, and income levels are low.
- Indian cities are growing faster than the capacity of the economy to support them. This escalates the costs of urbanisation for the country. It is further argued that cities do not generate enough surpluses to invest in basic urban services, and are dependent on the transfer of resources from rural areas. This leads to less than optimal allocation of resources between the rural and urban sectors. The pace of economic growth suffers in the process.
- The existing urban infrastructure and services, such as power, water supply, health, education, transport and others is inadequate to meet the large and fast expanding urban population. Problems relating to environment, congestion, and pollution are intensifying. The quality of urban life is fast moving towards a crisis situation.

The overurbanisation thesis in the Indian context has, thus, been advanced on the grounds that:

- there is a mismatch between the levels of industrialisation and urbanisation;
- the process of urbanisation is costly and impinges upon the rate of economic growth; and
- the state of infrastructure is poor and unable to take the growing urban pressures.

A critical look at the data relating to India, however, does not support the overurbanisation thesis, with the *World Development Reports* showing nothing peculiar about the Indian urbanisation experiences.² If we examine the data for ninety-four low- and middle-income economies or countries (out of which two did not report the necessary information) representing the developing world, we

Inset 2 : Hyper- or Overurbanisation

Hyperurbanization signifies a prolonged condition of superheated urban growth.

At least since 1950, according to Davis, the greater part of the world's regions have been passing through a period of hyperurbanization. The principal exceptions include North America, Temperate South America (Argentina, Uruguay, Chile), Southcentral Asia and Europe. Of these, Northern and Western Europe, Temperate South America, and North America, with current levels of urbanization of 70% or more, were, for the most part, subject to hyperurbanization during *earlier* periods in their history; Japan, which has been rapidly urbanizing since the end of World War II, is about to join these "older" urban regions. Southcentral Asia, on the other hand, presents a rather mixed picture in the detail of its country statistics. The urbanization rates for India and Ceylon, for instance, have been accelerating during the past 20 years, so that these two important countries will probably join the "club" of hyperurbanizing nations during the present decade. Pakistan, with a current doubling rate of 16 years, is already there, while Afghanistan, remote from outside modernizing influences, is expanding its urban population at the relatively low doubling rate of only 30 years.

If hyperurbanization is regarded as a tension-generating process that may have positive consequences for a country's development, it is necessary sharply to distinguish this concept from the well-known, if much debated, idea of **overurbanization**. Hyperurbanization is not meant to imply excessive urbanization in relation to employment growth as does the concept of overurbanization; it is intended rather to convey the social dynamics released by the accelerated and massive transfer of rural people to cities.

Table 3 India and the Developing Countries: Cross Tabulation of Levels of Urbanisation and Industrialisation, 1981

Groups of countries	Number	Percentage
Higher in both urbanisation and industrialisation than India	50	55
Lower in both urbanisation and industrialisation than India	23	25
Higher in urbanisation but lower in industrialisation than India	10	11
Lower in urbanisation but higher in industrialisation than India	8	9
Total (excluding India)	91	100

Source : World Development Reports, 1983 and 1985.

- Note :
- i. Data for 94 countries, classified as low- and middle-income economies, were taken into account.
 - ii. Data not available for two countries.
 - iii. India: percentage of urban population, 24; percentage of industrial workers, 13.

find that only eight countries are at a higher level of industrialisation and lower level of urbanisation in India. In fifty countries, the levels of both industrialisation and urbanisation are higher, and in another twenty-three countries both are lower than India. Further, ten countries are at a higher level of urbanisation but lower level of industrialisation. This speaks of a high degree of conformity of the Indian pattern with that of other developing countries.

The same observation is supported by data on urbanisation as related to the diversification of the economy, the latter being measured in terms of the percentage of nonagricultural workers. Both urbanisation level and per capita GNP are higher in fifty-two countries than in India; in another ten both are lower. Only fourteen countries are at

Table 4 India and the Developing Countries : Cross Tabulation of Levels of Urbanisation and Diversification of Economy, 1981

Groups of countries	Number	Percent
Higher in both urbanisation and economic diversification than India	52	57
Lower in both urbanisation and economic diversification than India	22	24
Higher in urbanisation but lower in economic diversification than India	8	9
Lower in urbanisation but higher in economic diversification than India	9	10
Total (excluding India)	91	100

Source : World Development Reports, 1983 and 1985.

- Note :
- i. Data for 94 countries, classified as low- and middle-income economies, were taken into account.
 - ii. Data not available for two countries.
 - iii. Diversification of economy was referred to the percentage of nonagricultural workers.
 - iv. India : percentage of urban population, 24; percentage of nonagricultural workers, 29.

Table 5 India and the Developing Countries: Cross Tabulation of Levels of Urbanisation and Per Capita Gross National Product, 1981

Groups of countries	Number	Percentage
Higher in both urbanisation and per capita GNP	52	66
Lower in both urbanisation and per capita GNP	10	12
Higher in urbanisation but lower in per capita GNP	3	4
Lower in urbanisation but higher in per capita GNP	15	18
Total (excluding India)	80	100

Source : World Bank Reports, 1983 and 1985.

- Note :
- i. Data for 94 countries, classified as low- and middle-income economies, were taken into account.
 - ii. Data not available for 13 countries.
 - iii. India: percentage of urban population, 24; per capita GNP, U.S. \$ 260.

a lower level of urbanisation but higher in per capita GNP. Three countries recorded a lower per capita GNP despite a higher level of urbanisation.

Thus, seen in the light of industrialisation, diversification of economy, and levels of income, Indian urbanisation is in line with the conditions prevailing in about 80 percent of the developing countries. Such a universal experience cannot be dubbed as negative. Its very pervasiveness is not without some inbuilt rationale.

The contention that rapid urbanisation in India is causing a distortion in the allocation of resources between urban and rural areas, and thereby negatively affecting the pace of economic development is also not substantiated by facts. The available data show that the real per capita product in the country increased by about 50 percent during 1951-81. Meanwhile, the share of the primary sector in the gross domestic product declined from around 60 percent in 1951 to less than 40 percent in 1981. This was accompanied by a rise in the share of the secondary and tertiary sectors. The employment structure, however, remained practically the same. This means that the productivity of the manufacturing and service sectors, representing the urban segments, has risen much higher than that of the primary sector, representing the rural segment. The process of urbanisation in India has thus helped rather than hindered the process of economic development.

It is, however, beyond dispute that the prevailing urbanisation rate is exerting an increasing pressure on the available urban infrastructure. About one-fifth of India's population lives in slums; one-half of the households reside in dwellings measuring less

Inset 3 : Overurbanisation : Shape of Things to Come

It is unlikely that overurbanization in underdeveloped countries can last too long. The end of overurbanization may take place because of a breakdown in the capacity of nations, and cities in particular, to cope with increased urbanization, or it may take the form of the emergence of new kinds of solutions to the problems of both economic development and urbanization. However, these solutions are not yet on the horizon.

The paradox is that the same overurbanization can be viewed as either a major problem for newly developing countries or, from the long-range point of view—assuming appropriate and quick economic development—a major opportunity in the direction of rapid growth. At the moment there appears to be no really satisfactory measure for determining the existence, extent, and significance of overurbanization among many underdeveloped countries, although some measures are useful in specific cases. By no stretch of the imagination is overurbanization merely an academic question for responsible leaders of newly developing countries.

than twenty square metres each; not even one-third of India's urban population has direct access to sanitation, and nearly one-third does not get safe water.³ Also, the available water supply is far too inadequate, making it a problem common to all towns and cities. The suspended particles in the environment of most cities, and more particularly of Cal-

cutta, Delhi, Kanpur, Nagpur and Bombay far exceeded the maximum acceptable limits. The situation is worsening with the passage of time due to the financial and managerial incapacities of the civic bodies to augment urban infrastructure commensurate with the rising needs of the people.⁴

In brief:

- India is not overurbanised when tested on economic parameters. Here our conclusion is in line with the thinking of Sovani,⁵ Bose,⁶ and Mills and Becker.⁷ The National Commission on Urbanisation rightly points out in its Interim Report that urbanisation is a necessary concomitant of the development path the country has chosen and that urban India has a positive role to play in the restructuring of the Indian economy over the next few decades.⁸ The process of economic growth will slow down if the pace of urbanisation is impeded.
- Indian towns and cities are unquestionably under severe strain in the context of the available infrastructure and services.⁹ However, by itself this situation does not justify policies for arresting the processes and trends of urbanisation. What is needed is a bolder and innovative examination of the wide variety of options for augmenting and managing resources for a more orderly and harmonious urban development.

Notes & References

1. See Kingsley Davis and Hilda H. Golden (1954): "Urbanisation and Development in Preindustrial Areas", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 3, 1; Unesco Research Centre (1956): *Urbanisation in Asia and the Far East*, Proceedings of the Joint UN, Unesco Seminar, Bangkok; and Michael Lipton (1977): *Why Poor People Stay Poor, Urban Bias and World Development*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
2. The World Bank (1983, 1985): *World Development Reports*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
3. See Urban Data Sheet brought out by the National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, 1986.
4. P.E. Graves and R.L. Saxton (1977): "Overurbanisation and its Relation to Economic Growth", *Economic Forum*, 8, 1:95-100.
5. N.V. Sovani (1964): "The Analysis of Overurbanisation", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 12, 2: 113-22.
6. Ashish Bose (1980): *India's Urbanisation: 1901-2001*, Tata McGraw-Hill, New Delhi.
7. Edwin S. Mills and Charles M. Becker (1986): *Studies in Indian Urban Development*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 204.
8. National Commission on Urbanisation (1987): *Interim Report*, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, New Delhi.
9. Johannes F. Linn (1982): "The Costs of Urbanisation in Developing Countries", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 30, 3: 625-648.

Sources

Inset 2 :

John Friedmann (1973): *Urbanisation, Planning and National Development*, Sage, Beverly Hills, pp. 91-93.

Inset 3 :

Gerald Breese (1978): *Urbanisation in Newly Developing Countries*, Prentice-Hall, New Delhi, p. 136.

3 Levels of Urbanisation

India's urban population is 23.70 percent of its total population. In a country of subcontinental scale, one cannot but expect a spatially varying picture of urbanisation levels. The striking spatial diversity in resource base, disparity in development levels, and the varying impact of historical experience must find expression in differing degrees of urbanisation.

An attempt is made here to identify and explain the regional variations in the pattern of urbanisation in India. This has been done by examining the levels of urbanisation at four spatial levels :

- States and Union Territories
- National Sample Survey Regions
- Districts
- Localities.

Inset 4 : Definition of Urban : India

Criteria for treating a place as urban for the 1981 census are :

- (a) All statutory towns, i.e., all places with a municipal corporation, municipal board, cantonment board or notified town area etc.
- (b) All other places which satisfy the following criteria
 - (i) A minimum population of 5,000;
 - (ii) Seventyfive percent of the male working population engaged in non-agricultural (and allied) activity; and
 - (iii) A density of population of atleast 400 per sq. km. (1,000 per sq. mile).

A town with a population of one hundred thousand and above is treated as a city.

Urbanisation by States and Union Territories

The size and percentage of urban population varies significantly between states and union territories (Tables 6 and 7). Among the different states, Maharashtra (35.03 percent) is the most urbanised, followed by Tamil Nadu (32.95 percent), Goa (32.03), Gujarat (31.10 percent), and Karnataka (28.89 per-

cent) in that order. The coastal states happen to be more urbanised than the inland ones. Among the

Table 6 India: Size of Urban Population by States and Union Territories, 1961-81

India/State/ Union Territory	Urban Population		
	1961	1971	1981
INDIA	7,8,936,603	109,113,977	159,727,357*
States			
Andhra Pradesh	6,274,508	8,402,527	12,487,576
Arunachal Pradesh	0	17,288	41,428
Assam	781,288	1,289,222	2,047,186**
Bihar	3,913,920	5,633,966	8,718,990
Goa	87,329	203,243	322,785
Gujarat	5,316,624	7,496,500	10,601,653
Haryana	1,307,680	1,772,959	2,827,387
Himachal Pradesh	178,275	241,890	325,971
Jammu & Kashmir	593,315	858,221	1,260,403
Karnataka	5,266,493	7,122,093	10,729,606
Kerala	2,554,141	3,466,449	4,771,275
Madhya Pradesh	4,627,234	6,784,767	10,586,459
Maharashtra	11,162,561	15,711,211	21,993,594
Manipur	67,717	141,492	375,460
Meghalaya	117,483	147,170	241,333
Mizoram	14,257	37,759	121,814
Nagaland	19,157	51,394	120,234
Orissa	1,109,650	1,845,395	3,110,287
Punjab	2,567,306	3,216,179	4,647,757
Rajasthan	3,281,478	4,543,761	7,210,508
Sikkim	6,848	19,668	51,084
Tamil Nadu	8,990,528	12,464,834	15,951,875
Tripura	102,997	162,360	225,568
Uttar Pradesh	9,479,895	12,388,596	19,899,115
West Bengal	8,540,842	10,967,033	14,446,721
Union Territories			
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	14,075	26,218	49,634
Chandigarh	99,262	232,940	422,841
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	6,914
Daman & Diu	13,335	23,531	29,023
Delhi	2,359,408	3,647,023	5,768,200
Lakshadweep	0	0	18,629
Pondicherry	88,997	198,288	316,047

Source: Census of India, 1981.

* Including projected population of Assam.

** Projected population.

Table 7 India: Levels of Urbanisation, 1961-81

India/State/ Union Territory	Percentage of urban population to total population		
	1961	1971	1981
INDIA*	18.24	20.21	23.70
States			
Andhra Pradesh	17.44	19.31	23.32
Arunachal Pradesh	0.00	3.70	6.56
Bihar	8.43	10.00	12.47
Goa	14.80	25.56	32.03
Gujarat	25.77	28.08	31.10
Haryana	17.23	17.66	21.88
Himachal Pradesh	6.34	6.99	7.61
Jammu & Kashmir	16.66	18.59	21.05
Karnataka	22.33	24.31	28.89
Kerala	15.11	16.24	18.74
Madhya Pradesh	14.29	16.29	20.29
Maharashtra	28.22	31.17	35.03
Manipur	8.68	13.19	26.42
Meghalaya	15.27	14.55	18.07
Mizoram	5.36	11.36	24.67
Nagaland	5.19	9.95	15.52
Orissa	6.32	8.41	11.79
Punjab	23.06	23.73	27.68
Rajasthan	16.28	17.63	21.05
Sikkim	4.22	9.37	16.15
Tamil Nadu	26.69	30.26	32.95
Tripura	9.02	10.43	10.99
Uttar Pradesh	12.85	14.02	17.95
West Bengal	24.45	24.75	26.47
Union Territories			
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	22.15	22.77	26.30
Chandigarh	82.80	90.55	93.63
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.00	0.00	6.63
Daman & Diu	36.36	37.56	36.74
Delhi	88.75	89.70	92.73
Lakshadweep	0.00	0.00	46.28
Pondicherry	24.11	42.04	52.28

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

inland states, Punjab (27.68 percent) is the most urbanised (Table 8).

On the other hand, Arunachal Pradesh (6.56) is the least urbanised state. Virtually all the hill states, namely, Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, and those located in the Northeastern Region, are at a lower level of urbanisation than the country as a whole.¹ Manipur and Mizoram are exceptions, with levels higher than the national average.

One cannot fail to take note of a lower percentage of urban population in Haryana and Kerala in comparison with the national average. The former has the second highest per capita income in the country after Punjab, while the latter has the distinction of being at the top in literacy. A lack of congruence

Table 8 India: Ranking of States and Union Territories by Levels of Urbanisation, 1981

India/ State/Union Territory	Rank	Percentage of urban population to total population
INDIA*		23.70
States		
Maharashtra	1	35.03
Tamil Nadu	2	32.95
Goa	3	32.03
Gujarat	4	31.10
Karnataka	5	28.89
Punjab	6	27.68
West Bengal	7	26.47
Manipur	8	26.42
Mizoram	9	24.67
Andhra Pradesh	10	23.32
Haryana	11	21.88
Jammu & Kashmir	12	21.05
Rajasthan	13	21.04
Madhya Pradesh	14	20.29
Kerala	15	18.74
Meghalaya	16	18.07
Uttar Pradesh	17	17.95
Sikkim	18	16.15
Nagaland	19	15.52
Bihar	20	12.47
Orissa	21	11.79
Tripura	22	10.99
Himachal Pradesh	23	7.61
Arunachal Pradesh	24	6.56
Union Territories		
Chandigarh	1	93.63
Delhi	2	92.73
Pondicherry	3	52.28
Lakshadweep	4	46.28
Daman & Diu	5	36.75
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	6	26.30
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	7	6.67

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

between the urbanisation levels and per capita incomes/literacy rates in their cases is indeed striking. For other states, the urbanisation levels are positively correlated with their per capita incomes and literacy rates.

Among the union territories, Chandigarh (93.63 percent) and Delhi (92.73 percent) are overwhelmingly urban. Pondicherry (52.28 percent) also has a majority of its population in urban places. On the other hand, the union territory of Dadra & Nagar Haveli is virtually all rural.

A correlation exercise reveals that the urbanisation levels of different states are significantly related to their per capita net domestic product ($r = .65$). This relationship is stronger with the income generated in the secondary sector ($r = .69$) than that in the

Inset 5 : How Reliable are the Statistics Used for International Urban Comparisons ?

It is still very common for comparisons to be made between different nations' level of urbanisation (*i.e.* the proportion of national populations living in "urban centres"). Figures for such comparisons are usually drawn from United Nations publications or from the data tables in the annual "World Development Report", published by the World Bank where urban statistics are largely based on United Nations figures. These are then used to show that one particular nation or region is "more urbanised" than another. While footnotes for tables listing different nations' level of urbanisation usually mention that cross-country comparisons should be "interpreted with caution" because of the different national definitions as to what is "urban", such comparisons are still made. Thus, India is said to be predominantly rural because, according to its last census in 1981, 24% of the population lived in "urban areas". Peru, by contrast, is said to be relatively urbanised: United Nations figures state that 67% of its population lived in urban areas in 1985. But in Peru, "urban centres" are defined as populated centres with 100 or more occupied dwellings. In India, the criteria are more complicated but with relatively few exceptions, urban centres have 5,000 or more inhabitants, a relatively high density and more than three-quarters of the adult male population employed in non-agricultural activities. Much

of India's rural population lives in villages which have more than 100 occupied dwellings. Thus, if the Indian government decided to change the criteria by which they defined their "urban population" to that used by the Peruvian government, India would suddenly become one of Asia's more urbanised nations. This, in turn would radically alter statistics for the level of urbanisation in South Asia. It would even alter significantly, the level of urbanisation for the Third World and for the world. Similarly, the manner in which China's urban population is defined can significantly change the size of the Third World's urban population. A recently published report on urbanisation in China had to devote a whole chapter to the discussion of how best to define urban population there. Depending on which of the two commonly used urban criteria were used, China's population could be said to be 13.9% urban or 20.2% urban in 1981. Since the choice of one or other figure involves either the inclusion or exclusion of some 60 million people, the difference is hardly negligible. And again, if the Peruvian government's urban definition was used in China, this too would radically alter the figures for the level of urbanisation in China and Asia and significantly change figures for the whole world.

tertiary sector ($r = .61$). More urbanised states generally have a higher share of their population in cities ($r = .69$), and also in slums ($r = .29$). The morphology of urbanisation as defined by the distribution of urban population among different categories of towns is more distorted in states which are at a higher level of urbanisation.

The physically bigger or more populous states do not show any similarity in the levels of their urbanisation.

Table 9 India: Correlates of the Levels of Urbanisation by States in 1981

Correlates	Coefficient of correlation with level of urbanisation
Urban access to water supply (1985)	0.71
Share of cities in urban population (1981)	0.69
Urban access to sanitation (1985)	0.69
Secondary sector (1981-82)	0.69
Per capita net national product (1981-82)	0.65
Tertiary sector (1981-82)	0.61
Urban literacy rate (1981)	0.58
Slum population (1981)	0.29
Population (1981)	0.09
Area (1981)	0.09
Primary sector (1981-82)	-0.77
Per capita expenditure on public administration and other services (1981-82)	-0.46
Urban death rate (1982)	-0.34
Urban poverty (1983-84)	-0.34
Urban birth rate (1982)	-0.29

Source : National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, and the Central Statistical Organisation, New Delhi.

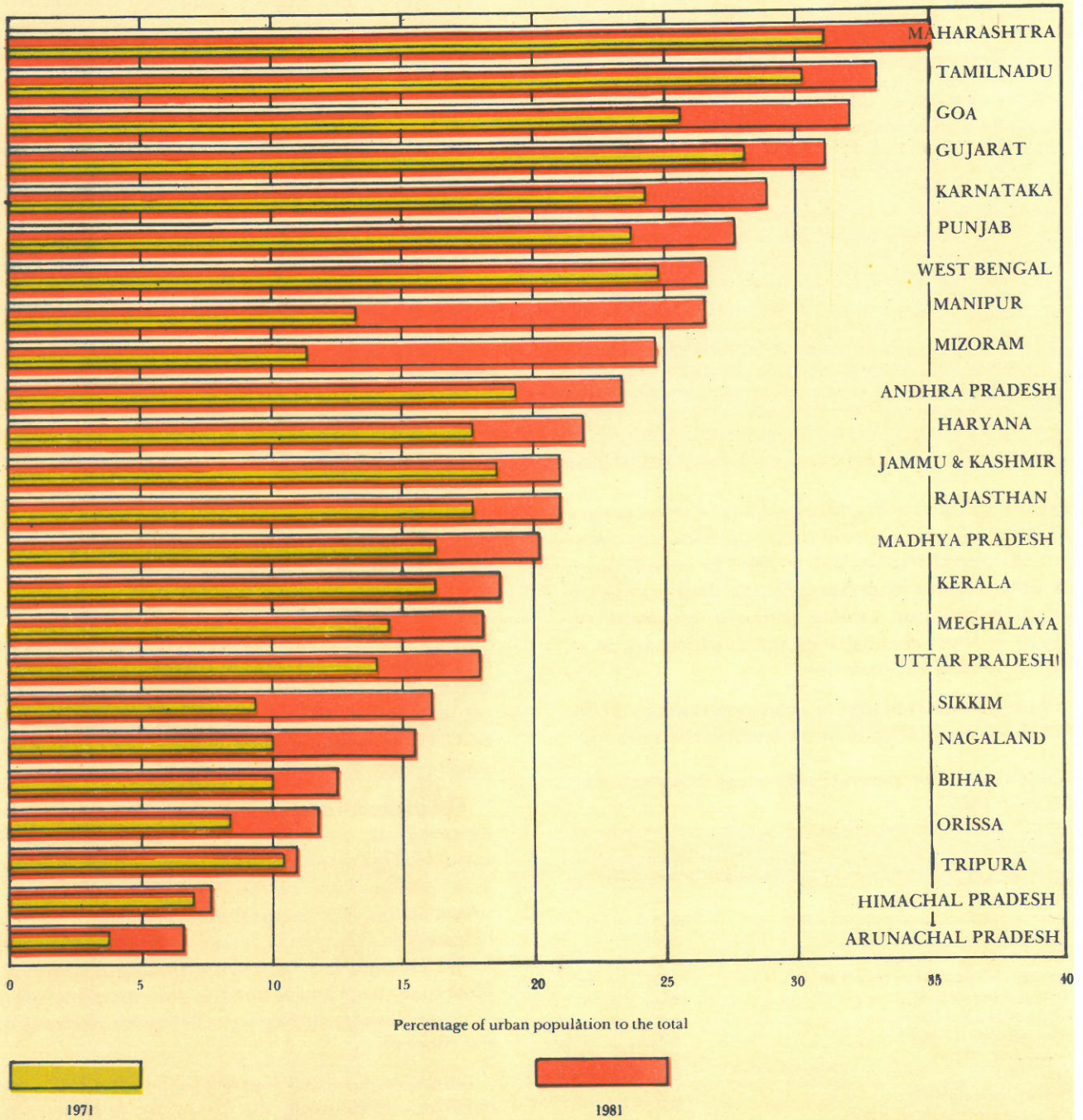
The area or population size of different states does not show any meaningful relationship with the urbanisation level ($r = .09$).

Both birth and death rates ($r = -0.29$ and $r = -.34$) show a negative relationship, and urban access to water supply ($r = .71$) and sanitation ($r = .69$) a positive relationship with the level of urbanisation. The per capita expenditure on public administration ($r = .46$) is comparatively less in more urbanised states (Table 9).

The urbanisation process in India thus seems to be meaningfully associated with a variety of positive features. This should dissuade anyone from holding a pessimistic view of the expanding base of our urbanisation. The fact is that while urbanisation is helping the processes of economic development and social change, it is not being managed properly. How to manage and administer the emerging forces of urbanisation is the new challenge for planners in the country.

The data about the distribution of urban population in India show that the three states of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat together account for over one-third of the country's total urban population. Their share in the total population is about one-fifth. Karnataka, Punjab and West Bengal together with these three states account for nearly one-

Figure 1 India : Level of Urbanisation by States
1971 and 1981



Inset 6 : The Level of Urbanisation

As mentioned in the introduction, the relationship between urbanisation and per capita income has been a long-established one for international cross-section and time series data. The hypothesis is that the shape of the relationship is logistic as expressed by an equation of the type where U is the percent of population urbanised and Y is per capita GNP. Good fits are generally found for such an equation.

$$U = \frac{a}{1 + b \exp(-c \log y)} \quad (1)$$

The most recent estimation of this type has been by Mills and Becker (1982) who have estimated a variant of (1). They have added a variable measuring the level of agricultural activity—the share of the labour force in agriculture. An alternative, to include a measure of manufacturing activity, was found to be a better predictor of urbanisation in such a formulation. They estimated a logistic form of the equation along with a quadratic one of the form :

$$U = a_0 + a_1 Y + a_2 Y^2 + a_3 A + a_4 t \dots (2)$$

Where A is the share in agricultural employment and t is a time trend.

If $a_1 > 0$ and $a_2 < 0$

this equation predicts U to start declining after some maximum for a constant A. They found both these formulations to perform quite well with a large international data set spanning the 1960 to 1980 period. The level of explanation achieved (R^2) was about 0.77, i.e., as simple a formulation as this was found to account for 77% of the variance in urbanisation levels in the world.

half of India's urban population, while their total population is about one-third of the country's population. This shows a striking spatial disparity in the distribution of urban population (Table 10).

The extent of spatial disparities is, however, undergoing a quiet change over time. The six more urbanised states, mentioned above, shared 53.01 per cent in 1961, which was reduced to 52.22 per cent in 1971, and further to 49.07 per cent in 1981. On the other hand, the less urbanised states, such as Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Orissa, and Jammu & Kashmir have registered an increase in their share over the 1961-81 period. The same is true of the fast urbanising union territories of Delhi, Chandigarh and Pondicherry. All this again confirms some narrowing down of regional disparities in the levels of urbanisation.

The above trends can be better understood when analysed in the light of the changes in the structure

Table 10 India : Percentage Share of States and Union Territories in Urban Population (1961, 1971 and 1981) and Towns (1981)

India/State/Union Territory	Percentage share in urban population of India*			Percentage share in number of towns in India
	1981	1971	1961	1981
INDIA	100	100	100	100
States & Union Territories				
Maharashtra	13.77	14.40	14.14	8.36
Uttar Pradesh	12.46	11.35	12.01	19.96
Tamil Nadu	9.99	11.42	11.39	7.42
West Bengal	9.04	10.05	10.82	3.94
Andhra Pradesh	7.82	7.70	7.95	7.09
Karnataka	6.72	6.53	6.67	6.57
Gujarat	6.64	6.87	6.74	6.66
Madhya Pradesh	6.63	6.22	5.86	9.18
Bihar	5.46	5.16	4.96	5.42
Rajasthan	4.51	4.16	4.16	5.91
Delhi	3.61	3.34	2.99	0.18
Kerala	2.99	3.18	3.24	2.57
Punjab	2.91	2.95	3.25	4.06
Orissa	1.95	1.69	1.41	3.12
Haryana	1.77	1.62	1.66	2.33
Assam	1.28**	1.18	0.99	N.A.
Jammu & Kashmir	0.79	0.79	0.75	1.70
Chandigarh	0.26	0.21	0.13	0.03
Manipur	0.24	0.13	0.09	0.99
Goa	0.20	0.19	0.11	0.03
Himachal Pradesh	0.20	0.22	0.23	1.39
Pondicherry	0.20	0.18	0.11	0.12
Meghalaya	0.15	0.13	0.15	0.21
Tripura	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.30
Mizoram	0.08	0.03	0.02	0.18
Nagaland	0.08	0.05	0.02	0.21
Sikkim	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.24
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03
Arunachal Pradesh	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.18
Daman & Diu	0.02	0.01	0.06	0.06
Lakshadweep	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.09
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.03

Source : Census of India, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

* Estimated

** In descending order of percentage of urban population in 1981.

of the economy of different states. Such changes have been identified from the sectoral shifts, generally from the primary sector to the secondary and/or tertiary sectors. The data for this purpose were obtained from the *Monthly Bulletins* of the Reserve Bank of India.

Table 11 shows the percentage share of primary, secondary and tertiary sectors in the net domestic product of the major states in India for the years 1960-61 and 1980-81. Viewed in conjunction with Table 10, which gives the percentage share of various states in the urban population of India in 1961, 1971 and 1981, the following observations can be made:

- West Bengal had quite a diversified economic structure in the base year of 1961. The structure has continued to be the same in 1961-81. The state's share in total urban population of the country, however, shows a distinct decline.
- In comparison, Tamil Nadu shows a phenomenal shift in its economy toward secondary and tertiary sectors. Its share in India's urban population has, however, declined. This anomalous development is partly explained by the outstanding success the state has achieved in controlling fertility in both the urban and rural areas. The same set of conditions apply equally to the state of Kerala.
- Bihar's economy registered a noticeable increment in its share of the secondary sector. The same is true of Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka. There was a corresponding rise in the share of these states in India's urban population. The same is observed in the case of Orissa where mining activity experienced a significant spurt. Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Haryana also recorded during this period an increase in their share in urban population which is related more to the expansion of the tertiary rather than the secondary sector.
- Despite an impressive shift from the primary sector to both the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, Jammu & Kashmir's share in India's urban population displays only a minor improvement. The hill states seem to be suffering from

certain constraints which do not permit them to urbanise rapidly, commensurate with the diversification rate of their economy.

Thus, at the level of the states, no linear relationship between the structural changes in the economy and behaviour of the urbanisation process is visible. There are anomalous situations on account of the operation of a set of complex factors. In states such as Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Punjab, the relative shares of urban population have declined despite high rates of economic growth; on the other hand, the decline in the share of West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in India's urban population is accompanied by a comparative slowing down of their economies. To counter that there are states such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh which have improved their share in urban population despite a slow growth.

On the whole, if the trends in the structure of the economy persist, it could lead to stagnation of the urbanisation levels. Any shift in favour of the secondary sector invariably raises the level of urbanisation. A shift in favour of the tertiary sector may or may not give a special advantage to a state's share in the nation's urban population. Any dominance of the primary sector does handicap the urbanisation process. The impact of fertility control may be stronger than that of economic change in influencing the pace of urbanisation.

Table 11 India : Percentage Share of Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sectors in the State Net Domestic Product (at Constant Prices) in Major States, 1960-61 and 1980-81

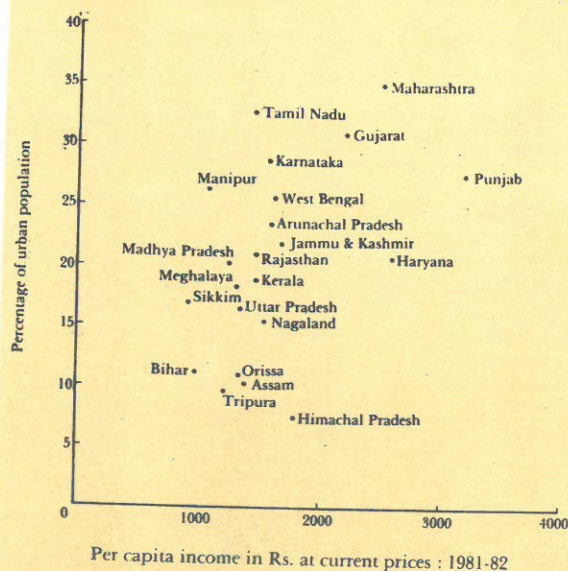
State	1960-61			1980-81			Change in percentage points			Annual compound growth rate of the state net domestic product 1960-61 to 1980-81 (percent)
	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector	
Andhra Pradesh	58.8	12.8	28.4	49.1	16.2	34.7	-9.7	3.4	6.3	3.19
Bihar	58.0	10.6	31.4	56.6*	22.7	21.7*	-2.4	12.1	-9.7	0.82
Gujarat	41.8	25.7	32.5	35.5	26.8	37.7	-6.3	1.1	5.2	3.77
Haryana	62.9	16.1	21.0	52.8	19.0	28.2	-10.1	2.9	7.2	5.24
Jammu & Kashmir	67.7	8.7	23.6	50.6	18.8	30.6	-17.1	10.1	7.0	4.05
Karnataka	62.1	12.0	25.9	49.4	22.5	28.1	-12.7	10.5	2.2	4.57
Kerala	56.0	15.2	28.8	47.2*	19.7	33.1*	-8.8	4.5	4.3	3.05
Madhya Pradesh	63.4	14.9	21.7	55.0	16.8	28.2	-8.4	1.9	6.5	2.39
Maharashtra	41.8	26.4	31.7	27.6	34.9	37.5	-14.2	8.5	5.8	3.98
Orissa	63.2	12.4	24.4	66.1*	13.2	20.7*	2.9	0.8	-3.7	3.04
Punjab	57.0	16.5	26.5	50.8	17.2	32.0	-6.2	0.7	5.5	5.08
Rajasthan	57.0	15.8	27.2	50.3	17.3	32.4	-6.7	1.5	5.2	3.05
Tamil Nadu	52.0	17.6	30.4	27.7	33.5	38.8	-24.3	15.9	8.4	2.76
Uttar Pradesh	60.2	11.1	28.7	55.1	18.8	26.1	-5.1	7.7	-2.6	2.50
West Bengal	42.5	24.3	33.2	43.3	23.7	33.0	0.8	-0.6	-0.2	2.30

Source : Reserve Bank of India, Monthly Bulletin, April 1978, and Economic and Statistical Organisation, Punjab, Chandigarh.

Note : States included are those with populations of five million and above according to 1981 census.

* Data for the year 1978-79.

Figure 2 India : Statewise Per Capita Income and Level of Urbanisation



Another variable that distinguishes the various states in terms of their urbanisation levels is the spacing pattern of towns.² With 3,301 towns spread over an area of 3.21 million sq. km., there is one town for every 972 sq. km. On an average, the mean spacing between towns works out to 33.51 km. in India (Table 12).

Punjab with a mean distance of 20.84 km. is noted for the closest spacing of towns, followed by Uttar Pradesh (22.91 km.), Kerala (22.98 km.), Tamil Nadu (24.76 km.), and Haryana (25.75 km.). On the other hand, towns are widely spaced in the hill states of Jammu & Kashmir, Meghalaya and Nagaland. The same is true of the major states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Orissa which are highly differentiated in terms of their topography and are at a low level of urbanisation. Rural populations in all such states are at a disadvantage in respect of their access to urban services. Maharashtra is an interesting case. It is the most urbanised state in India but the mean spacing between towns is higher than the national average (Table 12).

India has 6.50 towns for every one million of rural population. Although hill states are marked for a wide spacing of their towns, the number of towns per million of rural population is high in their case. But this ratio is distinctly low in densely populated states such as Bihar (2.92), West Bengal (3.24), and Kerala (4.11). More urbanised states, such as Maharashtra (6.76), Gujarat (9.37), Karnataka (9.46), Tamil Nadu (7.55), and Punjab (11.04), show higher town/rural population ratio than the national average.

With a gradual increase in the number of towns from 2,371 in 1961 to 2,574 in 1971 and further to 3,301 in 1981, the Indian urban settlement pattern is becoming more dense with the passage of time (Table 13). This process has been notably faster during the decade 1971-81.

Urbanisation by National Sample Survey Regions

A study of the urbanisation pattern by the National Sample Survey (NSS) regions shows that of the seventy-seven regions in the country thirty-two are more urbanised than the national average (Table 14). These regions cover large parts of the coastal states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu, the whole of Punjab, and most of the union territories. On the other hand, nine NSS regions are at a level of urbanisation which is less than 10 percent. Most of these are hilly or mountainous. Northern Bihar, the western plains of West Bengal, and Dadra & Nagar Haveli are among the plain areas which are at a very low level of urbanisation.

Contrasting levels of urbanisation are observed in NSS regions within states. For example, southern Bihar *vis-à-vis* northern Bihar, the Jhelum valley *vis-à-vis* the mountainous region in Jammu & Kashmir, southern Kerala *vis-à-vis* northern Kerala are more than three times as urban. Likewise, the southern plains are more than four times as urban as northern Gujarat, and coastal Maharashtra more than five times as urban as eastern Maharashtra. In West Bengal, the central plains are more than five times as urban as the western plains. In Manipur, virtually the entire urban population is concentrated in the plains while the hills are practically all rural. All this shows wide regional disparities in the urbanisation levels within the states.

Spatial unevenness in urbanisation levels is relatively of a lower order in Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Karnataka, Orissa, Punjab, and Tamil Nadu. Here

Table 12 India : Spacing of Towns by States, 1981

India/State	Area (in km ²)	Number of towns	Mean distance between towns (in km.)	Rural population (in millions)	Number of towns per million of rural population
INDIA*	3,208,825	3,301**	33.51	507.61	6.50
States					
Andhra Pradesh	275,068	234	36.85	41.06	5.70
Arunachal Pradesh	83,743	6	127.00	0.02	20.24
Bihar	173,877	179	33.50	61.19	2.92
Goa	3,814	17	16.10	0.07	23.13
Gujarat	196,024	220	32.08	23.48	9.37
Haryana	44,212	77	25.75	10.09	7.63
Himachal Pradesh	55,673	46	37.39	3.95	11.64
Jammu & Kashmir	222,236	56	67.72	4.73	11.83
Karnataka	191,791	250	29.77	26.40	9.46
Kerala	38,863	85	22.98	20.68	4.11
Madhya Pradesh	443,446	303	41.12	41.59	7.28
Maharashtra	307,690	276	35.89	40.79	6.76
Manipur	22,327	32	28.39	1.04	30.77
Meghalaya	22,429	7	60.85	1.09	6.42
Mizoram	21,081	6	63.72	0.03	16.13
Nagaland	16,579	7	52.31	0.65	10.77
Orissa	155,707	103	41.79	23.25	4.43
Punjab	50,362	134	20.84	12.14	11.04
Rajasthan	342,239	195	45.03	27.05	7.21
Sikkim	7,096	8	32.01	0.26	30.77
Tamil Nadu	130,058	245	24.76	32.46	7.55
Tripura	10,486	10	34.81	1.83	5.46
Uttar Pradesh	299,411	659	22.91	90.96	7.24
West Bengal	88,752	130	28.08	40.13	3.24

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

** An urban agglomeration has been treated as a single unit. In case the constituent towns of various urban agglomerations are taken separately, the number of towns (excluding Assam) works out as 3,949.

none of the regions is even twice as urban as the least urbanised region in the state (Table 14).

The data also reveal a negative relationship between the urbanisation level and agricultural productivity in the various NSS regions. The urbanisation level, however displays a positive relationship with the rise in agricultural productivity during the seventies. This indicates the positive role of agricultural development in stimulating urbanisation.

Urbanisation by Districts

Table 15 presents the distribution of districts in India by percentage of their urban population to the total. Data could be tabulated only for four hundred and two districts from a total of four hundred and twelve.

Of the four hundred and two districts, for which data are available, five are entirely urban and ten entirely rural (Table 16). Thirteen districts have a majority of their population residing in towns. Most of the entirely urban or urban majority districts are dominated by a single city which is quite often the state capital.

On the other hand, the percentage of urban population is less than the national average of 23.70 percent in two hundred and seventy-seven districts or about 70 percent of the total districts. Only in a hundred and fifteen districts, that is, three in every ten, the urbanisation level is higher than the national average. This shows a skewed pattern of distribution of urban population in the country.

The urban population is less than even 10 percent in a hundred and fourteen districts (excluding the ten entirely rural ones). The number of such districts is high in the Northeastern Region, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, and West Bengal. On the other hand, none of the districts in Punjab, Haryana, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh is at such a low level of urbanisation.

In 1951, India was 17.30 percent urban. It is interesting to note that even in 1981, a majority of the districts in the country (55.97 percent to be exact) were below this figure. None of the districts in Himachal Pradesh had attained an urbanisation level of 17.30 in 1981. The same is true of some of the states in the Northeastern Region. In Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and Jammu & Kashmir, two-thirds or

Table 13 India : Number of Towns by States and Union Territories. 1961-81

India/State/Union Territory	Number of towns		
	1961	1971	1981
INDIA*	2371	2574**	3301
States			
Andhra Pradesh	212	207	234
Arunachal Pradesh	0	4	6
Bihar	132	161	179
Goa	11	11	15
Gujarat	167	200	220
Haryana	61	65	77
Himachal Pradesh	29	35	46
Jammu & Kashmir	41	43	56
Karnataka	219	230	250
Kerala	92	88	85
Madhya Pradesh	208	232	303
Maharashtra	239	257	276
Manipur	1	8	32
Meghalaya	3	3	7
Mizoram	1	2	6
Nagaland	3	3	7
Orissa	60	78	103
Punjab	107	106	134
Rajasthan	141	151	195
Sikkim	1	8	8
Tamil Nadu	265	241	245
Tripura	6	6	10
Uttar Pradesh	244	292**	659
West Bengal	119	134	130
Union Territories			
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1	1
Chandigarh	1	1	1
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	1
Daman & Diu	2	2	2
Delhi	1	1	6
Lakshadweep	0	0	3
Pondicherry	4	4	4

Source : Census of India, Statewise tables, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

** Excluding one uninhabited town of Badrinathpuri (U.P.).

more of the districts continue to be at a level of urbanisation which is less than that of India as a whole in 1951.

Urbanisation at Local Level

If we look at the country's map we find a close clustering or spacing of towns:

- In and around metropolitan cities, including Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Bangalore, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Pune, Lucknow, Jaipur and Nagpur.
- In agriculturally advanced regions with significant agrobased industry: deltas of Godavari-Krishna, Kaveri and Mahanadi, Punjab-Haryana plain, western Uttar Pradesh, Ganganagar, Sek-

hawar and Kota regions of Rajasthan, Malwa plateau in Madhya Pradesh, southern Karnataka and coastal Kerala.

- In the industrial belts along the transport routes, including Ahmedabad-Vadodara-Bombay, Bombay-Nagpur, Bombay-Pune-Kolhapur, Madras-Salem-Coimbatore, Delhi-Amritsar, Delhi-Saharanpur, and Dhanbad-Asansol-Calcutta.
- In areas with dispersed industrialisation and pervasive temple culture, as in Tamil Nadu.
- In areas with a high frequency of the former princely state capitals, as in Gujarat.

In contrast, towns are few and widely spaced in the Himalayas (including the Northeastern Region), the central tribal belt (extending from eastern Gujarat/southeastern Rajasthan through central India to

Table 14 India : Grouping of National Sample Survey Regions by Levels of Urbanisation in 1981

State/Union Territory	Level of urbanisation	
	more than the national average of 23.70 percent	less than 10 percent
Andhra Pradesh	Inland Northern	—
Arunachal Pradesh	—	Arunachal Pradesh Northern
Bihar	—	—
Goa	Goa	—
Gujarat	Plains Northern Plains Southern Southern	Eastern
Haryana	Eastern	—
Himachal Pradesh	—	Himachal Pradesh Mountains
Jammu & Kashmir	Outer Hills Jhelum Valley	—
Karnataka	Coastal and Ghats Inland Southern Inland Northern	—
Kerala	Southern	—
Madhya Pradesh	Central Malwa Plateau	—
Maharashtra	Coastal Inland Western Inland Northern Inland Eastern	—
Manipur	Plains	Hills
Mizoram	Mizoram	—
Orissa	—	Southern
Punjab	Northern Southern	—
Tamil Nadu	Coastal Northern Southern Inland	—
Uttar Pradesh	Western	—
West Bengal	Central Plains	Western Plains
Union Territories	Andaman & Nicobar Islands Chandigarh Delhi Pondicherry Lakshadweep	Dadra and Nagar Haveli

Source : Calculated by aggregating the district and taluka level data of the Census of India, 1981 for individual NSS regions.

Table 15 India : Grouping of Districts by Percentage of Urban Population in 1981

India/State/Union Territory	Number of districts with percentage of urban population					Total	Percentage of districts with levels of urbanisation below	
	Over 50	44.99 to 33.34	33.33 to 23.71	23.70 to 10	Less than 10		23.70 percent (national average in 1981)	17.30 percent (national average in 1951)
INDIA*	18 (4.48)	35 (8.71)	62 (15.42)	173 (43.03)	114 (28.36)	402**	71.39	55.97
States								
Andhra Pradesh	1 (4.35)	—	5 (21.74)	17 (73.91)	—	23	73.91	43.48
Arunachal Pradesh	—	—	—	3 (33.33)	6 (66.67)	9	100.00	100.00
Bihar	1 (3.23)	1 (3.23)	1 (3.23)	9 (29.03)	19 (61.29)	31	90.32	87.10
Goa	—	—	1 (100.00)	—	—	1	0.00	0.00
Gujarat	1 (5.26)	4 (21.05)	4 (21.05)	7 (36.84)	3 (15.79)	19	52.63	21.05
Haryana	—	1 (8.33)	2 (16.67)	9 (75.00)	—	12	75.00	33.33
Himachal Pradesh	—	—	—	2 (16.67)	10 (83.33)	12	100.00	100.00
Jammu & Kashmir	1 (7.14)	—	1 (7.14)	5 (35.71)	7 (50.00)	14	85.71	85.71
Karnataka	1 (5.26)	1 (5.26)	6 (31.78)	11 (57.90)	—	19	57.89	21.05
Kerala	—	1 (8.33)	2 (16.67)	5 (41.67)	4 (33.33)	12	75.00	58.33
Madhya Pradesh	3 (6.67)	2 (4.44)	5 (11.11)	25 (55.56)	10 (22.22)	45	77.78	66.67
Maharashtra	2 (7.69)	2 (7.69)	7 (26.92)	14 (53.85)	1 (3.85)	26	57.70	34.62
Manipur	—	1 (16.67)	—	2 (33.33)	3 (50.00)	6	83.33	66.67
Meghalaya	—	1 (20.00)	—	1 (20.00)	3 (60.00)	5	80.00	80.00
Mizoram	—	—	1 (33.33)	2 (66.67)	—	3	66.67	33.33
Nagaland	—	—	1 (14.29)	3 (42.86)	3 (42.86)	7	85.72	71.43
Orissa	—	—	1 (7.69)	6 (46.15)	6 (46.15)	13	92.30	92.31
Punjab	—	2 (16.67)	4 (33.33)	6 (50.00)	—	12	50.00	8.33
Rajasthan	—	4 (15.38)	2 (7.69)	16 (61.54)	4 (15.38)	26	76.92	53.85
Sikkim	—	—	1 (25.00)	—	3 (75.00)	4	75.00	75.00
Tamil Nadu	2 (12.50)	4 (25.00)	3 (18.75)	6 (37.50)	1 (6.25)	16	43.75	26.00
Tripura	—	—	—	1 (33.33)	2 (66.67)	3	100.00	100.00
Uttar Pradesh	1 (1.79)	5 (8.93)	10 (17.86)	20 (35.71)	20 (35.71)	56	71.42	62.50
West Bengal	1 (6.25)	2 (12.50)	3 (18.75)	3 (18.75)	7 (43.75)	16	62.50	56.25
Union Territories								
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	—	—	1 (50.00)	—	1 (50.00)	2	50.00	50.00
Chandigarh	(100.00)	—	—	—	—	1	0.00	0.00
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	—	—	—	—	1 (100.00)	1	100.00	100.00
Daman & Diu	—	1 (50.00)	1 (50.00)	—	—	2	0.00	0.00
Delhi	1 (100.00)	—	—	—	—	1	0.00	0.00
Lakshadweep	—	1 (100.00)	—	—	—	1	0.00	0.00
Pondicherry	2 (50.00)	2 (50.00)	—	—	—	4	0.00	0.00

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

** Ten entirely rural districts have not been taken into account.

the northeastern peninsula), the Western and Eastern Ghats, and the Rajasthan desert. These are the mountainous, forest and desert parts of India.

Prakasa Rao lists at least three major facets of Indian urbanisation: metropolisation/industrialisation, commercialisation, and urbanisation of the countryside.³ Industrial location, commercialisation of agriculture, and dispersal of urban services (health, education, and marketing) have cast a major influence on the pattern of urbanisation in the country. The role of administrative activity, along with its multiplier effects, has also been an important factor in influencing urbanisation since Independence. Any urban decentralisation policy would indeed

be assured of greater success if it were accompanied by an administration-decentralisation policy.

In brief:

- There is a distinct unevenness in the distribution of urban population in India. This unevenness, however, has shown signs of decline. Interstate disparities in the level of urbanisation are wide but narrowing down.
- The urbanisation level of different states of India is significantly related to their per capita domestic product, income generated in the secondary sector, and share of city population in urban population. More urbanised states have an imbalance in their

urbanisation structure, with the exceptions of Punjab and Haryana.

- Although the growth rate of the economy and structural shifts therein at the state level do not show any consistent relationship with the urbanisation process yet some generalisations emerge. Dominance of the primary sector is invariably associated with persistently low levels of urbanisation. A shift in favour of the secondary sector leads to rapid urbanisation rather than shift to the tertiary sector. Control over urban and rural fertility may moderate the urbanisation process which is otherwise under the strong influence of the process of structural change in the economy.
- Hill states urbanise at a slow pace despite impressive shifts in their economy towards secondary and/or tertiary sectors.
- Although industrialisation has been more powerful a factor than agricultural development in the process of urbanisation, yet the seventies have witnessed a strong role of agricultural development in giving an impetus to urbanisation.
- A majority of districts in India in 1981 have not attained the urbanisation level, the country had in 1951.
- The sharply varying regional patterns of urbanisation call for adoption of region-specific urbanisation policies. Separate urban development strategies are to be adopted for the metropolitan regions, the linear urbanised belts along the main transport routes, the agriculturally dynamic regions with a strong rural-urban nexus, and the mountainous, forest, and desert areas with few and

Table 16 India : Listing of Entirely Urban, Entirely Rural, and Urban Majority Districts, 1981

Entirely urban districts

Bombay (Maharashtra)
 Calcutta (West Bengal)
 Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh)
 Madras (Tamil Nadu)
 Yanam (Pondicherry)

Districts with 50 — 99.99 percent of urban population

Ahmadabad (Gujarat)
 Bangalore (Karnataka)
 Bhopal, Gwalior and Indore (Madhya Pradesh)
 Chandigarh (Chandigarh)
 Coimbatore (Tamil Nadu)
 Delhi (Delhi)
 Dhanbad (Bihar)
 Lucknow (Uttar Pradesh)
 Nagpur (Maharashtra)
 Pondicherry (Pondicherry)
 Srinagar (Jammu & Kashmir)

Entirely rural districts

Dibang Valley (Arunachal Pradesh)
 East Kameng (Arunachal Pradesh)
 Tirap (Arunachal Pradesh)
 Upper Subansiri (Arunachal Pradesh)
 Lahul & Spiti (Himachal Pradesh)
 Kinnaur (Himachal Pradesh)
 Nicobars (Andaman & Nicobar Islands)
 Phek (Nagaland)
 The Dangs (Gujarat)
 Wayanad (Kerala)

Source : Census of India, 1981.

widely spaced towns, and the tribal zones with absence of urban settlements in most cases. In every case, the towns must induce economic growth apart from providing services to their regions in states characterised by multi-ethnic tribal variety, these have a federating role to play.

Notes & References

1. The Northeastern Region includes the states of Arunachal Pradesh, Assam (for which the 1981 census data are not available), Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura.
2. The term "towns" in this report is inclusive of urban agglomerations and cities, unless stated otherwise.
3. V.L.S. Prakasa Rao (1983): *Urbanization in India: Spatial Dimensions*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, p. 304.

Sources

Inset 4 :

Census of India (1981): Part II B (i), Primary Census Abstract, General Population, p. xi.

Inset 5 :

Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaite (1986): "Urban Change in the Third World: Are Recent Trends a Useful Pointer to the Urban Future?" *Habitat International*, 10, 3: 33-34.

Inset 6 :

Rakesh Mohan (1983): "The Regional Pattern of Urbanisation and Economic Development in India", P. Padmanabha, Leelay Cho and Robert D. Retherford (eds.), *Recent Population Trends in South Asia*, Proceedings of the Conference, New Delhi, 1983, p. 233.

4 Patterns of Urban Growth

The urban population of India (excluding Assam) grew by 46.24 percent during the decade 1971-81. This yields an annual growth rate of 3.87 percent.

The gross national product at factor cost at 1970-71 prices also increased virtually at about the same rate (44.51 percent), from Rs. 36,999 crores in 1971-72 to Rs. 53,468 crores in 1981-82. Even during the preceding decade of 1961-71, the urban growth rate (38.2 percent) and the growth rate of gross national product (38.63 percent) were almost equal to each other.¹ The processes of urbanisation and economic growth have thus remained intertwined during the last two decades.

The Indian experience of an accelerated urban growth rate during the seventies seems to be different from that of other developing countries where the pace of urbanisation slowed slightly after 1973 in response to the world economic slow down.² This speaks of a high degree of autonomy of the Indian economic and urban systems from external influences.

In absolute terms, urban population (including the estimated population of Assam) increased from 109.1 million in 1971 to 159.7 million in 1981. This meant an addition of about 50 million within a single decade. This is equal to the estimated urban population of India at the time of Independence. Nearly one-third of India's urban population in 1981 was contributed by the 1971-81 decade alone. The rise in the percentage of urban population from 19.90 in 1971 to 23.31 in 1981 is however not as impressive as its rise in absolute numbers.

India's urban population growth rate of 3.87 percent per annum is higher than that of the high-income industrial market economies (1.4 percent) as also of the East European nonmarket economies (1.8 percent). The latter groups of countries, with around two-thirds of their population living in urban places, are already highly urbanised. The scope for their

further urbanisation in India is thus greater than that of these countries.

On the other hand, low-income economies (4.4 percent) as well as the middle income ones (4.1 per-

Table 17 India : Urban Growth Rate by States and Union Territories, 1961-71 and 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory	Decadal urban growth rate (Percent)	
	1961-71	1971-1981
INDIA*	37.96	46.24
States		
Andhra Pradesh	33.92	48.62
Arunachal Pradesh	0.00	139.63
Bihar	43.95	54.76
Goa	132.73	58.81
Gujarat	41.00	41.42
Haryana	35.58	59.47
Himachal Pradesh	35.68	34.76
Jammu & Kashmir	44.65	46.86
Karnataka	35.23	50.65
Kerala	35.72	37.64
Madhya Pradesh	46.63	56.03
Maharashtra	40.75	39.99
Manipur	108.95	165.36
Meghalaya	25.27	63.98
Mizoram	164.85	222.61
Nagaland	168.28	133.95
Orissa	66.30	68.54
Punjab	25.27	44.51
Rajasthan	38.47	58.69
Sikkim	187.21	159.73
Tamil Nadu	38.64	27.98
Tripura	57.64	38.93
Uttar Pradesh	30.68	60.62
West Bengal	28.41	31.73
Union Territories		
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	86.27	89.31
Chandigarh	134.67	81.52
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.00	0.00
Daman & Diu	76.46	23.34
Delhi	54.57	58.16
Lakshadweep	0.00	0.00
Pondicherry	122.80	59.39

Source : Census of India, 1981

* Excluding Assam.

cent) are ahead of India in this regard. India's urban growth rate is lower than that of sixty out of a total of ninety-four countries belonging to these two groups. The high income oil-exporting economies, with an urban growth rate of 8.2 percent and at 68 percent urbanisation level, seem to be heading towards a state of high urbanisation.

Urban Growth in States and Union Territories

Urban growth rate varies among different states and union territories (Table 17). The annual urban growth rate of 3.87 percent is more than twice the rural growth rate of 1.78 percent. The former rate is higher than the latter in all states and union territories without exception (Table 18).

Table 18 India : Rural and Urban Growth Rates, 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory	Annual growth rate (percent)	
	Rural	Urban
INDIA	1.78	3.87
States		
Andhra Pradesh	1.58	4.04
Arunachal Pradesh	2.75	9.13
Bihar	1.90	4.46
Goa	1.43	4.73
Gujarat	2.03	3.53
Haryana	2.02	4.78
Himachal Pradesh	2.08	3.03
Jammu & Kashmir	2.32	3.92
Karnataka	1.76	4.18
Kerala	1.47	3.25
Madhya Pradesh	1.78	4.55
Maharashtra	1.63	3.42
Manipur	1.16	10.25
Meghalaya	2.39	5.07
Mizoram	2.36	12.43
Nagaland	3.48	8.87
Orissa	1.47	5.36
Punjab	1.62	3.75
Rajasthan	2.46	4.73
Sikkim	3.39	10.02
Tamil Nadu	1.23	2.50
Tripura	2.74	3.34
Uttar Pradesh	1.82	4.85
West Bengal	1.87	2.79
Union Territories		
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	4.58	6.59
Chandigarh	1.70	6.14
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	2.69	*
Daman & Diu	2.52	2.12
Delhi	0.77	4.69
Lakshadweep	-3.79	*
Pondicherry	0.54	4.77

Source : Census of India, 1971 and 1981.

* Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep were entirely rural in 1971. The emergence of some towns of the 1981 census in the case of both could be statistically deemed as representing infinite urban growth rate during 1971-81.

Among the states, Sikkim and Tamil Nadu, with urban growth rates of 159.73 and 27.98 percent respectively, are at the two extremes. Andaman & Nicobar Islands are at the top among the union territories in urban growth rate.

Table 19 India : Distribution of States/Union Territories by Urban Growth Rate during 1971-81

Higher than the national average (46.24 percent)	Lower than the national average (46.24 percent)
States	
Bihar	Gujarat
Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra
Orissa	Tamil Nadu
Rajasthan	West Bengal
Uttar Pradesh	Kerala
Haryana	Punjab
Andhra Pradesh	Himachal Pradesh
Goa	Jammu & Kashmir
Karnataka	
Arunachal Pradesh	
Manipur	
Meghalaya	
Mizoram	
Nagaland	
Sikkim	
Tripura	
Union Territories	
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	
Chandigarh	Daman & Diu
Delhi	
Pondicherry	

Source : Census of India, 1971 and 1981.

The relatively less urbanised states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, are noted for an urban growth rate which exceeds the national average (Table 19). This may be due to the following:

- A sizeable intrastate rural-urban migration under stress conditions in rural areas,
- a higher rate of natural increase of population, both in urban and rural areas, which not only intensified pressure of population in rural areas impelling urbanward migration but also caused rapid involution of towns, and
- the emergence of new towns.

Haryana, with the second highest per capita income and an urbanisation level lower than the national average, is marked by a rapid urban growth. Many of its towns, especially those located in the influence zone of Delhi, show a phenomenal rate of growth under the spread effects of the national capital. If this trend continues, the state shall soon join the group of more urbanised states.

Inset 7 : Patterns of Urbanisation

Within the developing world, four patterns of urbanization can be identified :

Type 1 (Argentina, Mexico, Colombia and Brazil)

This group includes those countries in which the process of urbanization is well under way. The population is already more than half urban and has relatively high incomes, and there is little pressure of population on arable land and natural resources. The end of the urbanization process in this group will probably occur before the turn of the century, when most of the population will be in urban areas and rural areas will begin to experience absolute declines.

Type 2 (Algeria, Egypt, Korea, Philippines, and Malaysia)

In these countries the urbanization experience is more recent. Over half of the population is still in rural areas. Population pressures exist on the land and incomes are relatively low. If population pressures can be eased and resource constraints overcome, this group of countries by

the turn of the century could probably reach levels of urbanization similar to those found in the Type 1 countries today.

Type 3 (Senegal, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Sudan, Kenya, and Upper Volta)

This group of countries is predominantly rural but urbanizing rapidly. Even so, by the year 2000 they will still be predominantly rural with high rates of rural population growth. The issue is whether the race between population growth and resources will leave any margin for increases in per capita incomes.

Type 4 (Pakistan, India, Indonesia and People's Republic of China)

These countries are dominated by severe pressures on the land in largely rural, subsistence-level societies. If the projected population growth rates are sustainable, these countries will still be characterized in the year 2000 by large and growing rural populations living in absolute poverty.

Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka show urban growth rates which are higher than the national average. These states are characterised by stress conditions in their dry and unirrigated rural parts. Meanwhile industrial development is also taking place in a number of towns. This juxtaposition of the two situations has given rise to sizeable rural-urban migration. Similarly, Goa is noted for the rapid growth of its towns in the wake of new investment in industry, tourism and port activity.

Practically all the states in the Northeastern Region and Sikkim are distinguished by phenomenally high urban growth rates during 1971-81. This is attributed to their very low urban base in 1971. The recent expansion of the few existing towns and the emergence of some new ones, most of which are administrative centres, had led to a high growth rate of urban population. The level of urbanisation, however, remains low.

In comparison, most of the union territories, which have a city as a core, such as Delhi, Chandigarh, and Pondicherry, have experienced an explosive urban growth. The fast pace of urbanisation in these union territories is attributed to massive investments by the Central Government in development activities. Employment opportunities generated in the process have attracted large numbers of migrants.

More urbanised states, such as Maharashtra, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, are on the lower side of the national average in urban growth rate:

This is due to the declining growth rates of the metropolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Ahmedabad. This decline moderated their overall urban growth rate. The rate of natural increase of urban population in these states is also of a lower order.

Kerala and Punjab also happen to be below-the-national average cases. Kerala is given credit for a rapid expansion of its infrastructural facilities and Punjab for its green revolution. Rural-urban commuting is common in both cases which has checked rural-urban migration to some extent. Otherwise, towns in these states are functionally dynamic.

Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir in the northwest belong to the group of slow urbanising states. This brings them in sharp contrast to the states in the Northeastern Region where the urban growth rate is high. Himachal Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir have witnessed dispersal of a variety of urban functions to some central villages. These villages are providing urban services but cannot acquire an urban status due to their small population size. In all likelihood, these states will urbanise faster in the years to come when rural service centres mature into towns.

A correlation exercise using statewise data reveals that urban growth rate during 1971-81 has a negative relationship with the level of urbanisation ($r = -.69$), share of urban population in cities ($r = -.64$), as well as per capita net domestic product ($r = -.38$).

These patterns are indicative of the dispersal of the urbanisation process to less developed states.

Urban Growth at the Level of National Sample Survey Regions

Of the seventy-seven National Sample Survey regions in India, forty-two had urban growth rates which exceeded the national average (Table 20). Broadly speaking, these regions cover large parts of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh; the northeastern states and Sikkim; most of the union territories; Haryana; the Jhelum Valley and the outer hills of Jammu & Kashmir; the eastern plains and the hilly parts of West Bengal; the southern plain of Gujarat and the inland central part of Maharashtra; the interior part of Andhra Pradesh; and the coastal and southern parts of Karnataka.

Rapid urban growth is a typical feature of a variety of NSS regions. Most of the states, with an urban growth above the national average, have some regions which have lower growth rates than the national average. Similarly, most of the other states with urban growth rate below the national average, have regions with explosive urban growth. Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh are the only states where none of the regions lies above the national average in urban growth rate.

The point must be underscored here that none of the NSS regions shows an urban growth rate of less than 20 percent. In other words, none of them is a net urban-outmigration case. Of course, the pace of urbanisation is relatively slow, between 20 and 30 percent, in seven of the NSS regions. These include the dry areas of Gujarat, the mountainous region of Jammu & Kashmir, the southern part of Rajasthan, the coastal, southern and inland regions of Tamil Nadu, and the central plains of West Bengal.

A negative correlation between the level and growth rate of urban population is reaffirmed at the level of the National Sample Survey regions ($r = -.12$). A negative relationship is also obtained between the level of agricultural productivity and urban growth ($r = -.62$). This signifies that low agricultural productivity in a region impels urbanward migration. A positive relationship is observed between urban growth rate and inequality in the distribution of agricultural land in rural areas ($r = .30$), and also with the percentage of rural population below the poverty line ($r = .21$). This indicates that push factors are

Table 20 India : National Sample Survey Regions with an Urban Growth Rate Higher than the National Average (46.24 percent) during 1971-81

State/Union Territory	National Sample Survey regions
States	
Andhra Pradesh	Inland Northern Inland Southern
Arunachal Pradesh	Arunachal Pradesh
Bihar	Southern Northern
Goa	Goa
Gujarat	Plains Southern
Haryana	Eastern Western
Jammu & Kashmir	Outer Hills Jhelum Valley
Karnataka	Coastal and Ghats Inland Southern
Madhya Pradesh	Chattisgarh Vindhya Central South Central Western Northern
Maharashtra	Inland Central
Manipur	Manipur
Meghalaya	Meghalaya
Mizoram	Mizoram
Nagaland	Nagaland
Orissa	Coastal Southern Northern
Rajasthan	Western North Eastern South Eastern
Sikkim	Sikkim
Tripura	Tripura
Uttar Pradesh	Himalayan Western Central Eastern
West Bengal	Himalayan
Union Territories	
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Eastern Plains Andaman & Nicobar Islands
Chandigarh	Chandigarh
Delhi	Delhi
Pondicherry	Pondicherry

Source : Calculated by aggregating the district and taluka level data of Census of India, 1971 and 1981, for individual NSS regions.

among the major determinants of rural-urban migration in India.

Urban Growth at the Level of Districts

A more detailed picture is obtained if urban growth is examined at the level of districts. Two hundred and fourteen among the four hundred and two districts (excluding ten districts of Assam) registered an urban growth rate of 46.24 plus during 1971-81 (Table 21). Nearly half of these are located in Uttar Pradesh (46), Madhya Pradesh (29) and Bihar (20).

Urban growth is widespread in Andhra Pradesh where fifteen out of twenty-three districts, Haryana where seven out of twelve districts, Jammu & Kashmir where nine out of fourteen districts, Rajasthan where eighteen out of twenty-six districts, and above all, Orissa where twelve out of thirteen districts exceed the national average in this regard. On the other hand, the proportion of rapidly urbanising districts is distinctly low (less than one-third) in Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal. These states, barring Himachal Pradesh, are relatively more urbanised.

Only twelve districts show a growth rate of less than 20 per cent, representing net outmigration from their urban places. Five of these belong to Kerala, two each to Maharashtra and West Bengal, and one each to Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland and Pondicherry. Most of these districts are located either in the western coastal region or in the hill areas (Table 16).

Table 21 India : Number of Districts with Fast and Slow Urban Growth during 1971-81 by States and Union Territories

India/State/Union Territory	Total number of districts	Number of districts with urban growth rate	
		46.24 percent or more	less than 20 percent
INDIA*	402	214	12
States	390	209	11
Andhra Pradesh	23	15	0
Arunachal Pradesh	9	3	0
Bihar	31	20	0
Goa	1	1	0
Gujarat	19	4	0
Haryana	12	7	0
Himachal Pradesh	2	3	0
Jammu & Kashmir	14	9	1
Karnataka	19	8	0
Kerala	12	5	5
Madhya Pradesh	45	29	0
Maharashtra	26	5	2
Manipur	6	2	0
Meghalaya	5	2	0
Mizoram	3	2	0
Nagaland	7	1	1
Orissa	13	12	0
Punjab	12	6	0
Rajasthan	26	18	0
Sikkim	4	4	0
Tamil Nadu	16	1	0
Tripura	3	1	0
Uttar Pradesh	56	46	0
West Bengal	16	5	2
Union Territories	12	5	1

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

Urban Growth Rate at the Local Level

Any map showing the growth rate of individual towns would provide a detailed spatial picture of the processes operating at the local levels. Though not included in this report, a study of the maps has helped in identifying the microregions with rapid, moderate or slow urban growth.

Rapid urban growth, 46.24 percent plus, is observed in the following types of areas (Table 22):

- *Agriculturally developed tracts:* These include Godavari-Krishna delta and Nizamsagar area in Andhra Pradesh; southern part of the Bihar plain, eastern Haryana; Tungabhadra valley in Karnataka; lower Godavari valley in Maharashtra; Mahanadi valley in Orissa; central Punjab plain; Ganganagar and Kota regions in Rajasthan; upper Ganga-Yamuna doab and the Terai in Uttar Pradesh; and the Nilgiris in Tamil Nadu.
- *Along main rail-road transport routes:* Included in this group are Visakhapatnam-Nellore in Andhra Pradesh; Patna-Katihar in Bihar; Vadodara-Surat-Bombay in Gujarat and Maharashtra; Bangalore-Dharwar-Belgaum in Karnataka; Rourkela-Sambalpur-Bolangir and Baleshwar-Chatrapur in Orissa; Amritsar-Delhi in Punjab and Haryana; Jaipur-Delhi, Jaipur-Agra and Jaipur-Ajmer in Rajasthan; Kanpur-Lucknow, Varanasi-Mirzapur and Jhansi-Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh; and Birbhum-Siliguri in West Bengal.
- *In and around some prominent administrative and industrial cities:* Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh; Patna, Jamshedpur, Ranchi and Dhanbad in Bihar; Bangalore in Karnataka; Trichur, Cannanore and Cochin in Kerala; Bhopal and Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh; Bombay, Pune, Nasik and Chandrapur in Maharashtra, Kota and Udaipur in Rajasthan; Madras and Erode in Tamil Nadu; Kanpur, Varanasi and Hardwar in Uttar Pradesh; Siliguri in West Bengal; and Delhi, Chandigarh, and Pondicherry in the union territories by the same names.
- *Major administrative headquarters:* This is particularly true of the hill states, especially the ones constituting the Northeastern Region.
- *Areas of new investment:* This refers to the union territories, in particular.

Thus, at the local level, the role of agricultural development, transport routes, public investment

Table 22 India : Urban Growth Patterns, 1971-81 at Local Level

State/Union Territory	Fast growth (46.24 percent and above) areas	Slow growth (less than 20 percent) areas
Andhra Pradesh	i) Godavari-Krishna delta ii) Nizamsagar area iii) Vishakhapatnam-Nellore rail route iv) District headquarters	—
Arunachal Pradesh	i) State/district headquarters	—
Bihar	i) South Bihar plain ii) Around Jamsheedpur, Ranchi, Dhanbad and Patna iii) Terai iv) Patna-Katihar rail route	—
Goa	i) In and around Panaji	—
Gujarat	i) Vadodara-Surat rail route	i) North Gujarat plain ii) Kachchh
Haryana	i) Peripheral zone of Delhi ii) Ambala-Delhi rail route	—
Himachal Pradesh	i) Kangra valley ii) Kulu valley	—
Jammu & Kashmir	i) Srinagar-Jammu road route ii) Jammu region	—
Karnataka	i) Bangalore region ii) Bangalore-Belgaum road-rail route iii) Tungabhadra valley	i) Southern Malnad ii) Peripheral zone of Mangalore
Kerala	i) In and around Trichur, Cannanore, and Cochin	i) Kottayam and Alleppey districts
Madhya Pradesh	i) Chattisgarh basin ii) Gwalior region iii) Bhopal region	—
Maharashtra	i) Bombay region ii) In and around Pune, Nasik and Chandrapur iii) Lower Godavari valley	i) Konkan south of Bombay ii) Maval region iii) Jalgaon-Nagpur rail route
Manipur	i) State/district headquarters	—
Meghalaya		—
Mizoram	i) State/district headquarters	—
Nagaland	i) State/district headquarters	—
Orissa	i) Rourkela-Bolangir railway route ii) Baleshwar-Chatrapur railway route	—
Punjab	i) Amritsar-Ambala rail route ii) South western Punjab iii) Around Chandigarh	—
Rajasthan	i) Ganganagar district ii) Udaipur region iii) Kota region iv) Jaipur-Delhi/Agra/Ajmer rail route	—
Sikkim	i) All towns	—
Tamil Nadu	i) In and around Madras and Erode ii) Nilgiris	i) Kaveri delta ii) Southern coastal region iii) In and around Madurai/Salem/Ramanathapuram
Tripura	i) South Tripura around Agartala	—
Uttar Pradesh	i) Around Delhi, Varanasi and Hardwar ii) Along Lucknow-Kanpur, Varanasi-Mirzapur and Jhansi-Allahabad rail routes iii) Uttarakhhand iv) Terai	—
West Bengal	i) Asansol region ii) Siliguri region iii) Birbhum-Siliguri route	i) Calcutta ii) Hugli-Birbhum Puruliya route
Union Territories	i) Andaman & Nicobar Islands ii) Chandigarh iii) Delhi iv) Pondicherry	— — — —

administration, and the spread effects of big cities have been the main factors stimulating urbanisation.

Slow urban growth, less than 20 percent and representing net outmigration of urban population, is noted only in a few parts of India (Table 22). These few microregions include: the north Gujarat plain, the Konkan south of Bombay, Calcutta, the coastal region of Tamil Nadu, and the Alleppey-Kottayam tract of Kerala. Incidentally, all these areas are located in relatively developed states of India. These are marked by high rates of unemployment and proximity to places offering new economic opportunities. This sets in motion a process of urban-urban migration resulting in slow growth of urban population in the areas of origin. In addition,

the rate of natural increase is also comparatively low in their case. This further brings down the urban growth rate somewhat. The remaining parts of India are marked for a moderate rate of urban growth, 20-46.24 percent. These did receive net urban inflow but its magnitude was moderate in a relative sense.

Distribution of Towns by Growth Behaviour

A further insight into the situation is obtained if we group the towns by their growth behaviour. Of the 3,301 towns in 1981, as many as 881 are new for these did not have an urban status in 1971. It follows that 2420 towns are common to both 1971 and 1981 censuses. Among these 568 are fast growing (growth rate being more than 46.24 percent during 1971-81), 1365 moderately growing (growth rate less than 20 to

Table 23 India : Distribution of Towns by Growth Behaviour, 1971-81

India/State /Union Territory	All towns	New towns	Towns which existed both in 1971 & 1981	Number (and percentage) of					
				Fast growing towns		Moderately growing towns		Slow growing towns	
INDIA	3,301	881	2,420	568	(100.00)	1,365	(100.00)	487	(100.00)
States									
Andhra Pradesh	234	29	205	77	(13.56)	100	(7.33)	28	(5.75)
Arunachal Pradesh	6	2	4	3	(0.53)	1	(0.07)	0	(0.00)
Bihar	179	30	149	61	(10.74)	75	(5.49)	13	(2.67)
Goa	15	4	11	2	(0.35)	8	(0.59)	1	(0.21)
Gujarat	220	29	191	20	(3.52)	115	(8.42)	56	(11.50)
Haryana	77	17	60	15	(2.64)	33	(2.42)	12	(2.46)
Himachal Pradesh	46	11	35	5	(0.88)	14	(1.03)	16	(3.29)
Jammu & Kashmir	56	14	42	8	(1.41)	24	(1.76)	10	(2.05)
Karnataka	250	34	216	41	(7.22)	137	(10.04)	38	(7.80)
Kerala	85	39	46	13	(2.29)	12	(0.88)	21	(4.31)
Madhya Pradesh	303	75	228	61	(10.74)	146	(10.70)	21	(4.31)
Maharashtra	276	31	245	35	(6.16)	137	(10.04)	73	(14.99)
Manipur	32	24	8	6	(1.06)	2	(0.15)	0	(0.00)
Meghalaya	7	4	3	1	(0.18)	2	(0.15)	0	(0.00)
Mizoram	6	4	2	2	(0.35)	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)
Nagaland	7	4	3	2	(0.35)	0	(0.0)	1	(0.21)
Orissa	103	27	76	25	(4.40)	44	(3.22)	7	(1.44)
Punjab	134	30	104	24	(4.23)	57	(4.18)	23	(4.72)
Rajasthan	195	44	151	42	(7.39)	100	(7.33)	9	(1.85)
Sikkim	8	0	8	6	(1.06)	2	(0.15)	0	(0.00)
Tamil Nadu	245	18	227	12	(2.11)	101	(7.40)	114	(23.41)
Tripura	10	4	6	0	(0.00)	3	(0.22)	3	(0.62)
Uttar Pradesh	659	379	280	72	(12.68)	188	(13.77)	20	(4.11)
West Bengal	130	19	111	30	(5.28)	61	(4.47)	20	(4.11)
Union Territories									
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	0	1	1	(0.18)	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)
Chandigarh	1	0	1	1	(0.18)	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	0	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)
Daman & Diu	2	3	2	0	(0.00)	2	(0.15)	0	(0.00)
Delhi	6	5	1	1	(0.18)	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)
Lakshadweep	3	3	0	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)	0	(0.00)
Pondicherry	4	0	4	2	(0.35)	1	(0.07)	1	(0.21)

Note : Excluding Assam. Fast growing towns are those whose growth rate is higher than the national average of 46.24 per cent and slow growing towns are the ones whose growth rate is lower than the estimated natural increase rate of 20 per cent. Moderately growing towns belong to the intermediate category, with a growth rate of 20 to 46.24 per cent.

Source : Census of India, 1981.

46.24 percent), and 487 slow growing (growth rate less than 20 percent). In other words, nearly one-fourth of the towns experienced sizeable net immigration leading to a growth rate higher than the national average; around one-fifth of them suffered net outmigration causing a growth rate lower than the natural increase rate. The moderately growing towns are, of course, characterised by some level of immigration.

There is a discernible pattern in the distribution of fast and slow growing towns. The former show a distinct concentration in states which were at a low level of urbanisation in 1981 but have experienced rapid urban growth during 1971-81. By comparison, the latter are confined more to states which show a high level but moderate pace of urbanisation. Over one-third of the fast growing towns are located in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar while almost one-half of the slow growing towns are to be found in Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Gujarat. The picture changes if the data are examined by districts. Within these two different types of states, fast growing towns are located in more developed districts and the slow growing ones in less developed districts. It seems that while at the interstate level regional disparities in urbanisation are narrowing down, within states these are showing signs of accentuation. A marked concentration of fast growing towns in bigger population size categories and of slow growing towns in the smaller ones is another notable feature. Nearly two-thirds (63.8 percent) of the former group of towns have a population of over 20,000 while more than two-thirds of the towns in the latter group are smaller than this size. The median population size of a fast growing town is in the proximity of 43,000 and of a slow growing town a little over 14,000. The median population size of a town in India is about 16,000.

In brief:

- The decade 1971-81 has been a period of rapid, massive, and spatially widespread urbanisation in India. Nearly one-third of the total urban population recorded by the 1981 census was contributed by this decade alone.
- Although India's urban growth rate is high in itself, it is considerably lower than that of many of the developing countries.

- A rapid urban growth accompanied by an equally high growth rate of rural population has resulted in a modest increase in the level of urbanisation. The percentage of urban population in the total has moved up by only 3.80 percent points from 19.90 percent in 1971 to 23.70 percent in 1981.
- The urban and economic growth rates of India have virtually run parallel with each other during the 1961-71 and 1971-81 decades. Likewise, rapid urbanisation is typical of those areas which display economic dynamism. These include agriculturally progressive areas, belts along the main transport routes, metropolitan regions and localities of new investment in development. In less developed states showing faster urban growth, rapid urbanisation is confined generally to their more developed parts. The urban growth pattern has tended to conform to the contours of the economic landscape.
- Net outmigration of urban population is noted in only a few areas. These are located mostly in the more developed states. The proximity to any metropolis of an economically lagging tract has been generating considerable urban outmigration from the latter.
- The recent trends in urbanisation are finding expression in a distinct spatial pattern of urbanisation. The metropolitan and some other major cities are emerging as dynamic urban systems. The activity spheres of some of these systems, such as Delhi, Bangalore, Asansol and Chandigarh, transgress the political boundaries. Meanwhile, the major transport routes are witnessing the spatial spread of cities and towns in linear belts. Vadodara-Bombay, Amritsar-Delhi, and Delhi-Saharanpur are some among many of this kind. Concurrently many cities are fast encroaching on fertile agricultural land in their surroundings. Most of them are outgrowing their traditional sources of water supply thereby necessitating a search for water at distant points. All such developments have given rise to a new situation which calls for interstate coordination of urban problems, special plans for urban-rural belts along the busy transport routes, and appropriate land and water policies for our cities.

Notes & References

1. For information on gross national product for the years 1950-51 to 1985-86, see *Economic Survey, 1986-87* brought out by Government of India, New Delhi, Table S-1.
2. United Nations (1985): *Economic Development and Population Change*, New York, p. 57.
3. 98 towns of 1971 were declassified at the 1981 census. Their details are as follows: (a) 5 due to denotification of their civic status during 1971-81; (b) 61 due to their failure to satisfy the census eligibility tests; and (c) 32 (all in Kerala state) due to the rationalisation of the concept of settlement units. See, for details, Census of India, 1981, Occasional Paper I of 1986, *Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities in Different Regions and Levels and Trends of Urbanisation*, New Delhi, p. 62.
4. National Institute of Urban Affairs (1987): "Dynamics of Urban Growth and Stagnation: A Study of Fast Growing and Slow Growing Towns", Interim Note, New Delhi.

Source

Inset 7 :

Michael A. Cohen (1984): "Cities in Developing Countries: 1975-2000", Pradip K. Ghosh (ed.), *Urban Development in the Third World*, Greenwood, Westport, pp. 29-30.

5 Components of Urban Growth

Natural increase, net immigration and reclassification are the three basic components of urban growth. Natural increase is the addition made by the excess of births over deaths. Net immigration is the excess of immigration (from rural areas within the country, from anywhere, and from other countries) over out-migration. Reclassification refers to the change in urban population due to the emergence of new towns, declassification of existing towns, and alteration in the territorial jurisdiction of towns.

An analysis of the specific contribution of different components of urban growth in India is rendered difficult by lack of precise and complete data on all the three counts. First, the natural increase has to be derived from the estimates of birth and death rates. The picture obtained tends to be approximate. Secondly, Migration Tables, brought out by the Census of India, do permit derivation of immigration but not of outmigration. This hinders a direct calculation of net immigration. Lastly, in respect of reclassification, data are available on new towns as also on change in the territorial jurisdiction of towns but no information is readily available either for the previous population of new towns (when these had a village status) or for the number of persons affected by the change in a town's boundary. The data have to be appropriately managed to arrive at the requisite information.

In the present study, the following procedure was adopted for computing the relative share of the three basic components of urban growth in India as also in its various states and union territories during 1971-81 (Annexure IV):

- The urban population in 1971 was subtracted from that in 1981. This gave the absolute numerical increase in urban population during 1971-81.
- To ascertain the contribution made by natural increase, data pertaining to the annual urban birth and death rates were obtained from the *Sample Registration Bulletin*.¹ These rates, based

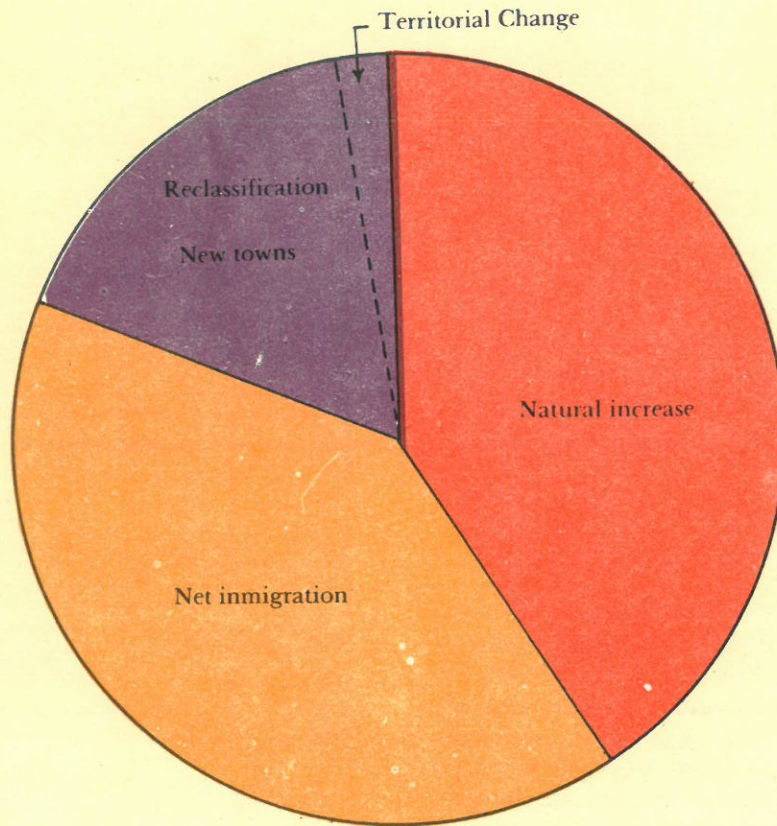
Inset 8 : Composition of Urban Population Growth and Stages of Development

The urban population in developing countries grows more through natural increase than migration. At an early stage of development, when levels of urbanization are low and rates of both urban and rural natural increase are moderately high, net migration will be more important to urban population growth than natural increase. At an intermediate stage of urbanization natural increase will predominate. At a late stage, with high levels of urbanization and low rates of natural increase, the relationship may be reversed again in favour of net migration.

on three year moving averages for the period 1971-73 to 1980-82 were averaged again to work out the birth and death rates for the decade 1971-81. Death rates were subtracted from birth rates to arrive at the natural increase rates. These natural increase rates were applied to the 1971 urban population, excluding the 1971 population of towns declassified in 1981, in the case of each state. The numerical values thus obtained were calculated as percentages of the absolute urban population increase. The results represented the contribution made by natural increase to urban growth.

- Next, an attempt was made to estimate the contribution due to reclassification. The 1971 urban area in each state/union territory and in the whole of India was subtracted from that in 1981. This gave the net urban area increase during 1971-81. From these figures, the 1981 area of new towns was subtracted and the 1971 area of declassified towns added to work out the change in urban area due to extension or reduction in the territorial jurisdiction of towns. These figures were multiplied by the overall population density of the respective states/union territories and India. This gave the additions in urban popula-

Figure 3 India : Components of Urban Growth, 1971-81



tion due to changes in the territorial jurisdiction of towns. Further, these figures were added to the total population of new towns in the respective states/union territories in India. The resultant figures represented the urban population increase due to reclassification. These were computed as percentage of absolute increase in urban population.

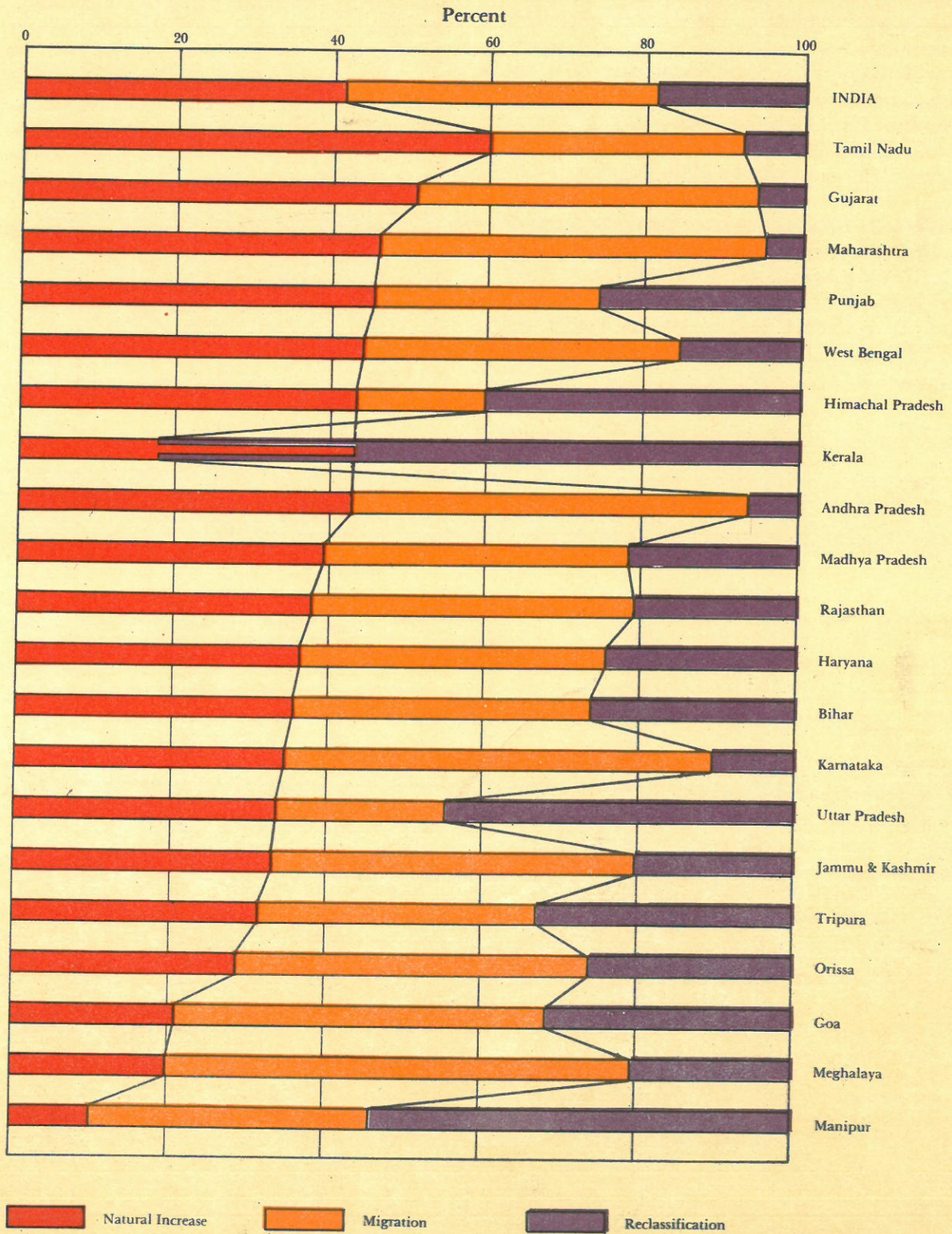
- The contribution made by net immigration both in absolute numbers and percentages could be easily figured out as the residual category. Net immigration could thus be estimated only indirectly.

Table 24 summarises the results of the exercise by following the above procedure. It shows that natural increase contributed about two-fifths, net immigration another two-fifths, and reclassification (new towns and town area changes) nearly one-fifth to the urban population growth that took place during 1971-81.² In other words, out of a net increase of 49.86 million persons in India's urban population

during 1971-81, 20.57 million was contributed by natural increase, 20.01 million by net immigration, and 9.28 million by reclassification. Natural increase was evidently no less crucial than net immigration to the urbanisation process. The share of reclassification to urban growth was also substantial.

The contribution of natural increase to urban growth was higher than the national average in the relatively more urbanised states of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, West Bengal and Punjab. In contrast, this factor was less vital to the urbanisation process in many of the hill states, including Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Meghalaya and Tripura. The same was true of all the union territories. In spite of its relatively high level, natural increase contributed comparatively less to urban growth in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Orissa which are at a low level of urbanisation but which had experienced sizeable increase in urban population due to addition of new towns during 1971-81. In the case of the union territories of Delhi and Chandigarh, natural

Figure 4 India : Statewise Components of Urban Growth, 1971-81



increase accounted for one-third of the urban growth during 1971-81.

The contribution of net immigration to urban growth differed strikingly. The share of migration was distinctly high in fast industrialising states, such as Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Karnataka. It was high also in backward states, such as Bihar, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, where rural population pressure was intense. The rate of urbanward migration was close to the national average in Haryana, one of the most developed states of the country. Notably Kerala was the only state to record net outmigration from its towns. In the adjoining state of Tamil Nadu too urbanward migration did not take place on any impressive scale. It appears that rural-urban commuting is of a much higher order in Kerala and Tamil Nadu as also in the states of Punjab and Haryana.

Reclassification, particularly the emergence of new towns, has been critical to urban growth in many of the hill states, such as Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Tripura, Nagaland, and Manipur. A number of settlements which had become administrative headquarters, were elevated to urban status. It was in Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, however, that the contribution of reclassification was of the highest order. This accounted for close to two-thirds of the urban growth in Kerala, and nearly one-half in Uttar Pradesh. It was again associated mainly with the adoption of several places as new towns. Reclassification has been an important component in the urban growth also in states such as Haryana, Punjab, and Bihar where the territorial jurisdiction of several existing towns has been extended.

In brief:

Table 24 India : Components of Urban Growth, 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory	Percentage of urban population contributed by			Components of reclassification	
	Natural increase	Migration	Reclassification	New towns	Change in territorial jurisdiction
INDIA*	41.25	40.13	18.60	16.57	2.03
States					
Andhra Pradesh	42.98	50.67	6.34	7.32	- 0.98
Arunachal Pradesh	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	58.47	N.A.
Bihar	35.57	38.29	26.12	10.95	15.17
Goa	20.98	47.63	31.39	32.81	- 1.42
Gujarat	50.85	43.42	5.70	5.40	0.30
Haryana	36.50	39.52	23.97	17.20	6.76
Himachal Pradesh	43.52	16.32	40.14	39.38	0.76
Jammu & Kashmir	33.28	46.86	19.84	18.63	1.21
Karnataka	34.81	54.81	10.37	10.66	- 0.29
Kerala	43.21	- 25.25	82.03	62.64	19.39
Madhya Pradesh	39.53	39.05	21.40	18.13	3.27
Maharashtra	45.99	49.27	4.73	5.61	- 0.88
Manipur	10.23	36.16	53.58	52.93	0.65
Meghalaya	20.00	59.54	20.44	19.59	0.85
Mizoram	N.A.	N.A.	40.57	35.82	4.75
Nagaland	N.A.	N.A.	51.78	50.77	1.01
Orissa	29.02	44.93	26.03	21.32	4.71
Punjab	45.24	29.03	25.71	15.49	10.22
Rajasthan	38.20	41.18	20.60	20.06	0.54
Sikkim	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Tamil Nadu	60.05	32.24	7.70	4.43	3.27
Tripura	31.67	35.70	32.61	37.52	0.09
Uttar Pradesh	33.74	21.97	44.27	42.60	1.67
West Bengal	44.15	40.27	15.56	5.65	9.91
Union Territories					
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	21.73	77.66	0.60	0.00	0.60
Chandigarh	33.27	44.34	22.38	0.00	22.38
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.
Daman & Diu	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Delhi	34.36	45.10	20.51	1.83	18.68
Lakshadweep	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.
Pondicherry	22.83	33.05	44.11	0.00	44.11

Source : Computed as per the procedure described in the text.

* Excluding Assam.

N.A. Not Available

N.Ap. Not Applicable

6 Birth and Death Rates

The birth and death rates for various states and union territories have been arrived at by averaging the three-year moving averages of birth and death rates. The base data have been obtained from the *Sample Registration System, XVIII, 2: December*

1984. Information is presented separately for urban and rural populations.

During 1971-81, India's mean urban birth rate was 28.36 per thousand per annum or 28.36 percent

Table 25 India : Birth and Death Rates by States and Union Territories, 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory	Birth rate			Death rate			Rural-urban differentials in	
	Combined	Rural	Urban	Combined	Rural	Urban	Birth rate	Death rate
INDIA	34.23	35.69	28.36	14.36	15.72	9.12	7.33	6.62
States								
Andhra Pradesh	33.03	33.75	29.84	13.95	15.09	8.89	3.91	6.20
Arunachal Pradesh	N.A.	33.58	N.A.	N.A.	18.99	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Assam	32.57	33.33	24.56	14.34	14.92	8.51	8.77	6.41
Bihar	32.57	32.99	28.49	14.09	14.62	8.77	4.50	5.85
Goa	21.84	23.01	18.58	8.53	9.39	6.24	4.43	3.15
Gujarat	36.57	38.13	32.13	13.96	15.02	10.94	6.00	4.08
Haryana	37.24	38.77	29.86	12.05	12.87	8.09	8.91	4.78
Himachal Pradesh	32.70	33.43	21.51	12.21	12.57	6.38	11.92	6.19
Jammu & Kashmir	31.51	33.80	22.06	10.62	11.63	6.43	11.74	5.20
Karnataka	28.51	29.82	25.15	11.07	12.56	7.35	4.67	5.21
Kerala	27.25	27.47	26.17	7.66	7.78	7.03	1.30	0.75
Madhya Pradesh	38.17	39.28	32.16	16.47	17.66	9.99	7.12	7.67
Maharashtra	28.74	29.56	26.97	11.33	12.61	8.50	2.59	4.11
Manipur	28.11	25.93	22.59	7.11	7.20	5.66	3.34	1.54
Meghalaya	32.24	35.02	17.86	11.26	12.50	5.06	17.16	7.44
Mizoram	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Nagaland	N.A.	21.87	N.A.	N.A.	7.43	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Orissa	32.50	32.73	29.94	15.61	16.10	9.99	2.79	6.11
Punjab	31.28	32.02	28.57	10.61	11.21	8.43	3.45	2.78
Rajasthan	36.76	38.03	31.28	14.75	16.07	8.86	6.75	7.21
Sikkim	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Tamil Nadu	29.58	31.17	25.83	13.38	15.31	8.88	5.34	6.43
Tripura	30.08	31.19	18.78	10.60	11.02	6.45	12.41	4.57
Uttar Pradesh	40.96	42.19	32.70	19.40	20.45	12.23	9.49	8.23
West Bengal	31.17	34.09	22.60	11.67	12.76	8.58	11.49	4.18
Union Territories								
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	35.25	37.12	24.04	8.15	8.77	4.63	13.08	4.14
Chandigarh	30.84	30.00	30.61	3.74	6.83	3.48	-0.61	3.35
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	N.Ap.	37.19	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	15.57	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.
Daman & Diu	21.84	23.01	18.58	-8.53	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Delhi	28.33	37.88	27.21	7.57	10.84	7.22	10.67	3.62
Lakshadweep	N.Ap.	34.02	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	10.87	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	N.Ap.
Pondicherry	27.57	28.58	21.44	9.67	9.99	7.88	7.14	2.11

Source : Calculated from Sample Registration Bulletin, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, December 1984, pp. 8-14.

N.A. Not Available.
N.Ap. Not Applicable.

- A sizeable proportion of urban growth is the result of natural increase. Therefore, any urban development strategy should focus itself not merely on the migration question but should also be concerned with the high rates of natural increase. Neither economic efficiency nor social equity can be attained without demographic balance which stands for balance within and between urban and rural areas, balanced population distribution and balanced population growth.³
- The seemingly high urban growth rates in some states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, should not be taken at their face value. These should be corrected for the reclassification factor, especially when many of the new towns are the ones which have simply regained their urban status or where several existing big cities were extended much beyond their urbanised limits.
- One-sixth of the urban population increase during 1971-81 has been contributed by the new towns of 1981. The 1971 population of these towns is taken as zero in any computation of the urban growth rate. Strictly speaking, this should not be done because practically all these towns were large villages in 1971. If a correction were to be made for this factor, the urban growth rate of India's urban population during 1971-81 would work out to around 40 percent in place of 46.24 percent.

Notes and References

1. Registrar General of India (1981): *Sample Registration Bulletin*, XVIII, 2, New Delhi.
2. The Census of India, 1981, Occasional Paper 1 of 1986, *Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities in Different Regions and Levels and Trends of Urbanisation*, (pp. 78-79) computes the relative share of the three components of India's urban growth during 1971-81 as: natural increase 60.63 percent; net immigration 18.40 percent and reclassification 20.97 per cent. These computations raise doubts about their reliability since they make us believe that net natural increase rate of India's urban population during 1971-81 was as high as about 28 percent (60.63 percent of 46.24 percent). The available data on urban birth and death rates give a natural increase rate of around only 20 percent for urban population.
3. Rafael M. Salas (1986): *The State of World Population*, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, New York.

Source

Inset 8 :

Rafael M. Salas (1986): *The State of World Population*, UNFPA, New York, p. 4.

Table 26 India : Correlates of Urban Birth and Death Rates

Correlates	Coefficient of correlation with urban	
	Birth rate	Death rate
Urban birth rate	1.00	0.54
Urban growth rate	0.62	0.39
Urban death rate	0.54	1.00
Primary sector	0.53	0.36
Urban poverty	0.40	0.33
Tertiary sector	-0.54	-0.39
Share of cities in urban population	-0.46	-0.41
Per capita national product	-0.41	-0.57
Level of urbanisation	-0.29	-0.34
Urban literacy rate	-0.29	-0.37
Secondary sector	-0.21	-0.24

Source : Urban Data Sheet, (1986), National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, and the Central Statistical Organisation, New Delhi.

for the decade as a whole. The rural birth rate was higher, being 38.69. The combined birth rate works out to 34.23. For the same period, the urban death rate (9.12) is significantly lower than the rural (15.72). This brings the rates of natural increase of the urban and the rural populations almost at par with each other, the two rates being 19.24 and 19.97 respectively.

At the state level, Uttar Pradesh (32.70) shows the highest urban birth rate, followed by Madhya Pradesh (32.61) and Gujarat (32.13). Punjab's (28.57) birth rate is also a little higher than the national average. By comparison, the hill states, the states in the Northeastern Region, and the south Indian states are marked by relatively lower urban birth rates. Among the union territories, Chandigarh (30.16) has the highest urban birth rate. Delhi's (27.21) urban birth rate is also quite close to the national average.

Uttar Pradesh (12.23) is noted for the highest urban death rate also. The urban death rate is on the higher side of the national average in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Gujarat too. The rate, however, tends to be low in the hill states, including those in the Northeastern Region. The south Indian states are distinguished by death rates below the national average. Chandigarh (3.48) has the distinction of recording the lowest urban death rate in the country. Delhi's (7.22) urban death rate is also below the national average (9.12).

The rural birth rates are universally higher than the urban, except in the case of Chandigarh union territory where the urban birth rate is slightly higher than the rural. The peculiar youthful age structure

of Chandigarh city explains this phenomenon. Likewise, the urban death rate is lower than the rural in all states and union territories.

The rural-urban differentials in birth and death rates are higher in the hill and tribal states and lower in relatively more urbanised states. Kerala is noted for the lowest rural-urban differential in this regard. Punjab and Maharashtra are the other two states with low differentials.

West Bengal is noted for a high differential reflecting the overall wide rural-urban disparity in this state. The differential is high also in the case of Delhi. The rural-urban disparity is notably higher in the birth rate than in the death rate in this case.

A study of the correlation coefficients shows that the urban birth and death rates are positively related to each other (Table 26). This narrows down the differentials in the rate of natural increase of urban population between different states and union territories.

The birth and death rates are positively related to the incidence of urban poverty. A higher per capita net domestic product reduces the death rate more than the birth rate. The share of the tertiary sector in the economy is more critical than the share of the secondary sector in bringing down the urban birth and death rates. Likewise, the urban literacy rate is more effective in controlling the death rate than the birth rate.

In brief:

- Both birth and death rates in urban India are considerably lower than in rural India. However, by virtue of such a situation, the rates of natural increase in the two segments are almost the same.
- Both birth and death rates of urban population are relatively low in the hill states. These rates tend to be lower than those of even Kerala which otherwise is singled out among the Indian states for its relatively controlled birth and death rates.
- Both birth and death rates of urban population in various states are negatively related to the tertiary-isation/secondaryisation of the economy, per capita net domestic product, literacy rate, and percentage of urban population. Above all, decline in birth or death rate is a greater function of city growth than that of just, simply urban growth.

7 Urbanward Migration

A migrant, according to the Indian census, is a person who is enumerated at a place other than the place of birth.

The 1981 census records 204.2 million persons as migrants. This is equal to about 31 percent of the total population. The corresponding figure for 1971 is 166.8 million, constituting 30.4 percent of the total population. Thus, migrant population shows an increase of 37.4 million or 22 percent during 1971-81.

Pointing toward the virtual persistence in the percentage of migrant population, some scholars have pointed out that India's population is less mobile than before.¹ This, however, is not sustainable on two counts:

- The number of persons in the young age group of 0-14 years increased by 40 million during 1971-81, from 231 million to 271 million. This represents a sizeable section of the population which normally does not migrate on its own. If a correction is made for this section of the population, the overall proportion of migrants would be significantly larger.

Table 27 India : Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Place of Birth, 1971 and 1981

Place of Birth	Percentage to total migrants	
	1971	1981
A. Migrants born within the state of enumeration	83.22 (138.6)	84.36 (172.3)
(i) Migrants born elsewhere in district of enumeration	62.12 (103.4)	59.32 (121.2)
(ii) Migrants born in other districts of the state	21.10 (35.2)	25.04 (51.1)
B. Migrants born in other states of India	11.17 (18.6)	11.75 (24.0)
C. Migrants born in other countries	5.46 (9.1)	3.89 (7.9)

Source : Census of India, 1971 and 1981.

- Note :
1. 1981 figures exclude and 1971 figures include Assam.
 2. Data exclude unclassifiable migrants.
 3. Figures in parentheses are actual figures in millions.

- The number of migrants is subject to attrition by death but they do not reproduce themselves as migrants. The actual number of migrants would have been larger if those who died during 1971-81 were also taken into account. By applying the overall death rate of 15 to the 1971 migrant population, it could be worked out that over 20 million migrants died during 1971-81.

This implies that if the 1981 migration figures were examined by their age distribution and corrected for decline due to mortality during 1971-81, the volume of migration would show an appreciable rise. Further, the number of migrants on the basis of *place of previous residence* was 207.9 million as compared with 162.7 million in 1971. This represents an increase by 45.2 million or 27.78 percent. The number of people who moved within India increased from 155.4 million to 201.7 million or by 29.79 percent; the number of those who had their place of previous residence outside India declined from 7.3

Inset 9 : Migration and Urbanisation

Urban migrants contribute from one-third to one-half of the annual growth rate of developing world cities. Because the vast majority of migrants are young adults in the peak reproductive age groups whose fertility is higher than that of the urban population as a whole, the long-term contribution of internal migration to urban population growth is actually much greater. Beyond its numerical significance, rapid rural-urban migration in developing countries presents both obstacles and opportunities, social as well as private, to developing world cities. Internal migration must be understood in the context of the overall development priorities of a nation. Policies designed to stimulate industrial growth, provide modern educational and health facilities, and increased commerce with the outside world can contribute to or retard the emergence of severe population distribution problems depending upon the locational components of government planning decisions.

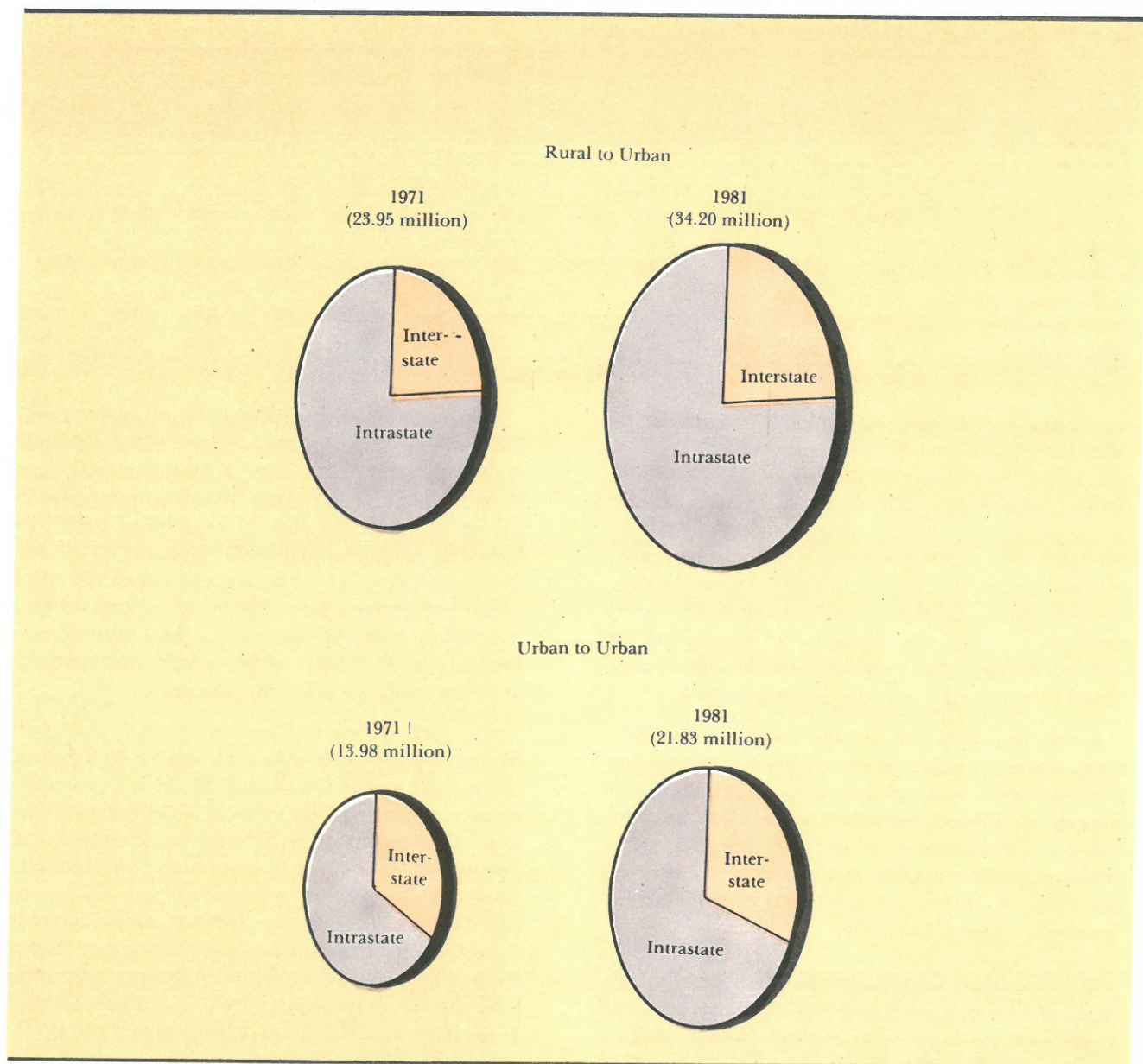


Table 28 India : Rural-Urban and Urban-Urban Migrants among Internal Migrants (Excluding those Born in Other Countries), 1971 and 1981

Types of Migrants	Migrants in millions	
	1971	1981
Rural-urban	23.95	34.20
Intrastate	18.23	26.14
Interstate	5.72	8.06
Urban-urban	13.98	21.83
Intrastate	8.98	14.80
Interstate	5.00	7.02

Source : Census of India, 1981.

- Note : 1. The number of urban migrants born in other countries was 4.12 million in 1971 and 3.17 million in 1981.
 2. 1981 figures exclude and 1971 figures include Assam.

million to 6.2 million or by 15.07 percent. The latter are mainly those who were displaced at the time of partition.

The number of migrants being 207.9 million on the basis of previous residence, and 204.2 million on the basis of place of birth, it could be inferred that a net of 3.7 million migrants returned to their place of birth. The comparable figure for 1971 was higher at 4.1 million. This decrease in turnover migration is consistent with the thesis that the role of circulation declines as the migration system matures.²

What emerges is that 84.36 percent of the migrants in 1981 by place of birth were born within the state of

Table 29 India : Reasons for Migration to Urban Areas, 1981

Place of last residence	Reasons for migration											
	Total migrants		Employment		Education		Family moved		Marriage		Others	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total migrants	100	100	43.14	4.20	6.61	2.36	27.31	32.51	1.06	46.61	21.88	14.32
Last residence elsewhere in India other than the place of enumeration	100	100	44.87	4.31	6.89	2.42	26.76	32.08	1.09	48.07	20.39	13.12
Within the state of enumeration	100	100	40.50	4.08	7.99	2.45	28.52	30.46	1.30	49.92	21.69	13.09
States of India beyond the state of enumeration	100	100	55.49	5.13	4.12	2.31	22.48	37.83	0.60	41.53	17.22	13.20
Other countries	100	100	15.24	1.96	2.08	1.10	36.26	14.44	0.46	16.47	45.96	39.03

Source : Census of India, 1981, Report and Tables based on Five Percent Sample Data.

enumeration, (intrastate migrants), 11.75 percent in other states of India, and 3.89 in other countries. The comparable figures for 1971 are 83.22, 11.17 and 5.46 percent respectively. This shows marginal increase in the percentage of both intrastate and interstate migrants. The share of migrants from other countries has declined. This is mainly because the persons who have migrated from Pakistan on the eve of partition in 1947 are gradually dwindling in number. Otherwise migration from Bangladesh and Nepal is continuing and is quite substantial.

It may be added that among the intrastate migrants, the percentage of interdistrict migrants has gone up while that of intradistrict migrants has come down. The circumference of the migration field seems to be widening. A part of this increase is explained by the increase in the number of districts from three hundred and sixty-five in 1971 to four hundred and twelve in 1981.

If we confine our analysis to urbanward migration, we find that the number of migrants in urban India went up from 42.05 million in 1971 to 59.20 million in 1981 (Table 28). This marks an increase of 17.15 million or by 41 percent.

In 1981, rural-urban migrants constituted 57.8 percent of the total urbanward migrants, urban-urban migrants 36.9 percent, and migrants from other countries another 5.3 percent. The comparable figures for 1971 were 57.00, 33.2, and 9.2 percent. This signifies that the share of rural-urban migration has been sustained while that of urban-urban migration has gone up. The decline in the share of migrants from other countries is explained by the gradual mortality of the partition-time migrants from Pakistan. On the whole, an increase in urban-urban migration, and stability in rural to urban migration are the current features of the Indian urbanisation process.

During 1971-81, the number of intrastate *rural-urban migrants* increased by 43.4 percent as compared to 40.9 percent in the case of interstate migrants. Meanwhile, intrastate urban-urban migrants increased by 64.9 percent, the corresponding figure for interstate migrants being 40.4 percent. It follows that intrastate migration dominates both the rural-urban and urban-urban migration streams. In relative terms, however, the rural-urban migration is long-distance, while urban-urban migration is largely a short-distance phenomenon.

If we look at the reasons for urbanward migration, we find that employment accounts for 43.1 percent of the male migration (Table 29). This factor gains greater strength in the case of interstate migrants than the intrastate ones. Education comes next with 6.6 percent. It declines in importance for interstate migrants. Twenty-seven percent of the males comprising mostly dependent children, moved with the family at the time of migration. This percentage is higher among the intrastate migrants signifying that family migration is largely a short distance phenomenon. Miscellaneous factors account for the remaining male migration.

For female migrants, marriage is the prime factor accounting for 46.6 percent of the total cases. This factor is relatively less important in interstate migration as compared to intrastate migration. Another 32.1 percent of female migrants moved with the family. The percentage was higher in the interstate migration stream. Employment causes only 4.2 percent of the females to migrate. This percentage is slightly higher for the interstate migration stream.

It follows that employment in the case of males and marriage in the case of females are the dominant considerations for migration. Associational migration (movement with family) comes next in both cases.

The 1981 census data pertaining to the place of last residence and duration of residence in place of enumeration gives the number of migrants in urban places as 60.9 million. Among them, 34.1 million had moved during 1971-81. Urban migrants who moved during 1971-81 outnumber those who had moved earlier.

The composition of the 60.9 million migrants is 33.5 million rural-urban migrants, 24 million urban-urban migrants, and the remaining over 3 million from other countries (Table 30). The rural-urban migrants are in a distinct majority.

Among the 34.1 million urban migrants who moved during 1971-81, 17.4 million belong to the rural-urban stream, 13.4 million to the urban-urban

stream, and the remaining ones were from other countries. There is dominance of the rural-urban migration, though the urban-urban stream has gained in strength during the last intercensal period.

The picture in many states does not conform to the national level pattern. The volume of the urban-urban migration in all the states, barring Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Orissa, Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh, was larger than that of the rural-urban stream during 1971-81. The same is true for all union territories, with the sole exception of Lakshadweep. Even if we take all migrants of any duration of stay at the place of enumeration, the urban-urban stream emerges stronger than the rural-urban stream in a majority of states, particularly those located in south India, the Northeastern Region

Table 30 India : Urban Migrants (Rural-Urban and Urban-Urban) Classified by Duration of Residence, 1981

India/State/Union Territory	Any duration			Duration of residence less than 10 yrs. (1971-81 migrants)		
	Total migrants*	Rural-urban migrants	Urban-urban migrants	Total migrants	Rural-urban migrants	Urban-urban migrants
INDIA	60,911,969	33,485,090	23,974,064	34,134,878	17,381,226	13,431,195
States						
Andhra Pradesh	7,57,014	388,331	366,392	356,903	172,164	183,704
Arunachal Pradesh	3,287	1,670	1,552	2,755	1,416	1,295
Assam	126,383	44,079	76,848	76,801	24,861	49,306
Bihar	1,433,776	960,173	437,953	696,528	463,885	216,508
Goa**	96,539	31,916	64,529	28,689	7,917	20,713
Gujarat	830,992	422,312	405,532	316,943	151,761	163,797
Haryana	650,813	319,854	325,445	322,945	156,408	163,916
Himachal Pradesh	278,456	182,422	92,445	142,182	95,764	44,725
Jammu & Kashmir	66,138	17,838	47,294	40,130	10,650	28,944
Karnataka	873,429	402,652	469,442	431,197	198,637	231,674
Kerala	758,314	352,810	395,286	411,350	194,445	208,549
Madhya Pradesh	629,663	288,276	336,164	344,015	161,555	178,727
Maharashtra	856,494	286,238	568,738	459,083	145,193	313,008
Manipur	12,208	3,888	7,807	7,732	2,475	5,194
Meghalaya	11,765	1,427	9,677	7,998	926	6,974
Mizoram	4,745	2,485	2,235	3,188	1,265	3,188
Nagaland	6,321	2,128	3,567	4,997	1,675	2,762
Orissa	274,594	175,019	94,597	133,013	79,761	50,542
Punjab	751,604	254,301	490,083	313,369	101,069	209,419
Rajasthan	921,996	520,647	393,779	426,525	239,648	183,628
Sikkim	4,711	1,569	2,589	3,023	786	1,853
Tamil Nadu	826,560	306,845	514,453	423,098	147,775	270,767
Tripura	15,512	6,096	8,453	7,585	2,983	4,091
Uttar Pradesh	3,472,048	2,141,627	1,293,253	1,879,159	1,170,308	688,305
West Bengal	553,287	148,199	403,331	288,656	71,041	216,547
Union Territories						
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	4,403	1,431	2,823	2,943	904	1,915
Chandigarh	61,745	5,836	55,492	51,001	3,922	46,761
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	2,184	755	1,408	1,167	424	743
Delhi	348,284	24,082	321,549	218,101	13,804	202,816
Lakshadweep	345	183	162	206	123	83
Pondicherry	55,693	13,582	47,713	25,584	5,565	25,621

Source : Census of India, 1981, Report and Tables Based on Five Per cent Sample Data.

- * Among the urban migrants classified by place of last residence 3,172,917 in 1981 and 2,459,195 in 1971 had moved from a foreign country. Due to rounding up during estimation, totals may not tally exactly.
- ** Includes Union Territory of Daman & Diu.

and the northwestern part of the country. The same holds good for most of the union territories. It is in the more populous and backward states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan, that the rural-urban stream continued to be strong. The numbers involved in their case are so large that the national picture is tilted in their favour.

Lastly, it may be noted that 17.4 million persons were recorded as rural-urban migrants in the 1981 census. Another 0.7 million persons had migrated to Indian towns and cities during 1971-81 from other countries, particularly Bangladesh and Nepal. This makes a total of 18.1 million, a figure which is quite close to the 20 million estimated to be the contribution of migration to urban growth during the last intercensal period.

In brief:

- The migrant population of India increased by about 22 percent during 1971-81. The rate of increase of migrants to urban places was almost twice, being 48 percent. There are no signs that India's population is less mobile.
- The relative share of intrastate and interstate migrants among the total has been, more or less, sustained over the 1971-81 period. The propor-

tion of foreign-born migrants has, however, declined due to gradual mortality of those who migrated at the time of partition in 1947. Interstate migration has not subsided contrary to what many scholars seem to believe.

- Our earlier finding that migration contributed about 40 percent to the urban growth during 1971-81 is well supported by the analysis of the migration data. The number of migrants who moved to urban places during the last ten-year period is greater than that of those who had migrated at any earlier point of time. In conformity with the popular notion, employment in the case of males and marriage for females are the principal causes of migration.
- The pre-eminence of the rural-urban stream over the urban-urban stream continued in urbanward migration but the latter is gaining greater strength with the passage of time. The trend has already been set in a majority of states and most of the union territories where the volume of urban-urban migration is larger than the rural to urban migration. In the populous and backward states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Rajasthan, however, the volume of rural-urban migration continues to be distinctly higher.

Notes and References

1. Amitabh Kundu (1986): "Migration, Urbanisation and Interregional Inequality: The Emerging Socio-political Challenge" *Economic and Political Weekly*, XXI, 46, November 15: 2005-2008.
2. Wilbur Zelinsky (1971): "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition", *Geographical Review*, LXI, 2: 219-249.
3. R. Skeldon (1986): "On Migration Patterns in India During the 1970s", *Population and Development Review*, XIII, 4: 759-779.

Source

Inset 9 :

Michael P. Todaro (1984): "Urbanisation in Developing Nations: Trends, Prospects and Policies", Pradip K. Ghosh (ed.), *Urban Development in the Third World*, Greenwood, Westport, p. 16.

8 *New Towns of 1981*

New towns represent not only an advancement of the urbanisation process but also its diffusion to new areas. These places are expected to normally fill the gaps in space. Their emergence brings additional area under urban influence.

A new town is one which did not have the status of an urban settlement at the previous census. It is not always a constructed town. The emergence of a new town is the product of one of the following situations:

- A village graduates into an urban centre either by way of acquiring the statutory civic status or by satisfying the requisite demographic criteria.
- A town, which got declassified during a previous census, gets reclassified.
- A segment of an existing town is carved out as a separate town.
- Some existing towns are merged to form a new, bigger one
- A new town is built for administration, industry, education or some other function.

Most of the new towns have graduated from the village stage. Some are reclassified places. A few are merged towns. Others are newly carved out segments from bigger units. Only a small number of towns are new in the sense of having been specially planned and built to serve particular functions.

A detailed analysis of the five hundred and ninety-three new towns in 1971 showed that four hundred and sixty-three (78 percent) got their status and name from the already existing villages, eighty-seven (15 percent) were reclassification cases, twenty-eight (5 percent) were the products of separation from existing towns, two new towns are merger cases, and only twelve were newly built.¹ In addition, the new town of Badrinathpuri in Uttar Pradesh was uninhabited. As many as 92 percent of them had a population size of less than 20,000. Most

of the new towns were monofunctional in services, industry or primary activities. Trade and commerce did not appear to have resulted in the emergence of new towns.

As many as eight hundred and eighty-one places acquired the status of new towns in the 1981 census. These exclude the towns which form part of urban agglomerations.² Over one-fourth of the total towns/urban agglomerations in India are new if one goes according to the census definition. These towns cover an area of 6,736 sq.km. and have a population of 8.26 million (Table 31). Most of them are small, with an average population of around 9,000 and an area of eight sq. km. Their aggregate population accounts for roughly five percent of India's urban population, but their contribution to urban growth during 1971-81 is pronounced. About one-sixth of the urban population increase during 1971-81 is accounted for by the new towns.

Of the eight hundred and eighty-one towns, as many as three hundred and seventy-nine fall in Uttar Pradesh alone, and have an aggregate population of 3.20 million. The state has six hundred and fifty-nine towns in all and its urban population has risen by 7.51 million from 12.39 million in 1971 to 19.90 million in 1981. These new towns account for about two-fifths of the total urban population increase in the state during the decade 1971-81. About one half of them are reclassification cases, having been declassified in the 1961 census when the criteria for defining urban places were stricter; most of the remaining half have graduated to the status of rural service centres. The inclusion of new towns therefore caused only a small change in the spatial pattern of the state's urban settlement structure.

Other states with a large number of new towns include Madhya Pradesh, where seventy-five out of three hundred and three towns are new, Rajasthan (forty-four out of one hundred and ninety-five), Kerala (thirty-nine out of eighty-five), Bihar (thirty out of one hundred and seventy-nine) and Orissa

Table 31 India : New Towns by States and Union Territories, 1981

India/State/Union Territory	Total number of towns/urban agglomerations	Number	Percentage to all towns/urban agglomerations	New Towns		
				Total area (km ²)	Total population	Average population per town
INDIA*	3,301	881	26.69	6,736.42	8,262,665	9,079
States						
Andhra Pradesh	234	29	12.39	334.07	299,037	10,312
Arunachal Pradesh	6	2	33.33	N.A.	14,116	7,058
Bihar	179	30	16.76	288.20	337,965	11,265
Goa	15	4	23.52	46.47	39,217	9,804
Gujarat	220	29	13.18	140.75	167,871	5,789
Haryana	77	17	22.07	70.59	181,463	10,674
Himachal Pradesh	46	11	23.91	18.37	33,114	3,010
Jammu & Kashmir	56	11	25.00	86.01	74,943	5,353
Karnataka	250	34	13.60	616.52	384,754	11,316
Kerala	85	39	45.88	430.33	817,390	20,959
Madhya Pradesh	303	75	24.75	1,265.45	689,462	9,193
Maharashtra	276	31	11.23	213.82	353,050	11,389
Manipur	32	24	75.00	81.54	123,859	5,161
Meghalaya	7	4	57.14	33.29	18,450	4,612
Mizoram	6	4	66.66	124.00	30,116	7,529
Nagaland	7	4	57.14	52.17	34,956	8,739
Orissa	103	27	26.21	307.48	269,740	9,990
Punjab	134	30	22.38	71.86	221,831	7,394
Rajasthan	195	44	22.56	849.56	535,115	12,162
Sikkim	8	0	0.00	0.00	0	0
Tamil Nadu	245	18	7.35	84.37	154,495	8,583
Tripura	10	4	40.00	11.93	20,558	5,139
Uttar Pradesh	659	379	57.51	1,382.25	3,199,802	8,443
West Bengal	130	19	14.61	129.08	196,901	10,363
Union Territories						
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	0	0.00	0.00	0	0
Chandigarh	1	0	0.00	0.00	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	100.00	6.65	6,914	6,914
Daman & Diu	2	0	0.00	0.00	0	0
Delhi	6	5	83.33	51.07	38,917	7,783
Lakshadweep	3	3	100.00	10.59	18,629	6,210
Pondicherry	4	0	0.00	0.00	0	0

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

(twenty-seven out of one hundred and three). All these are less urbanised states and the emergence of new towns in their case is an expression of spatial diffusion of the urbanisation process. In Punjab, thirty out of one hundred and thirty-four towns are new, while for Haryana the figure is eighteen out of seventy-seven. Both the states are noted for a dispersed pattern of agricultural and industrial development. In most of the hill states, a large proportion of towns is new: fourteen out of fifty-six in Jammu & Kashmir, eleven out of forty-six in Himachal Pradesh, four out of seven in Nagaland, twenty-four out of thirty-two in Manipur, and four out of seven in Meghalaya. New towns are generally administrative centres in such cases.

In comparison, the more urbanised states show a relatively small proportion of new towns among the total: eighteen out of two hundred and forty-five in

Tamil Nadu, nineteen out of one hundred and thirty in West Bengal, and thirty-one out of two hundred and seventy-six in Maharashtra. The 1971-81 urban growth rate in these states is also below the national average.

The locational pattern of new towns shows that the frequency of new towns in India in 1981 is high:

- *On the periphery of big cities:* Examples are the new towns around Patna, Dhanbad, Ranchi and Jamshedpur in Bihar; around Vadodara, Surat and Valsad in Gujarat; around Trichur, Cannanore and Cochin in Kerala; around Bombay, Pune and Nagpur in Maharashtra; and around Delhi and Chandigarh.
- *At the administrative headquarters of newly formed districts:* This is most typical of the states in the Northeastern Region.

Table 32 India : Locational Pattern of New Towns, 1981

State/Union Territory	New town/Localities
Andhra Pradesh	*
Arunachal Pradesh	Administrative centres
	Around Jamshedpur, Ranchi, Dhanbad and Patna
Goa	*
Gujarat	*
Haryana	*
Himachal Pradesh	*
Jammu & Kashmir	*
Karnataka	*
Kerala	Around Trichur, Cannanore and Cochin
Madhya Pradesh	Baghelkhand, Bundelkhand
Maharashtra	Around Bombay
Manipur	Manipur Basin
Meghalaya	New administrative centres
Mizoram	New administrative centres
Nagaland	New administrative centres
Orissa	Mahanadi valley, Dandakaranya, Chilka Plain
Punjab	Bist doab, Ludhiana and Patiala districts
	Around Chandigarh
Rajasthan	Along transport routes radiating out of Jaipur, Udaipur region, Kota region
Tamil Nadu	*
Tripura	*
Uttar Pradesh	All over
West Bengal	*
Union Territories	Around Delhi and Chandigarh

* No specific locational pattern of new towns.

- *In river valley project areas and mining sites:* Included here are northeastern Madhya Pradesh, the Mahanadi valley and Dandakaranya in Orissa, and the Chambal valley and Udaipur region in Rajasthan.
- *Due to reclassification:* Uttar Pradesh has an impressive number of such new towns. Many of them are reclassified ones. At the 1961 census, when a strict definition of a town was in vogue, many small towns were declassified. These places were reclassified as towns at the 1981 census.

This implies that there are a greater number of new towns in three types of areas: peripheral zones of big and fast growing cities; hilly and tribal regions with new administrative headquarters; and tracts with dispersed pattern of agro-industrial development. The emergence of new towns in less urbanised regions is indicative of decentralisation of the urbanisation process.

A brief note on the newly built towns in India after Independence will not be out of place here. Their number is placed at 118 in 1981.³ These belong to two categories: autonomous urban bodies accounting for about two-thirds of the total, and components or suburbs of large urban agglomerations, accounting for the remaining one-third.

Newly built towns offer a large variety in terms of their origin. Initially many of them were planned to accommodate displaced persons after partition in 1947. Included in this group are places such as Rajpura township (Punjab), Nilokheri (Haryana), Gandhidham (Gujarat), Ulhasnagar (Maharashtra), and Ashokenagar (West Bengal). Subsequently several new towns were built as part of various multipurpose projects and power generation schemes under the Plans: Nangal township in Punjab, Gandhi Sagar in Madhya Pradesh, Hirakud in Orissa, Maithon in Bihar, and Srisailem in Andhra Pradesh are some examples. Capitals for some of the states were built anew: Chandigarh, Bhubaneswar and Gandhinagar. But the largest number of newly built towns are industrial (including oil refineries) in nature. These include Bhilainagar, Bokaro, Brajrajnagar, Durgapur, Haldia, Muradnagar, Neapanagar, Rourkela, and Sindri among many others. Such towns are scattered all over. The number of newly built mining towns, such as Rajhara, Bhuli, Jorapokhar, Tisra and Neyveli, is also impressive. Most of these towns are confined to Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. Lastly, education and research have also given rise to some newly built towns. Notable among these are Annamalainagar, Kalyani, and Khadakvasla.

Over time, some of the newly built towns have grown to a substantial size. Ten of them are now cities: Chandigarh, Faridabad, Bnilai, Durgapur, Pimpri-Chinchwad, Bokaro, Bhubaneswar, Rourkela, Avadi, and Ambattur.

Sivaramakrishnan has given a positive assessment of the newly built towns in India.⁴ He views them as useful instruments for implementing a settlement policy of decentralisation of urbanisation. Our own observation is that the new towns do not succeed in making a strong impact in their regions till they attain an impressive size. This is illustrated by the case of Chandigarh which could evolve into a growth pole only after its demographic dimensions grew to the size of a city. Therefore, if new towns are to be built these should be assured of dynamic functional growth leading to their graduation into viable regional centres.

In brief:

- About one-fourth of all towns/urban agglomerations in India in 1981 are new. Most of them have grown from the village status. Some of them are reclassification cases. The number of newly built towns during 1971-81 is small.

- The average population size of new towns is around 9,000. This indicates that we should not expect a village to graduate into a town as soon as it attains a population size of 5,000. Rather this critical break-point lies in the proximity of 10,000.
- New towns show two contrasting patterns of distribution. First, they tend to concentrate around big cities, leading to further centralisation of the urbanisation processes. Secondly, they are more frequent in newly developing and less urbanised areas, representing spatial dispersion of the urbanisation process.
- Among the hundred-odd newly built towns since Independence, ten had attained the population size of a city (exceeding 100,000) by 1981. These are either industrial or administrative in nature.

Notes and References

1. Raj Bala (1982): "New Towns in India", *Geoforum*, 13, 3 257-262
2. Census of India, 1981, Occasional Paper I of 1986, *Study on Distribution of Infrastructural Facilities in Different Regions and Levels and Trends of Urbanisation* (p. 60) lists the number of new towns as 1,047. This means that 166 new towns are part of urban agglomerations. It is also learnt that among 1,047 new towns in all, 648 (including 305 in Uttar Pradesh which earlier had the civic status of Town Area Committee but were left out by oversight in 1971) became urban due to acquisition of the statutory civic status, 376 because they satisfied the tests for nonstatutory places, and 23 were in the nature of newly constructed project townships and industrial areas etc.
3. A. Qiyum: "New Towns in India Urban and National Development", A paper presented at the Seminar on Planning of New Towns, organised by the School of Planning, G.N.D. University, Amritsar on 29-30 May 1985.
4. K.C. Sivaramakrishnan (1978): *Indian Urban Scene*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla.

9 *Change in Urban Area*

A crucial spatial dimension of urbanisation is the physical growth of towns which necessitates changes in their territorial jurisdiction. Additional agricultural rural land on their periphery is brought within their statutory limits. The area under urban settlements is enlarged in the process. This entails a change not only in the functional use of the affected land but also in its legal status.¹

While there are numerous studies on the demographic aspects of urbanisation, only a few examine the physical aspects of urbanisation.² The issue is assuming a critical dimension in view of the increasing expansion of towns on to the rural lands. This is seen as a permanent loss of generally fertile agricultural land. There is a need to regulate this process. As a prerequisite, an objective analysis of the situation is essential.

Direct data on the extent of rural land slipping under the urban sprawl are not available. Data pertaining to the change in the territorial jurisdiction of towns are, of course, one of the indicators that can point to this phenomenon. True, the entire legally extended area of a town may not have been urbanised but it is bound to come under urban use in the near future.

The territorial jurisdiction of towns is normally extended with the following considerations:

- To bring the extraterritorial physical growth of a town within its jurisdiction.
- To adapt the territorial limits of a town to its planning requirements.
- To meet some popular demand.

It is often seen that any change in the civic status of a town (such as from municipal committee to municipal corporation) or the establishment of a Development Authority for it is accompanied by an extension of its physical limits. Normally towns become overbounded from an earlier position of being underbounded.

During 1971-81, the area of urban places increased from 42,598 sq.km. in 1971 to 52,649 sq.km. in 1981 (Table 33). This represents an urban area increase of 10,051 sq.km.

The contribution made by eight hundred and eighty-one new towns in 1981 comes to 6,736 sq.km. showing that the urban area increase exclusive of the area of new towns was 3,315 sq.km. Meanwhile ninety-three of 1971, covering an aggregate area of 1,384 sq.km., got declassified in 1981. The implication is that the territorial extension of many towns, during 1971-81 had increased the urban area in India by no less than 4,699 sq.km.

The increase in urban area due to the emergence of new towns (6,736 sq.km.) and by territorial extension of existing towns (4,699 sq.km.) was roughly in the ratio of 3:2. An average of nearly 500 sq.km. of agricultural/rural land on the periphery of fast expanding towns was lost every year to urban sprawl during the last intercensal period.

The size of land affected by the territorial extension of towns differs widely by states and union territories (Table 34). Large increases are typical of states such as Bihar (1,165 sq.km.), Madhya Pradesh (1,054 sq.km.), Uttar Pradesh (561 sq.km.), West Bengal (561 sq.km.), Punjab (439 sq.km.), Orissa (353 sq.km.), and Haryana (244 sq.km.). Most of these states fall in the northern plain of India.

By contrast, all south Indian states, excluding Kerala, show a general decrease in the territorial limits of their towns. The territorial jurisdiction of towns in their case has been rationalised in a manner that the agricultural land within town limits has been appropriately designated as rural area. This is particularly true of towns which were earlier capitals of former principalities and covered large areas.

The hill states, barring Mizoram, also record only a small increase in their town areas. The union territories of Delhi and Pondicherry are noted for

Table 33 India : Urban Area Change, 1971-81 (Km²)

India/State/Union Territory	Urban area in		Net increase in urban area 1971-81	Area of new towns in 1981	Urban area increase exclusive of the area of new towns	1971 area of towns declassified in 1981	Urban area increase attributable to change in jurisdic- tion of towns
	1981	1971					
INDIA*	52649.00	42597.91	10051.09	6736.42	3314.67	1384.08	4698.75
States							
Andhra Pradesh	3685.97	3563.35	122.62	334.07	- 211.45	5.38	- 206.07
Arunachal Pradesh	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Bihar	4130.90	2773.24	1357.75	288.20	1069.55	95.32	1164.87
Goa	177.30	121.49	55.81	46.47	9.34	0.00	9.34
Gujarat	4613.03	4558.07	54.96	140.75	- 85.79	140.75	54.96
Haryana	763.77	451.36	312.41	70.59	241.82	2.59	244.41
Himachal Pradesh	212.14	155.42	56.72	48.37	8.35	0.00	8.35
Jammu & Kashmir	557.44	393.20	164.24	86.01	78.23	4.52	82.75
Karnataka	3601.74	3134.20	467.54	616.52	- 148.98	94.11	- 54.87
Kerala	1787.56	1341.24	446.32	430.33	15.99	370.34	386.33
Madhya Pradesh	4838.43	2524.57	2313.86	1265.45	1048.41	5.46	1053.87
Maharashtra	5739.17	5984.64	- 245.47	213.82	- 459.29	185.62	- 273.67
Manipur	151.35	45.84	105.51	81.54	23.97	0.00	23.97
Meghalaya	84.78	38.13	46.65	33.29	13.36	0.00	13.36
Mizoram	319.00	21.39	297.61	124.00	173.61	0.00	173.6
Nagaland	108.84	41.80	67.04	52.17	14.87	0.00	14.87
Orissa	2288.64	1658.06	630.58	307.48	323.10	30.04	353.14
Punjab	1195.55	684.27	511.28	71.86	439.42	0.00	439.42
Rajasthan	4496.44	3791.86	704.58	849.56	- 144.98	0.00	- 144.98
Sikkim	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Tamil Nadu	5859.88	5893.22	- 33.34	84.37	- 117.71	424.53	- 306.82
Tripura	54.36	41.94	12.24	11.93	0.31	0.00	0.31
Uttar Pradesh	4537.29	2841.33	1695.96	1382.25	313.71	19.40	333.11
West Bengal	2638.10	1954.08	684.02	129.08	554.94	6.02	560.96
Union Territories							
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	14.14	7.95	6.19	0.00	6.19	0.00	6.19
Chandigarh	68.33	57.60	10.73	0.00	10.73	0.00	10.73
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	6.65	0.00	6.65	6.65	0.00	0.00	0.00
Daman & Diu	15.60	15.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Delhi	591.85	446.26	145.59	51.07	94.52	0.00	94.52
Lakshadweep	10.59	0.00	10.59	10.59	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pondicherry	100.07	57.80	42.27	0.00	42.27	0.00	42.27

Source : Census of India, Statewise Tables, 1971 and 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

sizeable extension of their limits. Other union territories show a small change.

An analysis of area change at the level of individual towns is further revealing. Of the three thousand three hundred and one towns (1981), eight hundred and eighty-one are new and thirty-four do not have requisite data in respect of change in their area. The observations that follow are, therefore, based on data for two thousand three hundred and eighty-six towns (Table 34).

It is observed that almost half of the towns (one thousand one hundred and eighty-nine out of two thousand three hundred and eighty-six) experience a change in their territorial jurisdiction during 1971-81. Seven hundred and eighty-nine experienced an increase in area and the remaining four hundred a

decrease in area. This gives roughly a ratio of 2:1 between the two types of cases.

The proportion of towns experiencing increase in area is distinctly high in West Bengal. Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab. Kerala and Orissa are among the other states where the proportion of towns with increase in area is relatively high.

On the other hand, in the south Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu as also in the west Indian states of Maharashtra and Gujarat, the towns having decrease in area are fairly proximate, if not equal in number, to the towns having increase in area. The same is observed in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. In the hill states,

Table 34 India : Classification of Towns/Urban Agglomerations by Area Change during 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory	Number of towns	New towns	Number of towns with			
			No area change	Increase in area	Decrease in area	Incomplete data
INDIA*	3,301	881	1,197	789	400	34
States						
Andhra Pradesh	234	29	118	46	39	2
Arunachal Pradesh	6	2	0	0	0	4
Bihar	179	30	95	42	12	0
Goa	15	4	9	2	0	0
Gujarat	220	29	152	24	14	1
Haryana	77	17	24	29	7	0
Himachal Pradesh	46	11	27	7	1	0
Jammu & Kashmir	56	14	27	13	2	0
Karnataka	250	34	21	111	84	0
Kerala	85	39	25	20	1	0
Madhya Pradesh	303	75	80	70	61	17
Maharashtra	276	31	163	43	39	0
Manipur	32	24	1	6	0	1
Meghalaya	7	4	1	2	0	0
Mizoram	6	4	0	2	0	0
Nagaland	7	4	1	2	0	0
Orissa	103	27	38	31	7	0
Punjab	134	30	29	63	11	1
Rajasthan	195	44	36	65	50	0
Sikkim	8	0	0	0	0	8
Tamil Nadu	245	18	103	77	47	0
Tripura	10	4	0	3	3	0
Uttar Pradesh	659	379	177	83	20	0
West Bengal	130	19	68	42	1	0
Union Territories						
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	0	0	1	0	0
Chandigarh	1	0	0	1	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	2	0	2	0	0	0
Delhi	6	5	0	1	0	0
Lakshadweep	3	3	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	4	0	0	3	1	0

Source : Census of India, Statewise Tables, 1971 and 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

however, extension of town area jurisdiction is more common than its reduction.

In the case of cities each with a population of at least 100,000 necessary data are available for two hundred and fifteen out of two hundred and eighteen in all. Three out of every four cities (one hundred and fifty-five out of two hundred and fifteen) had an area change during 1971-81; one hundred and twenty-four had an increase and only thirty-one had a decrease in their area. In eighteen cities, this increase ranged from 54.80 to 215.45 sq.km. (Table 35). Area increase is much more typical of cities located in West Bengal, Haryana, Punjab, and Kerala, while decrease in city area is comparatively more frequent in Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

Going by gross data, the urban area of India increased by about 10,000 sq.km. during 1971-81.

This was accompanied by a population increase of 50 million. This works out as one additional square kilometre for an increase of every 5,000 persons. If the urban population of India increased from 160 million in 1981 to 326 million in 2001, as projected by the Expert Committee, an additional 33,000 sq.km. of urban area will be required by that time. And if the new towns, by the present reckoning, contribute 60 percent of this increment, the remaining 40 percent, or about 13,000 sq.km. will have to come from the territorial extension of the existing towns. The figure will exceed 15,000 sq.km., if the urban population increases to 361 million by the end of this century as projected by the United Nations.

In brief:

- The area under urban settlements or towns increased by no less than 10,000 sq.km. during

Table 35 India : List of Cities with Territorial Jurisdiction Extended by at least 50 km² during 1971-81

Name of the city	Area (km ²)		Area increase (km ²) 1971-81
	1981	1971	
Ajmer	262.64	47.19	215.45
Bhopal	284.90	71.20	213.70
Calcutta	852.23	662.40	189.83
Bangalore	365.65	177.30	188.35
Valparai	393.68	217.87	175.81
Faridabad	178.24	25.75	152.49
Delhi	540.78	446.26	94.52
Kharagpur	123.02	33.38	89.64
Ranchi	182.09	94.88	87.21
Kota	221.36	141.23	80.13
Srinagar	177.25	103.28	73.97
Ludhiana	110.00	41.70	68.30
Amritsar	114.95	49.85	65.10
Bathinda	82.88	20.72	62.16
Cochin	188.76	131.74	57.02
Belgaum	91.13	34.84	56.29
Indore	113.52	58.72	54.80

Source : Census of India, 1981.

1971-81. About 60 percent of this increase is attributed to the emergence of new towns and 40

percent to the extension of the territorial jurisdiction of the already existing towns.

- Every second town existing in 1971 and continuing in 1981 shows a change in its territorial jurisdiction. About two-thirds among these are towns involving increase in area, and the remaining one-third have experienced a reduction in their limits.
- Three out of every four cities (towns with a population of at least 100,000 each) had a change in their territorial jurisdiction. Eighty percent of these experienced increase in area.
- Increase in area is more frequent in towns of north Indian states, while decrease in area is more frequent in the south Indian states. In the hill states, increase in area of towns is much more typical.
- By the present reckoning, the extension process of territorial jurisdiction of towns is likely to bring an additional 13,000 sq.km. of rural land under urban limits by the year 2001. This indeed is a prospect which appears to be a matter for concern.

Notes and References

1. There are instances where the territorial jurisdiction of a town may be curtailed. This happens when a town is overbounded and a large area under its jurisdiction is agricultural and distinctly rural.
2. See Gopal Krishan (1983): "The Spurious Element in Indian Urbanisation: A Case Study of Punjab", *Annals of the National Association of Geographers, India*, 3, 1: 38-48.

10 *Morphology of Urbanisation*

The morphology or structure of India's urbanisation comprises three thousand three hundred and one towns/urban agglomerations. These include two hundred and eighteen cities (populations exceeding 100,000, one thousand and thirteen medium towns (populations from 20,000 to 99,999), and two thousand and seventy small towns (populations less than 20,000). This gives a ratio of 1:5:9 among the larger (cities), medium, and small towns in terms of their numbers.

It is difficult to suggest an optimal hierarchical system of towns. This is area-specific depending upon the level of development and concomitant advancement in transport and communication. Following the theoretical postulates of Christaller, one may normally expect a ratio of 1:3:9 among three successive orders of towns. This could be deemed as a balanced hierarchy. Judged from this position, the number of large towns (cities) in relation to medium towns is inadequate. The hierarchy will become balanced as more medium towns graduate into cities.

At the state level, the town hierarchy seems to be less distorted in Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya

Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Haryana (Table 36). These states are either large in size or are distinguished by a relatively high level of agricultural development. In Bihar, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal, the number of small towns in relation to the medium towns is fewer. Service centre strategies, resulting in the emergence of small towns catering to the needs of local areas, may seem appropriate for such states. Hill states such as Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Sikkim are characterised by a preponderance of small towns. In their case some nodal small towns need a heavy investment so as to stimulate their growth into bigger towns. This will enhance their capacity to serve and influence larger areas.

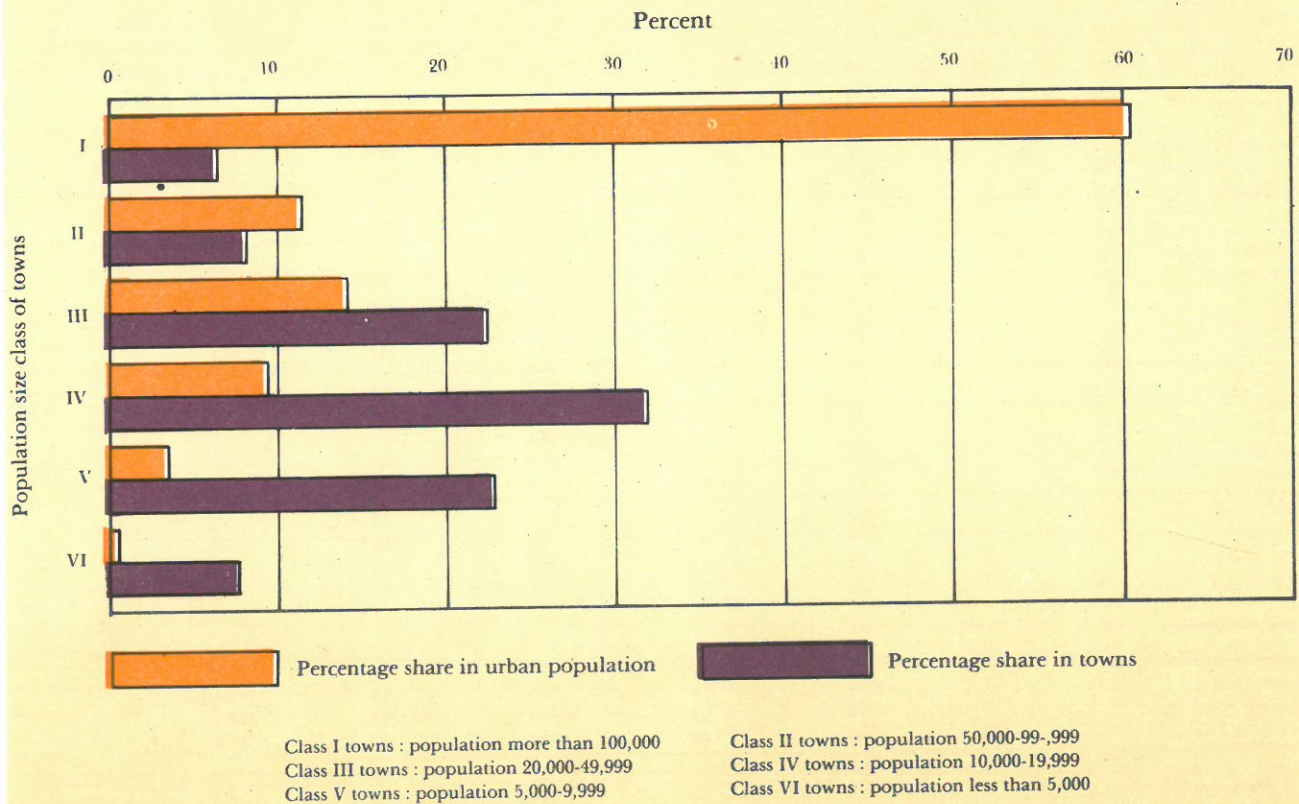
The distortions in urbanisation morphology are not of a uniform nature in the various states and union territories. Rather these tend to be in opposite directions between the large and small states as also between the more developed and less developed ones. Accordingly strategies toward their correction will also have to be area-specific. It must also be borne in mind that India has only one town for every one hundred and seventy-five villages or for every 150,000 persons in the countryside. The intertown spacing averages about 33 km.

The morphology of Indian urbanisation can be understood also in terms of distribution of urban population among towns of different size categories. It is revealing that no less than 60.40 percent of India's urban population lives in its two hundred and eighteen cities. Thus, six out of every ten urban dwellers in India are residents of a city (Table 37). Class II (270) and Class III (743) towns together account for 25.84 percent of the total urban population. In other words, medium towns account for about one-fourth of the urban population. Class IV (1,059), Class V (758) and Class VI (253) towns share the remaining 14.70 percent of the urban population. This signifies that only one among every seven urban dwellers is a resident of a small town in India.

Inset 10 : The Economics of City Size

At least since Aristotle, men have wondered about the best size for cities. In the last decades developed and developing nations, capitalist and socialist, have increasingly adopted more or less explicit policies on urbanization with special reference to city sizes. Most typically, these policies assume that the big cities of the nation are too big, and therefore try to disperse growth. Complementarily, in recent years such dispersal policies, and policies addressed to distressed or backward regions, have recognized that these alternative centers must be of a certain minimum size, however ill-defined, in order to be viable. In its simplest sense, the question of urban size consists of symmetric parts: how big is too big ? and, how big is big enough ?

Figure 6 India : Percentage Share of Urban Population and Number of Towns by Size Class, 1981



show that in West Bengal, the single city of Calcutta takes away more than a half of the state's urban population. Likewise in Meghalaya, Mizoram, Sikkim, and Tripura, the state capitals partake of a majority of the urban population. The same is the case with the union territories of Delhi and Pondicherry. Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh, and Dadra & Nagar Haveli are single town union territories with their entire urban populations in one place.

In the relatively more urbanised state of Maharashtra, the three metropolitan cities of Bombay, Pune and Nagpur share more than half the state's urban population. Seven out of two hundred and twenty towns in Gujarat, eight out of two hundred and forty-five in Tamil Nadu, and ten out of two hundred and fifty in Karnataka account for more than half of their urban populations. This repre-

Table 38 Maharashtra and Punjab : A Comparison in Morphology of Urbanisation, 1981

State	Percentage of urban population in		
	Cities (More than 100,000)	Medium towns (20,000-99,999)	Small towns (Less than 20,000)
Maharashtra	75.26	16.90	7.84
Punjab	46.38	34.63	18.99

sents a high concentration of urban population in a few towns in more urbanised states.

The less urbanised states, such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh present a different picture. Their urbanisation morphology is relatively free from the dominance of a few towns. The structural distortions in urbanisation are less in their case. The same is true of Punjab, Haryana and Kerala where distribution of urban

Table 39 India : Number of Towns Accounting for at least 50 percent of the Urban Population and the Percentage Share of the Largest Town in Urban Population of States and Union Territories, 1981

State/Union Territory	Total number of towns	Number (and percentage) of towns accounting for at least 50 percent of urban population	Percentage share of the largest town in urban population
States			
Andhra Pradesh	234	16 (6.84)	20.39 (Hyderabad)
Arunachal Pradesh	6	3 (50.00)	22.06 (Pasighat)
Bihar	179	13 (7.26)	10.54 (Patna)
Goa	15	3 (17.65)	21.95 (Panaji)
Gujarat	220	7 (3.18)	24.03 (Ahmadabad)
Haryana	77	10 (12.99)	11.70 (Faridabad)
Himachal Pradesh	46	7 (15.22)	21.66 (Shimla)
Jammu & Kashmir	56	2 (3.57)	48.08 (Srinagar)
Karnataka	250	10 (4.00)	27.23 (Bangalore)
Kerala	85	7 (8.23)	14.37 (Cochin)
Madhya Pradesh	303	18 (5.94)	7.83 (Indore)
Maharashtra	276	3 (1.09)	37.48 (Greater Bombay)
Manipur	32	3 (9.37)	41.71 (Imphal)
Meghalaya	7	1 (14.28)	72.39 (Shillong)
Mizoram	6	1 (16.66)	61.15 (Aizawl)
Nagaland	7	2 (28.57)	28.56 (Kohima)
Orissa	103	11 (10.68)	10.53 (Cuttack)
Punjab	134	9 (6.72)	13.06 (Ludhiana)
Rajasthan	195	14 (7.18)	14.08 (Jaipur)
Sikkim	8	1 (12.50)	71.93 (Gangtok)
Tamil Nadu	245	8 (3.26)	26.89 (Madras)
Tripura	10	1 (10.00)	58.60 (Agartala)
Uttar Pradesh	659	28 (4.25)	8.24 (Kanpur)
West Bengal	130	1 (0.77)	63.64 (Calcutta)
Union Territories			
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1 (100.00)	100.00 (Port Blair)
Chandigarh	1	1 (100.00)	100.00 (Chandigarh)
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	1 (100.00)	100.00 (Silvassa)
Daman & Diu	2	1 (50.00)	72.37 (Daman)
Delhi	6	1 (16.66)	99.33 (Delhi)
Lakshadweep	3	2 (66.66)	35.74 (Minicoy)
Pondicherry	4	1 (25.00)	79.55 (Pondicherry)

Source : Census of India, Statewise Tables, 1981.

population among towns is comparatively more equitable.

A study of changes in the urbanisation morphology of India during 1961-81 is further revealing (Table 40). It is interesting to note that the share of cities in urban population increased from 48.4 percent in 1961 to 55.8 percent in 1971, and further to 60.5 percent in 1981. This tendency has been a continuation of the trend initiated during the last fifty years.

Data for individual states and union territories generally support the all India trend of increasing concentration of urban population in cities. But there are interstate differentials in this trend. During 1971-81, the share of cities in urban population increased by more than 8 percent points in Gujarat, Haryana and Kerala. Industrialisation is noted as the underlying cause for a spurt during this decade in these states. The comparable change in the

relatively urbanised states of Maharashtra, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu is of moderate degree. A trend contrary to the general is observed in the less urbanised states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Jammu & Kashmir, where the share of cities in urban population shows a decline.

The Task Force Report warns that this should not make one jump to the conclusion that larger cities and towns are growing faster than their smaller counterparts. Rather the proportion of the total urban population which lives in cities and towns above any cutoff point is bound to increase because of the stable structure of the Indian settlement pattern.¹

Earlier Rakesh Mohan and Pant had highlighted the stable nature of the urban settlement structure in India by stating that much of the urban growth has occurred because of the accretion to the existing towns and settlements and only marginally because of the emergence of new towns.² It has been

Table 40 India : Percentage Share of Cities (Class I Towns) in Urban Population, 1961, 1971 and 1981

India/State/Union Territory	Percentage share of cities in urban population in		
	1961	1971	1981
INDIA*	48.4	55.8	60.5
States			
Andhra Pradesh	43.2	48.4	53.8
Arunachal Pradesh	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bihar	39.4	45.4	54.2
Goa	0.0	0.0	0.0
Gujarat	44.4	49.0	58.0
Haryana	8.1	12.8	56.7
Himachal Pradesh	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jammu & Kashmir	67.4	68.5	65.8
Karnataka	39.7	51.1	58.7
Kerala	27.0	42.3	53.1
Madhya Pradesh	39.1	45.1	46.8
Maharashtra	65.8	70.8	75.3
Manipur	0.0	70.9	41.7
Meghalaya	87.2	83.4	74.4
Mizoram	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nagaland	0.0	0.0	0.0
Orissa	13.2	38.3	41.6
Punjab	38.6	40.6	46.4
Rajasthan	38.5	41.9	46.8
Sikkim	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tamil Nadu	47.5	57.7	62.2
Tripura	0.0	61.8	58.6
Uttar Pradesh	54.4	57.1	51.4
West Bengal	72.1	71.0	77.0
Union Territories			
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.0	0.0	0.0
Chandigarh	0.0	100.0	100.0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.0	0.0	0.0
Daman & Diu	0.0	0.0	0.0
Delhi	100.0	100.0	99.3
Lakshadweep	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pondicherry	0.0	78.1	79.6

Source : Census of India, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

*Excluding Assam.

emphasised that large towns and cities are not as a rule growing faster than small towns.

This observation has been verified by a perusal of Table 41 which shows the growth rate of towns during 1971-81 by their population size category. The technique employed involves taking into account only those towns which are common to both 1971 and 1981 censuses, to group them into population size categories on the basis of the 1971 population, and to calculate the decennial growth rate separately for each category.

Calculations made this way show that the population of cities grew by 41.51 percent; of Class II and III towns by 36.97 and 39.10 percent respectively; of Class IV and V by 35.37 and 36.86 percent respectively; and of Class VI by 40.07 percent. This

pattern permits three generalisations: the growth rate of all size categories of towns is fast, being significantly above the rate of natural increase; cities are growing the fastest, followed by the special category of small towns with populations less than 5,000; and the variations in the growth rates of other size classes are not large (Table 41).

The pattern differs by states. In Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Madhya Pradesh, the growth rate declines with the decrease in the size class of towns. In Punjab, the growth rate of different size categories of towns is more equitable. In Uttar Pradesh, the category of smaller towns shows a higher growth rate than the bigger ones. No consistent behaviour is observed in Orissa, Bihar and Rajasthan. In West Bengal, growth rate improves for medium towns but declines in the case of small towns.

On the whole, one can agree with the Task Force Report to the extent that size as a factor in town growth has become less crucial during 1971-81. But that does not mean that it has lost its significance. A study carried out in the sixties suggests that economies of scale improve up to a city size of 130,000.³ The point at which diseconomies creep in due to too large a size of city has not been clearly demonstrated.⁴

Kundu also demonstrates that the growth rate of Class I towns works out consistently higher than that of lower categories and that the disparity in the growth rate of the former has not only narrowed but has further gone down in the seventies.⁵

Since Independence, the Government of India have implemented a number of programmes to regulate the size of large cities. These included the nonissue of industrial licenses for large metropolitan areas, preferences for small towns and cities in the location of public sector industry, equalisation of administered prices (net of state sales taxes) of cement, steel and coal to promote dispersal of industry, encouragement to small scale industry, creation of industrial estates at several places within each state, direct investment to improve infrastructure in small and medium towns, and special schemes to develop backward districts.

The effects of these measures on spatial distribution of population have, however, been unclear. Our own analysis shows that the development since Independence has strengthened the economic base of cities and promoted their growth. The various attempts to stimulate the dynamism of

Table 41 India : City Size and Growth Rate, 1971-1981

India/State/Union Territory	Growth rate by size classes, 1971-81*					
	(percent)					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
INDIA**	41.51	36.97	39.10	35.37	36.86	40.07
States						
Andhra Pradesh	46.24	44.58	45.55	46.31	34.86	18.55
Arunachal Pradesh	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	78.64	49.30
Bihar	56.57	41.97	47.36	38.35	62.85	60.85
Goa	0.00	30.32	42.50	53.44	53.44	31.15
Gujarat	50.83	30.68	32.23	26.28	26.12	13.21
Haryana	67.55	50.69	40.31	33.78	31.26	71.55
Himachal Pradesh	0.00	27.52	-2.46	22.01	10.19	32.60
Jammu & Kashmir	41.18	0.00	24.28	32.55	39.42	32.30
Karnataka	56.72	43.68	36.85	32.70	29.94	33.75
Kerala	31.17	41.28	17.97	133.03	406.92	0.00
Madhya Pradesh	50.70	42.24	49.86	35.94	35.82	33.42
Maharashtra	41.56	36.12	30.51	25.27	30.14	24.21
Manipur	56.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	133.73	121.99
Meghalaya	42.32	0.00	0.00	127.63	44.73	0.00
Mizoram	0.00	0.00	134.70	0.00	185.84	0.00
Nagaland	0.00	0.00	59.39	70.25	0.00	0.00
Orissa	63.38	38.90	50.99	41.26	55.53	22.07
Punjab	39.04	43.06	33.10	33.85	39.00	34.81
Rajasthan	53.58	40.15	46.87	40.12	33.96	92.58
Sikkim	0.00	0.00	0.00	176.13	0.00	125.42
Tamil Nadu	31.89	24.64	22.92	19.10	16.16	24.72
Tripura	31.84	0.00	0.00	17.71	14.82	0.00
Uttar Pradesh	30.69	38.22	43.18	39.25	38.85	55.58
West Bengal	25.53	33.43	51.86	48.15	47.70	18.21
Union Territories						
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.00	0.00	89.31	0.00	0.00	0.00
Chandigarh	81.52	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Daman & Diu	0.00	0.00	0.00	21.29	29.06	0.00
Delhi	57.09	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lakshadweep	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pondicherry	62.26	0.00	66.44	0.00	22.92	0.00

Source : Census of India, Statewise Tables, 1981.

Note : Only those towns which existed in both 1971 and 1981 censuses in each class are taken into account.

* Class I towns have populations more than 100,000, Class II 50,000, Class III 20,000 to 49,999, Class IV 10,000 to 19,999, Class V 5,000 to 9,999 and Class VI less than 5,000.

** Excluding Assam.

small and medium towns have at best been marginal (Table 42).

In brief:

- In India, broadly speaking, there is one town for every 175 villages or for 150,000 rural people on an average. This does not compare favourably with the situation in many countries of the world.
- The number of cities in relation to the number of medium towns is inadequate in our country. Some of the medium towns can be stimulated to grow faster into cities, if one goes by the theoretical postulates of Christaller.
- The urbanisation morphology of different states varies primarily in accordance with their areal

differences, level of urbanisation, and the profile of sectoral development. Bigger states have generally a less distorted morphology of urbanisation; more urbanised states have a more distorted urbanisation morphology; but more urbanised states, with a balanced development of agriculture and industry, are better placed in this regard.

- Hill states form a contrast among themselves. The less populous among them are without a city. Others are noted for a high primacy of their largest city.
- Among the towns belonging to different population size categories, Class I are distinguished by

Table 42 India : Funds Approved and Released under the IDSMT Programme by States and Union Territories, 1979-85

India/State/Union Territory	Number of towns covered	Funds (in Rs. crores*)		Released funds as percentage of approved funds
		Approved	Released	
	237	206.00	56.84	28
States				
Andhra Pradesh	18	18.56	3.98	21
Arunachal Pradesh	1	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Assam	5	4.40	1.98	45
Bihar	15	12.36	2.98	24
Goa**	1	1.12	0.31	27
Gujarat	17	12.40	4.08	33
Haryana	6	7.06	1.43	20
Himachal Pradesh	1	0.70	0.35	50
Jammu & Kashmir	2	0.75	0.19	25
Karnataka	16	10.89	2.52	23
Kerala	9	8.69	2.70	31
Madhya Pradesh	16	15.29	2.58	17
Maharashtra	22	17.73	6.41	36
Manipur	2	0.81	0.09	11
Meghalaya	2	1.23	0.19	14
Mizoram	1	0.80	0.23	28
Nagaland	1	0.90	0.25	28
Orissa	6	4.89	2.13	43
Punjab	8	9.16	3.08	34
Rajasthan	11	10.71	3.94	37
Sikkim	1	1.16	0.06	5
Tamil Nadu	28	21.86	8.33	38
Tripura	2	1.60	0.17	11
Uttar Pradesh	23	23.20	4.59	20
West Bengal	20	17.17	3.75	22
Union Territories				
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	0.90	0.25	28
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	0.61	0.25	41
Pondicherry	1	1.00	0.04	4

Source : National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi.

* One crore = 10 million.

** Includes Daman & Diu.

Note : Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi and Lakshadweep are not covered.

One crore = 10 million.

Notes and References

1. *The Task Force Report* (1983), Ministry of Works and Housing, New Delhi, p.25.
2. Rakesh Mohan and Chandrasekhar Pant (1982): "Morphology of Indian Urbanisation", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XVIII: 534-40.
3. O.P. Mathur et al. (1968): *Cost of Infrastructure for Industry as Related to City Size in Developing Countries: India Case Study* Stanford Research Institute, California, p. 7.
4. United Nations (1985): *Economic Development and Population Change*, New York, p. 57.
5. Amitabh Kundu (1983): "Theories of City Size Distribution and Indian Urban Structure", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XVIII, 31: 1361-1368.
6. Edwin S. Mills and Charles M. Becker (1986): *Studies in Indian Urban Development*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 151.

Inset 10 :

Source

William Alonso (1975): "The Economics of Urban Size," John Friedmann and William Alonso (eds.), *Regional Policy: Readings in Theory and Application*, MIT, Cambridge, p. 434.

the fastest growth rate. These are followed by the Class VI towns which are the smallest in population size. Class II to Class V towns do not differ much in their growth rate. Size as a factor in growth has become less crucial during 1971-81 but this does not mean that it has lost its significance as a factor.

- Government interventions, through industrial location policies or special incentives for the growth of small and medium towns, have not been successful in altering the urbanisation morphology of India.

11 *Metropolises and Cities*

At the apex of India's hierarchy of settlements are the twelve metropolitan cities, each with a population of at least one million. Included here are Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Pune, Kanpur, Nagpur, Jaipur and Lucknow (Table 43). Together they constitute a population of 42.12 million, accounting for over one-fourth of India's urban population.

Among the metropolitan cities, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras are located along the coast. In addition to being the three largest ports of the country, they are the capitals of their respective states. Along with Delhi, which is the national capital, they constitute the group of "four million". The rail-road routes connecting these places are among the fastest urbanising belts in the country.

Then there are the metropolitan cities in the noncoastal part: these include Bangalore, Hyderabad, Pune and Nagpur in south and central India; Ahmedabad in western India; and Kanpur, Lucknow and Jaipur in north India. Five out of these eight cities are state capitals; the remaining

Table 43 India : Area, Population and Growth Rate of Metropolitan Cities, 1971-81

Name of metropolitan city/urban agglomeration	Area (in km ²)		Population (in millions)		Population growth rate 1971-81
	1971	1981	1971	1981	
Calcutta	662.40	852.23	7.42	9.19	23.90
Greater Bombay	437.71	437.71	5.97	8.24	38.07
Delhi	446.26	540.78	3.65	5.73	57.09
Madras	530.77	571.93	3.17	4.29	35.31
Bangalore	177.30	365.65	1.66	2.92	75.56
Ahmedabad	108.24	98.51	1.75	2.55	45.40
Hyderabad	28.24	N.A.	1.80	2.55	43.83
Pune	324.52	344.18	1.14	1.69	48.55
Kanpur	298.98	298.98	1.28	1.64	28.53
Nagpur	236.80	263.93	0.93	1.30	39.94
Jaipur	258.57	210.09	0.64	1.02	59.42
Lucknow	127.66	145.94	0.81	1.01	23.79
Total	3,907.72	4,129.93	30.21	42.12	39.42

Source : Census of India, 1981.

three, namely Pune, Nagpur and Kanpur, do not enjoy that status.

The frequency of metropolitan cities is higher in south India than in other parts of the country, and most of the metropolitan cities have an inland location. A tendency toward dispersal of metropolitan growth from the coastal to inland areas is thus evident. This is exhibited primarily by the impressive growth of most of the state capitals.

During 1971-81, the population of metropolitan cities, as a group, increased by 39.42 percent. This is lower than the growth rate of 42.35 percent for nonmetropolitan cities and 41.51 percent for all cities. The slow growth of Calcutta (23.90 percent) did have a depressing effect on the overall growth rate of metropolitan cities.

The number of metropolitan cities increased from nine in 1971 to twelve in 1981. The three new additions are Nagpur, Jaipur and Lucknow. Bangalore is noted for the fastest rate of growth, followed by Jaipur and Delhi. Pune, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and Nagpur are marked for a faster growth than the overall metropolitan growth. Notably all the three coastal metropolitan cities, namely Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, lie at the lower end of growth. Kanpur and Lucknow are also characterised by a relatively slow growth.

The first four metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi maintained their ranks but the relative differences in their population size narrowed somewhat. Bangalore leaped to fifth rank by superseding Ahmedabad and Hyderabad. Similarly Pune outranked Kanpur and Jaipur outranked Lucknow.

Some of the potential metropolitan cities include Coimbatore, Patna, Surat, Madurai, Indore, Varanasi, Jabalpur, Vadodara, Bhopal and Thane. Their population will cross the one million mark at the 1991 census if they maintain their 1971-81 growth rate during 1981-91 also. India will then

have 22 metropolitan cities in place of 12 as at present. None of the new metropolitan cities will be coastal in location and only a few of them will be in northern India.

Next to the twelve metropolitan cities, there are thirty second cities, each with a population of 500,000 to one "million" (Table 44). These cities are scattered over different parts of India but their number is greater in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Tamil Nadu. Most of the second cities are prominent industrial centres, some state headquarters, and others places of historical importance. In 1971, there were only 12 second cities in India.

Second cities differ in their growth behaviour. The industrial cities of Ranchi and Surat experienced the highest growth rates. The state capitals, such as Bhopal and Patna, are also among the fastest growing ones. Other industrial cities, such as Visakhapatnam, Ludhiana, Indore, Dhanbad, Vadodara, follow them by way of recording a

Table 44 India : Population Size (1981) and Growth Rate (1971-81) of Second Cities

Name of the city	Population in 1981	Growth rate 1971-81
Coimbatore	920,355	25.01
Patna	918,903	66.71
Surat	913,806	85.36
Madurai	907,732	27.58
Indore	829,327	47.85
Varanasi	797,162	25.50
Jabalpur	757,303	41.59
Agra	747,318	17.76
Vadodara	744,881	59.34
Cochin	685,836	35.58
Dhanbad	678,069	47.85
Bhopal	671,018	74.35
Jamshedpur	669,580	46.79
Allahabad	650,070	26.71
Ulhasnagar	648,671	63.75
Tiruchirapalli	609,548	31.19
Ludhiana	607,052	51.32
Srinagar	606,002	43.18
Visakhapatnam	603,630	66.08
Amritsar	594,844	29.87
Gwalior	555,862	36.86
Kozhikode	546,058	29.80
Vijayawada	543,008	57.57
Meerut	536,615	40.07
Hubli-Dharwad	527,108	39.02
Trivandrum	520,125	26.98
Salem	518,615	24.54
Solapur	514,860	29.24
Jodhpur	506,345	59.42
Ranchi	502,771	88.63

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Note : Second cities are those with half a million to one million population.

relatively fast growth. The historic cities amongst the second cities had a relatively slow growth. Included here are places such as Madurai, Varanasi, Agra, Allahabad and Tiruchirapalli.

The remaining hundred and seventy-six cities (population exceeding 100,000) have a population size of less than half a million. Amongst them forty-one are in the population range of 250,000 to 500,000 and one hundred and thirty-five cities have less than 250,000. Around twenty of them are likely to enter the group of second level cities at the 1991 census if their 1971-81 growth rate is maintained. Most of these potential second cities are fast growing industrial cities, such as Durg-Bhilainagar, Mysore, Bareilly, Nasik, Thane, Asansol, Kota, Faridabad, Rourkela, Ghaziabad, and Bokaro. Some, such as Rajkot, Raipur and Aurangabad, occupy prominent positions as regional centres. Others like Chandigarh enjoy high administrative status.

Of the two hundred and eighteen cities, including metropolitan, second and others, with a population of at least 100,000, Uttar Pradesh has the largest number of cities (30), followed by Maharashtra (25), Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu (20), each. Nearly half of the cities are located in these four states. On the other hand, Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland and Sikkim are each without a single city. In 1971, there were a hundred and forty-eight such cities in India.

The cities present three notable spatial features in their distribution: concentration by regions, including western Uttar Pradesh, eastern Haryana, central Punjab, the north Bihar plain, Godavari-Krishna delta, and Tamil Nadu; location along the transport routes, such as Dhanbad—Calcutta, Ahmedabad—Bombay, Bombay—Nagpur, and Madras—Coimbatore; and scattered isolated places in the hill states.

Distribution of cities is more uneven in north India than in south India. The number of cities is distinctly small in the Himalayas, central India, and in the Rajasthan desert. Notably just around 20 cities are located in the coastal belts.

In terms of growth rate, seven cities show a population increase by more than 100 percent during 1971-81; 74 cities a population increase of 46.24 to 100 percent; 128 of 20.00 to 46.24 percent; and the remaining nine of less than 20 percent (Table 46). Thus, 81 cities had a growth rate higher than the national rate of urban growth. On the other hand, nine are net outmigration cases; in their case growth rate being less than the estimated natural increase of 20 percent.

Table 45 India : Grouping of Cities by Population Size, 1981

India/State/ Union Territory	Number of cities with a population				Total
	More than 1,000,000	500,000 to 999,999	250,000 to 499,999	100,000 to 249,999	
INDIA*	12	30	41	135	218
States					
Andhra Pradesh	1	2	3	14	20
Bihar	0	4	1	12	17
Gujarat	1	2	3	6	12
Haryana	0	0	1	10	11
Jammu & Kashmir	0	1	0	1	2
Karnataka	1	1	3	12	17
Kerala	0	3	0	5	8
Madhya Pradesh	0	4	3	7	14
Maharashtra	3	2	6	14	25
Manipur	0	0	0	1	1
Meghalaya	0	0	0	1	1
Orissa	0	0	2	4	6
Punjab	0	2	1	4	7
Rajasthan	1	1	3	6	11
Tamil Nadu	1	4	3	12	20
Tripura	0	0	0	1	1
Uttar Pradesh	2	4	8	16	30
West Bengal	1	0	2	9	12
Union Territories					
Chandigarh	0	0	1	0	1
Delhi	1	0	0	0	1
Pondicherry	0	0	1	0	1

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

Rapid growth is a typical characteristic of three types of cities: state capitals, new industrial centres with impressive investment in the public sector, and those located in the proximity of metropolitan cities. Some cities functioning as prominent regional centres in otherwise less urbanised regions are also growing fast.

In brief:

- The number of cities went up from 148 in 1971 to 218 in 1981; and within them, the number of metropolitan cities increased from 9 to 12 and of second level cities from 12 to 30. This points to the widening of the apex of India's urbanisation morphology. This tendency is likely to accelerate in future.

Table 46 India : Grouping of Cities by Growth Rate during 1971-81

India/State/ Union Territory	Number of cities with a growth rate of				Total
	More than 100	46.24 to 99.99	20.00 to 46.23	Less than 20	
INDIA*	7	74	128	9	218
States					
Andhra Pradesh	0	11	8	1	20
Bihar	1	9	7	0	17
Gujarat	0	4	8	0	12
Haryana	1	4	5	1	11
Jammu & Kashmir	0	0	2	0	2
Karnataka	0	8	9	0	17
Kerala	1	1	5	1	8
Madhya Pradesh	0	4	10	0	14
Maharashtra	0	11	14	0	25
Manipur	0	1	0	0	1
Meghalaya	0	0	1	0	1
Orissa	1	2	3	0	6
Punjab	0	2	5	0	7
Rajasthan	0	5	6	0	11
Tamil Nadu	0	1	16	3	20
Tripura	0	0	1	0	1
Uttar Pradesh	1	5	22	2	30
West Bengal	2	3	6	1	12
Union Territories					
Chandigarh	0	1	0	0	1
Delhi	0	1	0	0	1
Pondicherry	0	1	0	0	1

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

- The emergence and growth of inland cities is much more pronounced than that of coastal cities. This is a reversal of the earlier pattern that prevailed during the colonial period.
- The number of cities, particularly metropolitan ones, is greater in south and western India than in the northern and eastern parts of the country. As a corollary, cities are more closely placed in south and western India, and have a larger proportion of the countryside under their active influence. This is particularly true of a state such as Tamil Nadu.
- Cities with higher administrative status and those with sizeable industrial investment in the public sector are growing faster. This highlights the role of government activity and investment in promoting city growth.

12 *Primacy Patterns*

Urban primacy is a measure of the dominance of the biggest city in the total urban situation of a country or a region. The issue is connected with the concept of the "primate city" which is described in the following terms: "A country's leading city is always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling. This city is pre-eminent not merely in size but also in national influence... Nationalism crystallises in primate cities."¹

Urban primacy is said to be higher in countries at a low level of development, specially when these are small in size and have a colonial history with export orientation.² It shows the strongest negative relationship with the size of countries, and a positive association with the rate of population growth.³ An alternative theory of urban primacy emphasises class structure and class relations as more critical determinants than even colonialism or export dependency or rural collapse.⁴ The overall world picture is, however, very complex and far from clear.

While urban primacy is an index to the prominence of a national city in the life of a country, it also represents a distortion in the morphology of its urbanisation. If a single city tends to take away a large share of the urban population, it reflects a polarised pattern of development, and concomitantly shows a spatial imbalance in the pattern of the urbanisation process.

There are several measures of urban primacy. The most common measure is to calculate the ratio between the population size of the first and the second ranking cities. Another is to calculate the share of the first city in the aggregate population of the first four cities. This introduces a greater rigour in arriving at the primacy index. Yet another method is to calculate the share of the first city in the total urban population of the country or the state. This is to place the leading city in the context of the entire urban system. The advantage in opting for the

Inset 11 : The Primate City in Population Distribution Goals

The deceleration of the growth of the primate city is almost a universally proclaimed goal in developing countries, regardless of whether the population is 10 million or 500,000. As the justification must vary in these two extreme cases, with a tendency to weaken when the primate city is very small and accounts for only a small proportion of the urban population, the unanimity of this goal reflects imitation and the herd instinct more than a rational response to analysis of the specific problems of each country. Nevertheless, policy-makers usually have little difficulty in producing reasons that primate-city control should have a dominant place among population distribution goals. It may be consistent with efficiency if production costs are rising more rapidly than elsewhere due to congestion effects. It may promote equity by dampening the forces making for land speculation (and regressive intrametropolitan transfers) and by redirecting infrastructure investment (and hence service provision) to smaller towns and/or rural areas. It may reap major political gains by reducing the vulnerability of a metro-dominated political system to a take-over by a neglected rural sector. It may improve (or at least moderate deterioration in) environmental quality for primate-city residents by relieving the pressures associated with rapid in-migration into a city already strained to capacity in housing, transportation, public services and social facilities.

last method here lies in the fact that it takes the whole urban system into account. Needless to say, the ratio between the population size of the first and the second cities has also been computed as a supplementary measure.

Urban primacy can be calculated not only for the country as a whole but also for its various parts, such as the states in the Indian context. This is what has been done in the present study to obtain the picture both at the national and regional levels.

The 1981 Census of India revealed that Calcutta, the first city accounted for 6 percent of the total

urban population in the country (Table 47). The comparable figures for the low-, middle-, and high-income (industrial market economies) countries are 16, 29 and 18 percent respectively. India thus emerges as a country with low primacy. The same is corroborated by the fact that Calcutta's population is only 1.1 times that of the second city of Bombay, and 1.5 times that of the third city of Delhi.

The picture at the level of the states and union territories is highly differentiated. Urban primacy is generally found to be high in the hill states. Meghalaya, Sikkim, Mizoram and Tripura have more than half of their urban population in their capital cities. In Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur and Nagaland too, this proportion is between one-fourth and one-half. By contrast, urban primacy is low in

the large, populous, and less developed states. The leading city in each of the states of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Orissa accounts for less than 15 percent of the state's total urban population.

But primacy tends to be high in large states that are relatively more industrialised and urbanised, states such as West Bengal, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu which have one-fourth to more than a half of their urban populations in their respective leading cities, which also happen to be the administrative capitals in each case. Urban primacy is low in states which have a strong agro-industrial base giving rise to a dispersed pattern of urbanisation. Included in this group are Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, and Kerala where the first city

Table 47 India : Urban Primacy by States and Union Territories, 1981

India/State/Union Territory	Percentage share of population of the largest urban centre in the total urban population			Ratio between the population of the largest and the second largest towns		
	1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981
INDIA*	7.34	6.65	5.84	1.38:1	1.18:1	1.12:1
States						
Andhra Pradesh	19.90	21.38	20.39	5.32:1	4.94:1	4.22:1
Arunachal Pradesh	N.Ap	29.59	22.06	N.Ap	1.06:1	1.13:1
Bihar	9.32	8.72	10.54	1.11:1	1.08:1	1.35:1
Goa	40.62	29.16	23.92	2.31:1	1.22:1	1.11:1
Gujarat	22.68	23.23	24.03	3.80:1	3.53:1	2.79:1
Haryana	8.07	7.04	11.70	1.20:1	1.22:1	1.98:1
Himachal Pradesh	23.89	22.89	21.66	3.27:1	2.60:1	3.40:1
Jammu & Kashmir	49.19	49.32	48.08	2.69:1	2.58:1	2.71:1
Karnataka	22.78	23.22	27.23	4.73:1	4.36:1	5.54:1
Kerala	9.39	12.67	14.37	1.24:1	1.07:1	1.26:1
Madhya Pradesh	8.54	8.27	7.83	1.08:1	1.05:1	1.09:1
Maharashtra	37.20	38.00	37.48	5.31:1	5.26:1	4.89:1
Manipur	100.00	70.93	41.71	N.Ap	11.53:1	7.38:1
Meghalaya	87.16	83.41	72.39	11.51:1	7.93:1	4.95:1
Mizoram	100.00	84.06	61.15	N.Ap	5.27:1	4.33:1
Nagaland	37.82	41.92	28.56	1.18:1	1.24:1	1.04:1
Orissa	13.19	11.15	10.53	1.62:1	1.19:1	1.01:1
Punjab	15.50	14.24	13.06	1.63:1	1.14:1	1.02:1
Rajasthan	12.51	14.01	14.08	1.77:1	2.00:1	2.00:1
Sikkim	100.00	67.66	71.93	N.Ap	6.91:1	9.09:1
Tamil Nadu	21.63	25.43	26.89	3.96:1	4.30:1	4.66:1
Tripura	53.28	61.75	58.60	4.15:1	5.95:1	6.35:1
Uttar Pradesh	10.24	10.29	8.24	1.48:1	1.57:1	1.63:1
West Bengal	67.17	64.11	63.64	33.92:1	29.14:1	25.05:1
Union Territories						
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	100.00	100.00	100.00	N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap
Chandigarh	100.00	100.00	100.00	N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	N.Ap	N.Ap	100.00	N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap
Daman & Diu	68.97	73.59	72.37	2.22:1	2.79:1	2.62:1
Delhi	100.00	100.00	99.33	N.Ap	N.Ap	451.50:1
Lakshadweep	N.Ap	N.Ap	35.74	N.Ap	N.Ap	1.01:1
Pondicherry	58.16	78.14	49.55	2.33:1	5.94:1	5.79:1

Source : Census of India, Statewise Tables, 1981.

Note : N.Ap. Not Applicable.

* Excluding Assam.

shares only 11 to 24 percent of the state's urban population.

A very high primacy is seen in most of the union territories. Chandigarh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, and Andaman & Nicobar Islands are single city/town territories, and hence their entire urban population is concentrated in one place. The same is virtually the case with the union territory of Delhi. Pondicherry union territory has almost 80 percent of its urban population in a single city by the same name.

In five states, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab and Haryana, the leading city is one which is not the capital city. Urban primacy tends to be low in all these cases. Also the leading city in each of the states of Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, and Mizoram as also in the union territories of Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Dadra & Nagar Haveli, and Lakshadweep has not attained the status of a city, being smaller than 100,000 in population. However, the leading city in each of the eight states (Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal) and one union territory (Delhi) has acquired the status of a "million city" by virtue of having a population of at least 1,000,000.

A slight tendency towards decline in urban primacy at the all India level is observed from Table 47. This happens when internal interdependence increases or external dependence decreases.⁵ The share of Calcutta's population in the country's urban population as well as its ratio to the population of the second ranking city of Bombay has been consistently declining.

A tendency, however, towards rise in urban primacy is noted in the case of all the four south Indian states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh and also in Maharashtra. Bihar, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh too display a similar tendency. A rise in urban primacy is recorded in Haryana and Gujarat as well.

By and large, the hill states exhibit a decline in their urban primacy. Decline in urban primacy is also apparent in the widely differing states of Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Punjab.

In brief:

- Contrary to what is observed in many developing countries, India's urbanisation morphology is not distorted to any inordinate degree of urban primacy. Its first city accounts for less than one-sixteenth of the total urban population and is only 1.1 times as big as the second ranking city.
- Various states and union territories of India differ widely in their urban primacy patterns. Broadly speaking, urban primacy is higher in the hill states, in the relatively industrialised and urbanised states, and also in most union territories. By contrast, it is distinctly low in the large, populous and less developed states. The states with dispersed pattern of agro-industrial development show a low urban primacy.
- Urban primacy is declining in India though at a very slow pace. The picture at the level of states and union territories is confusing and defies any firm generalisation. On the whole, India is a case of low and declining urban primacy both at the national and regional levels.

Notes and References

1. Mark Jefferson (1939): "The Law of the Primate City", *Geographical Review*, 29: 226-236.
2. Robert B. Potter (1985): *Urbanisation and Planning in the 3rd World, Spatial Perception and Public Participation*, Croom Helm, London, pp. 60-64.
3. A.S. Linsky (1965): "Some Generalisations Concerning Primate Cities", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 55: 506-513.
4. Michael Timberlake (ed) 1985: *Urbanisation in the World Economy*, Academic Press, Orlando.
5. C.A. Vapnarsky (1969): "On Rank Size Distributions of Cities: An Ecological Approach", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 17: 584-595.

Source

Inset 11 :

Harry H. Richardson, (1981): "Defining Urban Population Distribution Goals in Development Planning", United Nations, *Population Distribution Policies*, New York, p. 11.

13 *Urban Crowding*

Urban density, calculated as the ratio between urban population and urban area, gives an idea about the degree of crowding in towns. It reflects the population pressure on urban land. In the process it is also possible to obtain a picture of the intensity of urban land use.

India's urban places, with a total population of about 158 million (excluding Assam) and an area of nearly 53,000 sq.km., recorded a density of 3,000 persons per sq.km. or 30 persons per hectare in 1981 (Table 48). This is more than seven times the qualifying density of 400 persons per sq.km. for a town, according to the criterion laid down by the Indian census for classifying places as urban.

Among the different states, West Bengal shows the highest urban density (5,460 persons), followed by Uttar Pradesh (4,363), and Tripura (4,146). Punjab (3,875), Maharashtra (3,735), Haryana (3,702), and Andhra Pradesh (3,086) also have urban densities which are higher than the national average. All other states are on the lower side. The hill states of Nagaland (1,105), Himachal Pradesh (1,535) and Jammu & Kashmir (2,146) likewise have low urban densities. Orissa (1,359), Rajasthan (1,603), and Goa (1,824) are the other states where urban densities are distinctly low. Among the union territories, Delhi shows an urban density of 9,745 and Chandigarh of 6,191 persons. The urban density of Pondicherry (3,160) also exceeds the national average.

The variation in urban densities such as local topography, history of land settlement, and current rate of urban growth can be explained by a variety of factors. In India, urban density shows a positive relationship with the level of urbanisation in different states. Access to urban services, such as protected water supply and sanitation, is somewhat better in higher urban density situations. This indicates that it is easier to service and manage denser urban populations.

Table 48 India : Density of Urban Population by States and Union Territories, 1971 and 1981

State/Union Territory	Density of urban population per sq.km.	
	1971	1981
INDIA	2498	3000
States		
Andhra Pradesh	2359	3086
Arunachal Pradesh	N.A.	N.A.
Bihar	2031	2726
Goa	1653	1824
Gujarat	1624	2225
Haryana	3924	3702
Himachal Pradesh	1554	1535
Jammu & Kashmir	2182	2146
Karnataka	2272	2913
Kerala	2584	2668
Madhya Pradesh	2676	2170
Maharashtra	2554	3735
Manipur	3083	2478
Meghalaya	3853	2846
Mizoram	1764	382
Nagaland	1230	1105
Orissa	1113	1359
Punjab	4648	3875
Rajasthan	1198	1603
Sikkim	1967	N.A.
Tamil Nadu	2115	2722
Tripura	3875	4146
Uttar Pradesh	4355	4363
West Bengal	5624	5460
Union Territories		
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	3277	3520
Chandigarh	4044	6191
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	151	1032
Daman & Diu	1508	1860
Delhi	8172	9745
Lakshadweep	0	1757
Pondicherry	3425	3160

Source : Census of India, 1971 and 1981.

Note : All India figures exclude Assam in both 1971 and 1981. Data relating to urban area in Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim for 1981 are not available. Lakshadweep was entirely rural in 1971.

Urban density increased from 2,498 in 1971 to 3,000 in 1981, that is, a rise in density of about 20 percent. In comparison, urban population grew by 46.24 percent. New towns and urban extensions generally

have lower densities and these have had a moderating effect on the urban density increase. There has been further densification of most urban areas; and, if the rise in urban density is not as rapid as the urban population increase, it is because of some rural land which came under urban limits.

Cities carry higher densities. Population density exceeds 20,000 persons per sq.km. in four cities; it ranges between 10,000 and 20,000 persons in 34 cities; and between 5,000 and 10,000 persons in 87 cities (Table 49). The average population density of cities in India works out to around 6,000 persons which is twice the overall urban density of the country. Only 32 cities have a population density of less than 3,000.

The density of metropolitan cities tends to be even higher: over 9,000. Ahmedabad shows the highest density, followed by Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi. Their densities range from about 10,000 to over 25,000 persons per sq.km. Jaipur has the lowest density, with less than 5,000 persons per sq.km. The extent of disparities in the density of metropolitan cities is shown in Table 48.

The process of urban densification has not been uniform in all the states and union territories (Table 48). Urban densities declined in states such as Punjab, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh, where territorial jurisdictions of several towns were liberally extended. The same is the case with most of the hill states, such as Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Nagaland and Meghalaya, where the emergence of many new low-density towns moderated the overall urban density.

On the other hand, urban density increase is striking in Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Gujarat. Here existing towns registered fast population growth without any significant change in their territorial jurisdiction. Intensification of urban density is noted also in states such as Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh where the urban growth rate is notably rapid. Rajasthan too shows a fast rise in its urban density but the resultant density has not reached a high level due to its low initial base.

The urban density increase from 4,044 to 6,191 persons per sq.km. in the planned city of Chandigarh is spectacular. Delhi has also experienced during the 1971-81 period a striking density increase from 8,172 to 9,745 persons. It has the highest urban density among all the union territories and states. In comparison, there has been a decline in the urban density of Pondicherry, from 3,425 to 3,160 persons, by virtue of the extension of its urban limits.

Table 49 India : Grouping of Cities by Population Density, 1981

India/State/ Union Territory	Number of cities with a population density				Total
	Below 5,000	5,000- 10,000	10,000- 20,000	Above 20,000	
INDIA*	92	87	34	4	217**
States					
Andhra Pradesh	4	8	7	0	19
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0
Bihar	8	7	1	0	16
Goa	0	0	0	0	0
Gujarat	3	6	3	1	13
Haryana	5	6	0	0	11
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0
Jammu & Kashmir	2	0	0	0	2
Karnataka	7	9	1	0	17
Kerala	6	2	0	0	8
Madhya Pradesh	10	3	1	0	14
Maharashtra	9	7	7	2	25
Manipur	0	1	0	0	1
Meghalaya	0	1	0	0	1
Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0
Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0
Orissa	5	1	0	0	6
Punjab	1	5	1	0	7
Rajasthan	8	2	1	0	11
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	11	8	1	0	20
Tripura	0	1	0	0	1
Uttar Pradesh	8	13	8	1	30
West Bengal	5	5	2	0	12
Union Territories					
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	0	1	0	0	1
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	0	0	1	0	1
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	0	1	0	0	1

Source : Census of India, 1981.

* Excluding Assam.

**Population density of Hyderabad U.A. could not be calculated as the area figures were not available.

Table 50 India : Population Density of Metropolitan Cities, 1981

Name of the metropolitan city	Area (in km ²)	Population	Density (km ²)
Ahmadabad	98.5	25,480,57	25,866
Greater Bombay	437.7	8,243,405	18,833
Calcutta	852.2	9,194,018	10,788
Delhi	540.8	5,729,283	10,595
Bangalore	365.7	2,921,751	7,991
Madras	571.9	4,289,347	7,500
Lucknow	145.9	1,007,604	6,904
Kanpur	299.0	1,639,064	5,482
Nagpur	263.9	1,302,066	4,933
Pune	344.2	1,686,109	4,899
Jaipur	210.1	1,015,160	4,832
Hyderabad	N.A.	2,545,835	N.A.

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Table 51 India : Percentage of Developed and Undeveloped Urban Land by Population Size of Towns

Size class of towns	Percentage of	
	Developed land	Undeveloped land
One million and above	63.50	36.50
500,000 to one million	51.70	48.30
100,000 to 500,000	53.00	47.00
50,000 to 100,000	58.20	41.80
20,000 to 50,000	35.50	64.50
Below 20,000	22.20	77.80
All classes	46.60	53.40

Source : Town and Country Planning Organisation (1983): Urban Land Use and Density Patterns in India, New Delhi, p. 7. Data pertain to 407 sample towns for the years 1965 to 1975, depending upon the year in which the master plan of town was finalised.

Table 52 India : Land under Residential Use by Population Size of Towns

Size class of towns	Percentage of developed land given to residential use
One million and above	28.40
500,000 to one million	33.20
100,000 to 500,000	40.30
50,000 to 100,000	37.10
20,000 to 50,000	31.90
Below 20,000	22.90
All classes	35.70

Source : Same as Table 51.

The dimensions of the study of urban density are further magnified when we take into account the share of the developed lands and within that of the percentage of lands for residential use in the Indian towns. A study based on land use data for four hundred and seven towns/cities by the Town and Country Planning Organisation, New Delhi, brings to light that only 46.60 percent of urban the area in India is developed. This gives a net density of over 6,400 persons per sq.km. of developed urban land (Table 51). It is also revealed that only 35.70 percent of the developed land is devoted to residential use (Table 52). This signifies that population densities in residential parts of our towns/cities exceed 18,000

Table 53 India : Distribution of Vacant Land by Population Size of Towns

Size class of towns	Percentage of vacant land to the developed land
One million and above	25.40
500,000 to one million	10.70
100,000 to 500,000	12.70
50,000 to 100,000	16.20
20,000 to 50,000	15.40
Below 20,000	21.80
All classes	15.40

Source : Same as Table 51

persons per sq.km., in comparison with the gross urban density of only 3,000 persons per sq.km.

The data also show that as much as 15.40 percent of the developed land in urban places is vacant (Tables 53 and 54). This percentage tends to be over 25 in the case of metropolitan cities, leading to land speculation in bigger places. Also the development authorities have gone in for bulk acquisition of land in metropolitan cities but are developing such land in phases.

The fact that around one half of the land within the territorial jurisdiction of towns is undeveloped, being under agricultural or associated uses, is a rather comforting feature of our urbanisation. It indicates that our towns offer considerable scope for containing their future physical growth. All efforts, therefore, should be made to resist the temptation to extend the territorial jurisdiction of towns till the land available within has been developed for urban use.

In brief:

- The 1981 figure for urban density is 3,000 persons per sq.km. This density exceeds 6,000 persons, if worked out only for the developed part of urban land. The residential density of urban India is as high as 18,000 persons per sq.km.

Table 54 India : Land Use Classification of Developed Land in Towns

Size class of towns	Percentage of developed land	Percentage of developed land as							
		Residential	Commercial	Industrial	Parks and play-grounds	Public and semi-public	Roads and streets	Vacant land	Other uses (e.g. cantonments/defence installations)
One million and above	63.50	28.40	1.80	5.10	4.20	8.60	7.50	25.40	19.00
500,000 to one million	51.70	33.20	3.20	14.00	3.40	15.00	10.30	10.70	10.20
100,000 to 500,000	53.00	40.30	2.40	5.40	3.50	12.80	11.40	12.70	11.50
50,000 to 100,000	58.20	37.10	2.30	6.20	3.40	7.60	9.90	16.20	17.30
20,000 to 50,000	35.50	31.90	2.00	10.20	5.20	8.60	12.80	15.40	13.90
Below 20,000	22.20	22.90	2.50	5.20	1.90	9.90	11.10	21.80	24.70
All classes	46.60	35.70	2.30	6.80	3.70	10.80	10.90	15.40	14.40

Source : Same as Table 51.

- Cities have population densities which are twice the average for the country; in the case of metropolitan cities it is more than three times.
- Urban densities are generally higher in north Indian states than in their southern counterparts. Hill states have distinctly low urban densities.
- There has been further densification of urban places in India, to the extent of 20 percent, during 1971-81. This densification is more typical of relatively urbanised states.
- Around 50 percent of the lands in urban areas are undeveloped. This represents the capacity of towns to absorb future growth. As far as possible the tendency to extend the territorial jurisdiction of towns should be resisted.

14 Urban Poverty

The poverty line is based on the definition of a norm which takes nutritional requirements into account. All persons below that norm are classified as poor. The monetary value of the poverty line is specified separately for rural and urban areas.

Earlier the poverty line was taken at Rs. 49.09 per capita per month at 1973-74 prices corresponding to a daily calorie requirement of 2,400 per person in rural areas. The corresponding value for urban areas was Rs. 56.64 per capita per month corresponding to a calorie requirement of 2,100. The poverty line is defined as the midpoint of the monthly per capita expenditure of the class having a daily calorie intake of 2,400 per person in rural and 2,100 in urban areas.² Expenditure on nonfood items by a household is automatically covered by this method.

In determining poverty lines for 1983-84, the Planning Commission used a "poverty consumption deflator" as recommended by the Central Statistical Organisation, New Delhi. The calorie norms and their corresponding values in rupees worked out to somewhat lower levels. Such a change precludes any strict comparison of the 1983-84 data with those for any previous year.

Inset 12 : An Impending Urban Crisis

The cities of the developing countries are the centres which ought to serve as the basis of both industrial growth and social change. Instead, with a growing proportion of their inhabitants living at the margin of existence, and the quality of life deteriorating for all, the cities are spawning a culture of poverty that threatens the economic health of entire nations. Historically, violence and civil upheaval are more common in cities than in the countryside. Frustrations that fester among the urban poor are readily exploited by political extremists. If cities do not begin to deal constructively with poverty, poverty may well begin to deal more destructively with cities.

Table 55 India : Incidence of Urban and Rural Poverty by States, 1983-84

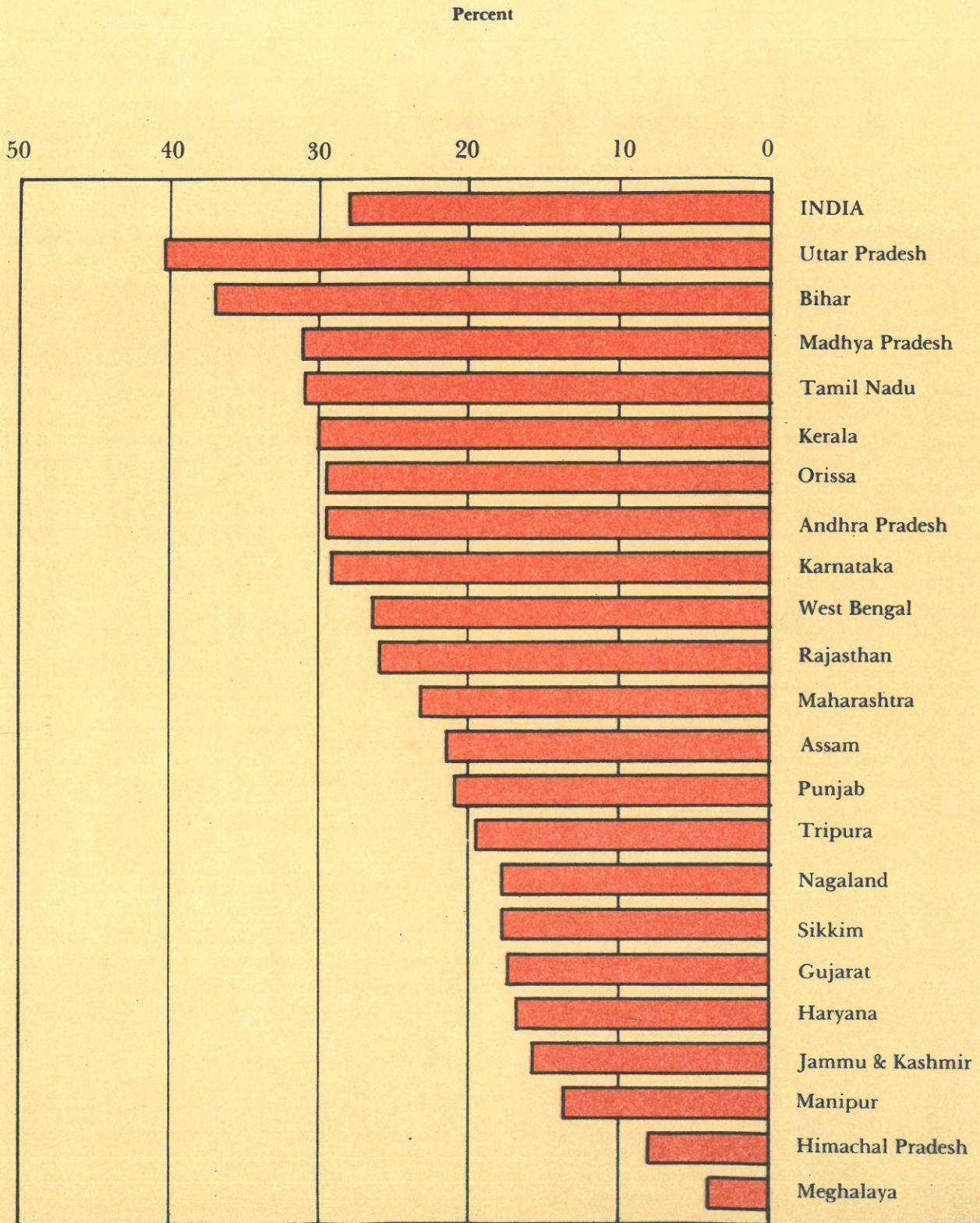
India/State	Percentage of population below poverty line			Rural-urban differential in percentage points
	Urban	Rural	Total	
INDIA	28.1	40.4	37.4	12.3
States				
Uttar Pradesh	40.3	46.5	45.3	6.3
Bihar	37.0	51.4	49.1	14.4
Maharashtra	23.3	41.5	34.9	28.2
West Bengal	26.5	43.8	39.2	17.3
Andhra Pradesh	29.5	38.7	36.4	9.2
Madhya Pradesh	31.1	50.3	46.2	19.2
Tamil Nadu	30.9	44.1	39.6	13.2
Karnataka	29.2	37.5	35.0	8.3
Rajasthan	26.1	36.6	34.3	10.5
Gujarat	17.3	27.6	24.3	10.3
Orissa	29.5	44.8	42.8	15.3
Kerala	30.1	26.1	26.8	-4.0
Assam	21.6	23.8	23.5	2.2
Punjab	21.0	10.9	13.8	-10.1
Haryana	16.9	15.2	15.6	-1.7
Jammu & Kashmir	15.8	16.4	16.3	0.6
Tripura	19.6	23.5	23.0	3.9
Himachal Pradesh	8.0	14.0	13.5	6.0
Manipur	13.8	11.7	12.3	-2.1
Meghalaya	4.0	33.7	28.0	29.7
Nagaland	17.7	47.4	28.0	29.7
Sikkim	17.7	47.4	27.1	29.7

Source : Planning Commission, New Delhi.

The 1983-84 estimates show that 28.1 percent of India's urban population is below the poverty line (Table 55). The corresponding figure for rural areas is 40.4 percent. The incidence of urban poverty is obviously lower than that of the rural. But this does not mean that we can afford to be complacent about the urban poverty situation. It is certainly at a high level in itself. The percentage of the urban poor will rise substantially if the earlier norms of defining the poverty line are adhered to.

The incidence of urban poverty is the highest in Uttar Pradesh (40.3 percent), Bihar (37.0 percent), and Madhya Pradesh (31.1 percent). Rural poverty is

Figure 7 India : Percentage of Urban Population Below the Poverty Line, 1983-84



all the more acute in their case. Here about half of the rural population is placed below the poverty line.

The south Indian states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala also appear to have a higher incidence of urban poverty. Around 30 percent of their urban population falls below the poverty line. Kerala deserves a special mention in this regard. The incidence of poverty is higher in urban areas in comparison with rural areas. In the remaining three states, the percentage of rural population below the poverty line is strikingly higher than that of the urban.

The incidence of urban poverty is low in the high income states of Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat and Maharashtra. All of these, barring Haryana, are more urbanised than India as a whole. Punjab and Haryana, like Kerala, are marked by a lower incidence of rural poverty as compared to urban poverty. The hill states, such as Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Meghalaya, and Nagaland, have lower percentages of urban population below the poverty line. The incidence of rural poverty is, of course, generally high in these states.

In brief:

- Urban poverty is greater in less urbanised states with low per capita income. The relatively more urbanised states, by comparison, are marked by lower incidence of urban poverty. The same is true of the less urbanised but relatively high income states. Urban poverty is more a function of the state's lower level of income than of its lower level of urbanisation. It is no wonder that urban and rural poverty rates are positively related to each other at the state level.
- The hill states distinguish themselves by a distinctly low percentage of urban population below the poverty line. This is despite the fact that they are far less urbanised.
- The south Indian states as a group show higher incidence of urban poverty than the national average.
- Urban poverty is generally less acute than rural in most of the Indian states. Punjab, Haryana, Kerala and Manipur are the sole exceptions where the incidence of urban poverty is higher than that of rural poverty. This can be attributed to their success in making a dent in rural backwardness.

Notes and References

1. Government of India: *Sixth Five Year Plan, 1980-85*, Planning Commission, New Delhi p. 7.
2. Kamta Prasad (1985): *Planning for Poverty Alleviation*, Agricole, New Delhi, p. 11.

Source

Inset 12 :

Yue-man Yeung and Francois Belisle (1986): "Third World Urban Development: Agency Responses with Particular Reference to IDRC," David Drakakis-Smith (ed): *Urbanisation in the Developing World*, Croom Helm, London, p. 107.

15 *Urban Slums*

The estimates of India's urban population living in slums vary. According to the information provided by the National Buildings Organisation, New Delhi, 18.75 percent of India's urban population was living in slums in 1981 (Table 56). The Seventh Plan document also adheres to this estimate.¹ The actual number involved was about 30 million out of a total urban population of nearly 160 million (including Assam). The slum population in urban India alone outnumbers the total population of all but twenty-five countries in the world.

The Task Force on Housing and Urban Development appointed by the Planning Commission, New Delhi, offered two estimates. The low estimate indicated that at least 20 percent of the urban population in India resided in slums in 1981. This figure would rise to 26 percent if a more liberal high estimate is made. If we take an average of the two which will work out to 23 percent, the numerical strength of urban slum dwellers will be over 36 million.

The share of slum population in the total has a positive relationship with the size of towns/cities. Going by the National Buildings Organisation's estimates, small and medium towns (populations less than 100,000 each) have about one-tenth of their population living in slums. This proportion increases to nearly one-fifth in cities with populations of 100,000 to 1,000,000. The "million" cities have almost one-third of their population in slums. This pattern is consistent with a higher rate of immigration to bigger cities which have a greater potential to offer employment.

The estimates of the Task Force are somewhat on the higher side. Small and medium towns have over one-sixth, cities with a population of 100,000 to 1,000,000 one-fifth, and the "million" cities over one-third of their population living in slums. The general observation that slums in big cities accommodate a large section of the population is substantiated.

Table 56 India : Estimated Slum Population by Size Class of Towns, 1981

Population size class of towns	Percentage of slum population	
	NBO's estimate	Task Force's estimate
Less than 100,000	10.66	17.5
100,000 to one million	18.93	21.5
More than one million	30.78	35.5
All classes	18.75	23.0

Source : 1. National Buildings Organisation, Handbook No. 3, Housing Statistics, 1981, New Delhi.
2. Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1983. Low and high estimates for slum population in Indian towns and cities are provided. These estimates were averaged for this Table.

Inset 13 : Urban Slums : Cancer or Panacea

In market or mixed economies, very few Third World governments gave much attention to housing problems in the 1950s and early 1960s. There was a widespread belief that the diversion of "scarce capital" to such ends was a waste since "economic development" would create the conditions for improved housing and a more productive economy in turn could provide more resources to invest more in social provision. If any thought was given to the rapidly growing illegal settlements, it was either to regard them as a transitory phenomenon which would soon go as the economy developed or to consider them as a "cancer" and thus in need of eradication.

Over the last two decades, the attitude of many governments towards the eradication of existing slums or shanty towns has changed. The fact that this simply destroyed some of the cheapest housing options open to the poor became evident to many city governments; eradication policies simply exacerbated the problem. New squatter settlements — especially on high quality high value sites — were still rarely tolerated. But governments became more reluctant to bulldoze existing illegal settlements unless the land was needed for public projects. Certainly part of the reason was the sheer size of the problem.

The percentage of slum population in urban population in different states and union territories

varies sharply (Table 57). Bihar, the state with one of the lowest per capita incomes in the country, has the distinction of having the highest percentage of urban population (37.5) living in slums. Another noticeable feature of this state is an almost equally high percentage of slum dwellers in different size categories of towns.

Table 57 India : Percentage of Urban Population Living in Slums by States and Union Territories, 1981

India/State/ Union Territory	Percentage of slum population in towns with a population of			
	Less than 100,000	100,000- 1,000,000	More than 1,000,000	Total
INDIA	10.66	18.93	30.78	23.00
States				
Bihar	37.50	37.48	37.51	37.50
Maharashtra	22.50	32.49	37.50	32.62
West Bengal	17.49	27.48	37.49	31.53
Andhra Pradesh	32.50	32.50	22.51	30.47
Punjab	22.49	27.48	37.49	31.53
Gujarat	17.49	17.82	22.50	18.84
Tamil Nadu	12.49	15.00	32.50	18.75
Orissa	17.45	19.95	N.Ap.	18.49
Assam	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	17.46
Haryana	7.47	22.49	N.Ap.	15.98
Uttar Pradesh	7.49	17.49	40.63	15.76
Madhya Pradesh	17.50	12.50	N.Ap.	15.15
Karnataka	14.43	12.49	10.43	14.43
Rajasthan	9.98	14.95	27.50	14.06
Kerala	7.49	9.98	N.Ap.	8.81
Union Territories				
Delhi	N.Ap.	N.Ap.	47.50	47.50
Chandigarh	N.Ap.	12.47	N.Ap.	12.47

Source : Task Force on Housing and Urban Development, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1983.

Andhra Pradesh, again with a low per capita income, has nearly one-third of its urban population in slums. The proportion of slum dwellers in the metropolitan city of Hyderabad is, however, strikingly less than that in other towns and cities of this state. The Hyderabad experience of resettlement of slum dwellers in newly built colonies is adjudged as a success story by professionals in the field. In comparison, the other low income states of Orissa, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan are characterised by a relatively small proportion (one-seventh to one-sixth) of slum population in urban places. Small and medium towns, in particular, show much lower proportions. But it is in Kerala where one finds the lowest percentage (8.81) of urban population in slums. Also the proportion of urban population in slums does not vary much by size category of towns. Karnataka is another south Indian state which is characterised by a low percentage (14.43) of slum population. The

per capita income of both the states is lower than the national average.

The relatively more urbanised states of Maharashtra and West Bengal, having the megapolises of Bombay and Calcutta respectively, have nearly one-third of their urban population as slum dwellers. In comparison, Tamil Nadu, another relatively urbanised state and also containing the megapolis of Madras, has less than one-fifth of its urban population living in slums.

Punjab, the state with the highest per capita income in the country, has about one-fourth of its urban population living in slums. Gujarat, another relatively developed state, has nearly one-fifth.

Among the metropolitan cities, Bangalore is noted for the lowest proportion, one in every ten persons, of slum dwellers. Even the completely planned city of Chandigarh has one in every eight of its residents in slums. Delhi has almost a half of its population living in slums.

Indeed a high concentration of slum population in metropolitan cities is a typical feature of the developing countries. The available data for selected cities pertaining to the years around 1970, substantiates this statement (Table 58). It is learnt that a majority of the population in many of the metropolitan cities in Africa and Latin America live in slums. The comparable figures for the Asian cities are somewhat lower. This difference is explained by a much faster pace of urbanisation, more particularly of metropolitanisation in Africa and Latin America, than in Asia. Among the Indian cities, Calcutta had 33 percent of its population in slums in 1971, Delhi 30 percent, and Bombay 25 percent. These percentages are estimated to have risen to around 50 percent by now.

The emergence of slums is essentially the product of three forces: demographic dynamism of a city, its incapacity to meet the rising demand for housing, and existing urban land policies which prohibit the access of the poor to the urban land market. The poor are left with no choice but to make or take shelter illegally on any available piece of land. Sometimes a slum is the consequence of blight in the old parts of the city. At times, a slum is inherited in the form of an old village or a haphazardly growing locality within the extended territorial limits of a town. The first situation, wherein poor migrants squat and settle on any public or private land, is much more typical.

Table 58 Developing World : Incidence of Slums and Squatter Areas in Some Selected Cities

Name of the city (with country)	Percentage of slum and squatter dwellers in city population	Year
Addis Ababa (Ethiopia)	90	1968
Abadan (Nigeria)	75	1971
Bogotá (Colombia)	60	1969
Ankara (Turkey)	60	1970
Accra (Ghana)	53	1968
Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania)	50	1970
Lusaka (Zambia)	48	1969
Mexico City (Mexico)	46	1970
Colombo (Sri Lanka)	43	1968
Lima (Peru)	40	1970
Caracas (Venezuela)	40	1969
Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia)	37	1971
Manila (Philippines)	35	1972
Nairobi (Kenya)	33	1970
Calcutta (India)	33	1971
Delhi (India)	30	1971
Seoul (South Korea)	30	1970
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	30	1970
Baghdad (Iraq)	29	1965
Jakarta (Indonesia)	26	1972
Bombay (India)	25	1971
Karachi (Pakistan)	23	1970
Kabul (Afghanistan)	21	1971
Hong Kong (Hong Kong)	16	1969
Singapore (Singapore)	15	1970

Source : Johannes F. Linn (1983): *Cities in the Developing World, Policies for their Equitable and Efficient Growth*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 12-13.

Note : Definitions of slums and squatter areas differ from country to country. The above data present the roughest of comparisons of the slum population in different cities.

At the heart of the whole problem is the issue of housing or the provision of shelter to the poor. The situation is worsening with the passage of time because neither the government nor the poor have adequate resources for the poor. A desirable shift towards meeting this situation, however, is already visible in Indian planning. Now pragmatic lines of action are being pursued, notably, the environmental improvement of slums, and sites and services schemes. A climate in favour of low cost housing through self help is being built. The basic issue of urban land policy, wherein access of the poor to the land is increased, deserves serious thought.

Resource scarcity is a major constraint in achieving the desired success of the Environmental Improvement of Urban Slums Programme. The per capita cost of the implementation of this programme is estimated at Rs. 500. If the slum population of India was estimated at around 40 million in the mid 1980s, the Seventh Plan allocation of funds for this population should have been in the region of Rs. 2,000 crores. The actual outlay however is only Rs. 270 crores. Likewise if the urban population of India is taken as 200 million in 1985 and if Rs. 500 per capita were allocated for urban development, the requisite amount would be Rs. 10,000 crores. The Seventh Plan outlay for urban development is again, only Rs. 1,801 crores. All this bears testimony to the relative neglect to which the urban sector has been subjected.

In brief:

- Around one-fifth of India's urban population lives in slums. This proportion is rising with time. The growth rate of the slum population, largely through continuing immigration, is significantly faster than that of other segments of the urban population.
- The share of slum population differs by town size. It is one-tenth of the population in towns with populations of less than 100,000; one-fifth in towns with a population of 100,000 to 1,000,000; and nearly one-third in the metropolitan cities.
- The percentage of slum population ranges from the low of 8.81 in Kerala to the highest of 37.50 in Bihar. The hill states are distinguished by a low percentage of slum population. The incidence of slum population shows a positive correlation with the level of urbanisation and the share of cities in urban population. Its relationship with the income level of various states is indifferent. Punjab, in particular, with the highest per capita income in the country, has a relatively high proportion of slum population living in its towns.

Notes and References

1. Government of India, *Seventh Five Year Plan*, Vol. II, Planning Commission, New Delhi, p. 671.

Source

Inset 13 :

Jorge E. Hardoy and David Satterthwaite (1986): "Shelter, Infrastructure and Services in Third World Cities," *Habitat International*, 10, 3: p. 21 and 25.

16 Urban Population Future Estimates

Urban population projections are a prerequisite for any future action in the area of urban development. The hazards involved in making such projections are fairly well-known. Projections of this kind tend to differ according to the assumptions on which they are based.

The projections made for India's population can be divided into two groups:

- i. Projections made prior to the 1981 census, that is, using the data of 1971 and earlier censuses; these provide scope for testing their accuracy *vis-a-vis* the actual situation as it emerged in 1981.
- ii. Projections made after the results of the 1981 census became available.

The Office of the Registrar General, India, estimated that in 1981 the percentage of urban to total population would be 22.04.¹ The actual percentage turned out to be 23.31 (23.70 excluding Assam), thus placing the projection of the Registrar General as an underestimate. In fact, the actuals proved the projections as underestimates in all but six states. The six exceptions are Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Tripura, Assam, Himachal Pradesh and Goa. Here the actual percentage of urban population in 1981 turned out to be lower than the projected one. In all other states, the actual percentage emerged as higher than the projected. This is particularly so in the case of Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Manipur, and Nagaland where the actual percentage of urban population was higher by more than two percent points than the anticipated (Table 59).

The union territories present a somewhat different picture. The percentage of urban population had been projected higher than the actual for Delhi, Pondicherry and Chandigarh. These territories had experienced sizeable migration to both their urban and rural segments but proportionately more to the latter. Consequently their rural

population grew faster than the urban. The figure for Andaman & Nicobar Islands is also an underestimate but of little consequence since the size of urban population involved is small.

Earlier Ambannavar had projected the urban population of India in 1981 at 22.19 percent (Table 60).² This again proved as underestimation. Ambannavar worked out that India's urban population would add up to 23.63 percent in 1986, a figure which was realised much earlier in 1981. His

Inset 14 : Future Urban Challenges

Evaluations of urbanization trends and strategies, in both industrialised and Third World countries, to date generally point to three basic challenges to future policy:

- That major spatial shifts in population and economic activities (inter-national, inter-regional, and inter-urban), whether they tend towards concentration or deconcentration, are likely to continue indefinitely to shape and reshape our urban systems. An effective response thus requires a better understanding of long-range patterns of change and the capacity to shape them through public policy.

- That such shifts are both a response to and a major cause of significant disparities in the distribution of levels and burdens of social welfare and of urban services. Equalization of such levels, within large scale complex systems demands a continuous balancing function. This invariably requires strong coordinated redistribution policies at higher levels within the system.

- That well-intentioned redistribution strategies designed to correct an imbalance within spatial systems frequently result instead in intensifying that very imbalance, or in creating new long-range demands and pressures which are more difficult and costly to satisfy. This is particularly true in rapidly changing LDCs with market and mixed economies, where spatial development is characterized by major time lags and discontinuities over the long-range. Inflexible spatial development and urbanization strategies thus face the risk of becoming more restrictive than adaptive and may prove to be costly in the long run.

Table 59 India : Projected Percentage of Urban Population to Total Population as on 1 March by States and Union Territories, 1971-91

India/State/Union Territory	Actual	Projected	Percentage of urban population			Actual
	1971	1971	1981	1986	1991	1981
INDIA	19.90	20.95	22.04	23.16	24.33	23.31*
States						
Andhra Pradesh	19.30	20.36	21.48	22.63	23.79	23.32
Arunachal Pradesh	3.69	4.05	4.44	4.81	5.18	6.55
Assam	8.87	9.75	10.64	11.56	12.49	10.30
Bihar	10.00	10.74	11.51	12.30	13.09	12.47
Goa**	26.43	31.72	37.07	42.55	48.07	32.37
Gujarat	28.08	28.87	30.02	31.07	32.12	31.09
Haryana	17.65	18.41	19.17	19.98	20.80	21.88
Himachal Pradesh	6.99	7.45	7.94	8.42	8.93	7.61
Jammu & Kashmir	18.57	19.50	20.44	21.43	22.43	21.04
Karnataka	24.31	25.56	26.82	28.14	29.48	28.90
Kerala	16.24	17.14	18.05	19.01	19.96	18.74
Madhya Pradesh	16.19	17.39	18.49	19.64	20.81	20.30
Maharashtra	31.16	32.85	34.61	36.42	38.26	35.03
Manipur	13.14	15.40	17.69	20.02	22.37	26.42
Meghalaya	14.53	15.81	17.09	18.45	19.79	18.06
Mizoram	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Nagaland	9.88	11.13	12.43	13.73	15.05	15.51
Orissa	8.41	9.24	10.09	10.96	11.84	11.79
Punjab	23.72	24.96	26.22	27.54	28.88	27.68
Rajasthan	17.63	18.00	18.47	18.72	19.39	21.04
Sikkim	9.36	11.96	14.58	17.25	19.99	16.14
Tamil Nadu	30.25	31.99	33.66	35.47	37.29	32.95
Tripura	10.43	11.50	12.60	13.73	14.87	10.98
Uttar Pradesh	14.02	14.45	14.89	15.37	15.87	17.95
West Bengal	24.74	25.90	27.09	28.32	29.59	26.47
Union Territories						
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	22.77	23.04	23.53	24.01	24.42	26.30
Chandigarh	90.49	94.71	98.98	100.00	100.00	93.63
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Delhi	89.67	92.51	95.41	98.52	99.61	92.73
Lakshadweep	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry	42.03	51.16	60.39	69.56	79.35	42.03

Source : Census of India, 1971, India 1971 Series 1, Paper 1, Report of the Expert Committee on Population Projections, Registrar General of India, New Delhi, p. 202.

- * 23.70 excluding Assam.
- ** Includes Daman & Diu.

projections for 1991 (25.08 percent) and 2001 (29.02) are also likely to be left far behind by the emerging scenario.

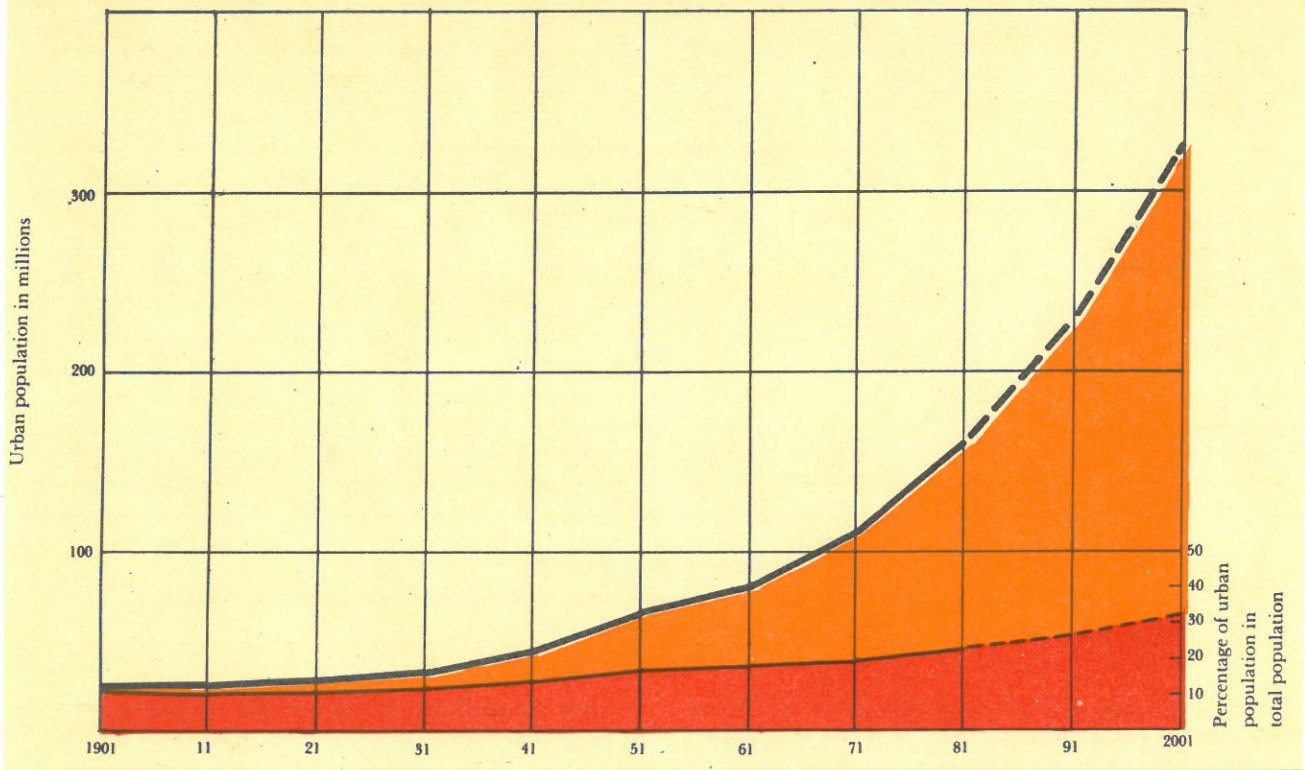
Incidentally, the Planning Commission (Draft Fifth Five Year Plan, 1974-79) expected India to become 23.4 percent urban in 1984 (Table 61). This figure too has been realised by 1982.

The *World Development Report 1982* had estimated India's urban population at 22 percent in 1980. The annual increment in India's urban population during 1971-81 was of the order of 0.3 percent points. The World Bank estimate could be deemed as yielding 22.3 percent as the share of urban population in 1981. This clearly falls short of the actual figure of 23.31 percent in 1981.

The projections made by the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, stand closest to the actuals.³ An urban population of 155 million was anticipated in 1980. This is close to the figure of 160 million in 1981. The credibility of this projection is further enhanced by a fairly accurate projection of population of cities such as Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi. According to this study, India's urban population is likely to grow to 236 million in 1990 and further to 361 million in the year 2000.

Subsequent to the 1981 census, at least two projections, based on rigorous analysis of data, are available for India's urban population in 1991 and 2001. The first came from the Task Force on

Figure 8 India : Growth of Urban Population, 1901-2001



Housing and Urban Development, Planning Commission, Government of India, and the second from the Expert Committee on Population Projections set up by the Registrar General, Census of India.

The Task Force anticipates that India's population will be 27-28 percent urban in 1991, and 31-32 percent in 2001 (Table 62). This yields an absolute

Table 60 India : Projected Total, Rural and Urban Population, and Percentage of Urban Population (Medium Projections) in 1971-2011

Year	Population in thousands			Percentage of urban population
	Total	Rural	Urban	
1971	547,950	438,855	109,095	19.91
1976	612,154	483,296	128,858	21.05
1981	682,500	531,053	151,447	22.19
1986	758,793	579,490	179,303	23.63++
1991	839,296	628,801	210,495	25.08
1996	921,453	672,200	249,253	27.05+
2000*	998,689	709,868	288,821	28.92++
2001	1,002,879	711,844	291,035	29.02
2006	1,082,453	735,743	346,710	32.03+
2007**	1,095,900	738,856	357,044	32.58++
2011	1,158,844	752,785	406,059	35.04

Source : Jaipal P. Ambannavar (1975): Population: Second India Series, p. 74.

* 31 December 2000.

** 1 March 2007.

+ Average of the percentage at the beginning and end of the decade.

++ Interpolated.

Table 61 India : Urban Population Actuals for 1971 and Estimates for 1974, 1979, 1984 and 1986 (as on 1 March)

Year	Population (in millions)		Percentage of urban population to total
	Urban	Total	
1971	108.9	546.9	19.9
1974	219.9	581.2	20.6
1979	139.5	636.8	21.9
1984	160.2	685.8	23.4
1986	168.8	705.2	24.0

Source : Draft Fifth Five Year Plan : 1974-75, Planning Commission, New Delhi, p. 2.

increase in urban population by about 70 million during 1981-91, and a further addition of 80-85 million during 1991-2001. As such, India's urban population would reach a figure of 320 million at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The share of class I towns (with populations of at least 100,000) is expected to increase from about 60 percent in 1981 to 64.50 percent in 2001. Indeed the value of the Task Force projections lies in the fact that these have been made available not only for India as a whole but also for the different states and union territories and also by size classes of towns.

The Expert Committee projections match with those of the Task Force for 1991 but differ for 2001. The Expert Committee also anticipates that India's

Table 62 India : Projections of Urbanisation to the Year 2001

(a) Levels of Urbanisation (percent)										
	1981		1986		1991		1996		2001	
Urban variant I	23.53		25.57		27.52		29.35		31.04	
Urban variant II	23.53		25.38		27.32		29.35		31.47	

(b) Urban and Rural Population Projections (in millions)										
	1981		1986		1991		1996		2001	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Urban variant I	164	533	198	578	236	620	275	661	315	701
Urban variant II	164	533	197	579	234	622	275	661	320	696

(c) Implied Rates of Population Growth (percent per annum)									
	1981-86		1986-91		1991-96		1996-2001		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
Urban variant I	3.84	1.63	3.49	1.44	3.10	1.29	2.75	1.18	
Urban variant II	3.73	1.67	3.50	1.44	3.28	1.22	3.08	1.03	

Source : Task Force on Housing and Urban Development (1983), Planning of Urban Development, Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi.

- Notes : 1. (i) Urban Variant I : Urban Rural Growth Differences 1981-86—2.2 percent, 1986-91—2.0 percent, 1991-96—1.8 percent and 1996-2001—1.6 percent.
(ii) Urban Variant II : Urban-Rural Growth Differences constant at 2 percent over the whole.
2. 1981 Population taken as 697 million, after making corrections for omission rate for both urban and rural areas, separately.
3. Projections assume terminal year population growth rate as 1.6 percent.

urban population is likely to reach 230 million or 27.49 percent of the total in 1991. For the year 2001 however, the Expert Committee projects India's urban population on the higher side at 326 million or 33.06 percent of the total. If one goes by past experience, both the projections may prove to be underestimates, and India may well have to manage a bigger size of urban population than the projected

ones. A summary of the various urban population projections discussed above is given in Table 63.

Table 64 presents data with regard to the projected urban population in various states and union territories of India for the years 1991 and 2001.⁴ It shows that India's urban population will more than double, from around 160 million in 1981 to 326 million in 2001, within a short span of twenty years. This implies that India's urban population will be augmented by at least the same magnitude within two decades as it has been able to acquire so far through the historical processes. The impending magnitude of the urbanisation problem is written on the wall.

The Expert Committee anticipates that the less developed states such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh would urbanise faster than the national average. Their urban population is expected to increase by two or three times during 1981-2001. The same is expected in the case of Haryana. In fact, the north Indian states are expected to urbanise faster than their south Indian counterparts. Regional disparities in urbanisation levels will get reduced in the process since north India is less urbanised than south India.

The states in the Northeastern Region are also projected to urbanise faster. Their urban population size is expected to grow by more than three times

Table 63 India : A Summary of Urban Population Projections

Source	Estimated urban population (in millions)		
	1981	1991	2001
Planning Commission (1973)	160 (in 1984)	—	—
J.P. Ambannavar (1975)	151 (22.20)	210 (25.10)	191 (29.02)
Expert Committee (1979)	148 (22.04)	194 (24.33)	—
United Nations (1980)	155 (in 1980)	236 (in 1990)	361 (in 2000)
The World Bank (1981)	148 (22.00)	—	—
Pre-1981 Projections			
Task Force (1983)	—	234 to 235 (27.32 to 27.52)	315 to 320 (31.04 to 31.47)
Expert Committee (Undated)	—	230 (27.49)	326 (33.06)

Note : Figures in parentheses are percentages unless otherwise indicated. These figures may be compared with India's actual urban population of 160 million in 1981.

during the two decades of 1981-2001. Nevertheless their urbanisation levels would remain low because of the small initial base.

Among the union territories, Delhi and Chandigarh are expected to maintain their previous trend of rapid urban growth. Their urban population size will grow by two to three times of what it was in 1981. The magnitude of the urbanisation problem of Delhi will be colossal, especially when the future population of towns on its periphery located in the adjoining states is also taken into account. The same holds good for Chandigarh but in smaller measure.

Notwithstanding what has been stated above, India will remain two-thirds rural at the dawn of the

next century. Its projected urban population of 126 million in 2001 will make only one-third of the total. India started as one-tenth urban at the beginning of the twentieth century and will be one-third urban at its close.

In brief:

- Virtually all the urban population projections made before 1981 were underestimates by the actual census count. The estimates made by the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations are so far closest to actuals realised at the time of the 1981 census.
- Most of the urban population projections are in aggregate terms, that is, for India as a whole. Only

Table 64 India : Actual and Projected Urban Population by States and Union Territories

India/State/Union Territory	Population (in millions)				
	Actual 1981	Projected		Ratio between actual in 1981 and projected in	
		1991	2001	1991	2001
INDIA	159.72	230.15	326.04	1:1.44	1:2.04
States					
Andhra Pradesh	12.48	17.90	24.21	1:1.43	1:1.94
Arunachal Pradesh	0.04	0.07	0.12	1:1.75	1:3.00
Assam	2.04	2.96	4.07	1:1.45	1:1.99
Bihar	8.71	13.53	21.04	1:1.55	1:2.41
Goa*	0.35	0.50	0.61	1:1.43	1:1.74
Gujarat	10.60	14.11	17.80	1:1.33	1:1.68
Haryana	2.82	4.57	7.06	1:1.62	1:1.50
Himachal Pradesh	0.32	0.42	0.51	1:1.31	1:1.59
Jammu & Kashmir	1.26	1.77	2.39	1:1.40	1:1.90
Karnataka	10.73	15.68	22.00	1:1.46	1:2.05
Kerala	4.77	6.58	8.96	1:1.38	1:1.88
Madhya Pradesh	10.58	16.34	24.51	1:1.54	1:2.32
Maharashtra	21.99	29.56	38.32	1:1.34	1:1.74
Manipur	0.37	0.54	0.73	1:1.43	1:1.97
Meghalaya	0.24	0.40	0.70	1:1.66	1:2.92
Mizoram	0.12	0.23	0.40	1:1.91	1:3.33
Nagaland	0.12	0.25	0.46	1:2.08	1:3.83
Orissa	3.11	5.19	8.43	1:1.67	1:2.71
Punjab	4.64	6.50	8.92	1:1.40	1:1.92
Rajasthan	7.20	11.34	17.75	1:1.57	1:2.46
Sikkim	0.05	0.10	0.18	1:2.00	1:3.60
Tamil Nadu	15.95	20.17	24.38	1:1.26	1:1.52
Tripura	0.22	0.29	0.37	1:1.31	1:1.68
Uttar Pradesh	19.88	32.01	53.16	1:1.61	1:2.67
West Bengal	14.41	18.85	23.99	1:1.33	1:1.70
Union Territories					
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.05	0.09	0.15	1:1.8	1:3.00
Chandigarh	0.42	0.72	1.15	1:1.71	1:2.74
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Delhi	5.76	8.81	12.90	1:1.53	1:2.24
Lakshadweep	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry	0.31	0.44	0.54	1:1.42	1:1.74

Source : Report of the Expert Committee on Population Projections (Undated), Office of the Registrar General, Census of India, New Delhi.

* Includes the union territory of Daman & Diu.

a few exercises attempted estimates for individual states/union territories or individual towns. There is a need to devise reliable techniques for estimating the future population of individual towns whose growth behaviour is much more flexible than that of the aggregate population.

- Since projections made by the Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations have proved more dependable and their estimates are on the higher side, it seems that in all likelihood India will have to grapple with urbanisation problems of a bigger size in the year 2001 than the ones indicated by the Task Force of the Planning Commission or the Expert Committee of the Census of India. Such a possibility is all the more great when India's

future five year plans are likely to aim at successively higher rates of economic growth.

- India's urban population is projected to increase by more than 100 percent during the short span of 1981-2001. This would mean an absolute addition of over 160 million to the existing urban population of around 160 million. The less developed states are likely to urbanise at a faster rate than the more developed ones. Regional disparities in the levels of urbanisation are likely to decline over time.
- Despite the phenomenal increase in urban population, India will remain two-thirds rural at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

Notes and References

1. Census of India, 1971, India, Series 1, Paper 1 of 1979.
2. Jaipal P. Ambannavar (1975): Population: Second India Series, New Delhi, p. 74.
3. United Nations (1980): *Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth*, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, New York, pp. 140-142.
4. The National Institute of Urban Affairs, New Delhi, carried out an exercise to project the urban population of every district in India for the years 1991 and 2001. The Urban Rural Growth Differential method, as suggested in the U.N. studies, was used after making necessary modifications. The results obtained are available from the computer unit of the Institute.

Source

Inset 14:

Salah El-Shakhs (1982): "The Urban Future: Challenge and Policy Implications", *Development* 2: 69-70.

Annexure I India : Districtwise Urban Population, Urban Growth Rate and Level of Urbanisation

India/State/Union Territory District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
INDIA	78,155,315	107,824,755	157,680,171	37.96	46.24	18.24	20.21	23.70	227,643,997	322,446,003
ANDHRA PRADESH										
Adilabad	156,369	205,087	316,983	31.16	54.56	15.49	15.92	19.34	469,616	656,568
Anantapur	307,627	375,790	530,917	22.16	41.28	17.40	17.77	20.84	737,925	1,001,228
Chittoor	219,601	307,454	462,142	40.01	50.31	11.53	13.56	16.88	674,236	944,053
Cuddapah	177,113	223,643	374,503	26.27	67.46	13.20	14.18	19.37	581,227	819,707
East Godavari	483,477	593,594	822,180	22.78	38.51	18.54	19.23	22.21	1,124,899	1,510,431
Guntur	522,472	710,633	945,702	36.01	33.08	22.45	24.98	27.53	1,249,381	1,630,925
Hyderabad	1,191,687	1,682,165	2,260,702	41.16	34.39	100.00	99.98	100.00	2,881,665	3,444,699
Karimnagar	114,514	210,467	384,730	83.79	82.80	7.06	10.72	15.79	637,238	932,551
Khammam	128,370	186,108	297,386	44.98	59.79	12.14	13.59	16.98	452,629	644,891
Krishna	488,224	679,552	992,062	39.19	45.99	23.51	27.25	32.54	1,376,645	1,794,032
Kurnool	328,925	402,449	589,599	22.35	46.50	20.94	20.30	24.49	832,454	1,119,257
Mahbubnagar	159,691	173,322	267,221	8.54	54.18	10.04	8.97	10.93	403,173	589,846
Medak	94,880	124,986	216,404	31.73	73.14	7.70	8.51	11.97	350,551	520,517
Nalgonda	146,576	121,689	259,517	-16.98	113.26	9.41	6.69	11.38	480,672	746,424
Nellore	201,712	253,797	418,389	25.82	64.85	14.32	15.59	20.76	641,414	896,946
Nizamabad	148,298	209,382	322,653	41.19	54.10	14.57	15.94	19.21	477,419	667,967
Prakasam	164,474	212,628	349,277	29.28	64.27	9.84	11.07	14.99	541,837	780,032
Rangareddi	90,991	156,924	376,997	72.46	140.24	10.46	14.15	23.83	722,188	1,069,056
Srikakulam	118,116	163,616	213,404	38.52	30.43	7.59	9.24	10.89	286,819	400,277
Vishakhapatnam	326,420	517,449	805,961	58.52	55.76	19.60	25.42	31.28	1,169,114	1,553,285
Vizianagaram	173,139	220,158	287,499	27.16	30.59	12.27	13.85	15.94	382,599	520,442
Warangal	217,859	251,249	396,474	15.33	57.80	14.10	13.43	17.24	596,699	843,157
West Godavari	313,973	420,385	596,874	33.89	41.98	15.87	17.71	20.77	832,597	1,131,707
Total	6,274,508	8,402,527	12,487,576	33.92	48.62	17.44	19.31	23.32	17,902,997	24,217,998
ARUNACHAL PRADESH										
Dibang Valley	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
East Kameng	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
East Siang	0	5,116	9,139	0.00	78.64	0.00	10.44	12.97	17,206	27,574
Lohit	0	4,182	6,239	0.00	49.19	0.00	8.78	8.98	11,746	18,824
Lower Subansiri	0	0	14,116	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	12.53	26,577	42,591
Tirap	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
Upper Subansiri	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
West Kameng	0	3,172	3,860	0.00	21.69	0.00	6.31	6.10	7,267	11,646
West Siang	0	4,818	8,074	0.00	67.58	0.00	8.13	10.89	15,201	24,361
Total	0	17,288	41,428	0.0	139.63	0.0	3.70	6.56	77,997	124,996
BIHAR										
Aurangabad	27,474	50,202	85,887	82.73	71.08	3.31	4.94	6.94	146,227	247,990
Begusarai	96,908	105,833	154,051	9.21	45.56	10.15	9.22	10.58	233,507	373,407
Bhagalpur	186,719	221,868	307,211	18.82	38.47	10.91	10.61	11.72	448,957	704,545
Bhojpur	131,336	170,571	258,157	29.87	51.35	7.93	8.55	10.72	400,727	643,390
Darbhanga	103,016	132,059	176,301	28.19	33.50	7.70	8.14	8.78	252,939	399,785
Dhanbad	289,913	638,028	1,070,700	120.08	67.81	24.51	43.51	50.62	1,665,935	2,387,487
Gaya	196,930	239,797	340,004	21.77	41.79	9.49	9.41	10.85	505,590	800,611
Giridih	105,901	180,696	246,934	70.63	36.66	9.63	13.15	14.26	355,780	549,402
Gopalganj	23,482	29,309	68,005	24.81	132.03	2.53	2.65	4.99	142,769	264,551
Hazariabag	95,283	208,083	332,103	118.38	59.60	7.49	12.64	15.11	530,427	847,076
Katihar	59,344	80,121	134,597	35.01	67.99	6.51	7.05	9.42	224,960	373,933
Madhubani	36,133	42,836	72,403	18.55	69.02	2.26	2.26	3.11	123,851	216,216
Munger	278,291	356,232	466,688	28.01	31.01	12.27	12.98	14.08	653,078	996,760
Muzaffarpur	109,048	126,379	190,416	15.89	50.67	6.82	6.62	8.08	296,991	485,377
Nalanda	87,614	121,505	223,213	38.68	83.71	8.05	9.30	13.60	389,953	641,157
Nawada	40,694	50,006	73,061	22.88	46.10	5.49	5.59	6.65	112,015	183,395
Palamu	56,164	70,557	108,108	25.63	53.22	4.73	4.69	5.64	171,773	287,083
Pashchim Champaran	84,935	117,171	144,548	37.95	23.36	6.41	7.38	7.33	197,060	307,879
Patna	506,282	680,288	1,120,689	34.37	64.74	27.19	30.22	37.12	1,744,094	2,552,152
Purba Champaran	60,710	67,540	112,873	11.25	67.12	3.61	3.45	4.65	190,674	327,780

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Purnia	126,253	169,923	286,786	34.59	68.77	5.80	6.06	7.98	483,233	813,565
Ranchi	202,478	356,927	642,409	76.28	79.98	9.47	13.67	20.92	1,074,734	1,666,940
Rohtas	100,365	153,312	230,095	52.75	50.08	6.47	7.89	9.72	356,240	574,929
Saharsa	67,427	106,475	168,968	57.91	58.69	3.57	4.53	5.72	274,806	462,789
Samastipur	51,406	57,101	88,049	11.08	54.20	3.49	3.32	4.16	140,998	238,235
Santhal Pargana	142,952	183,577	256,093	28.42	39.50	5.34	5.76	6.89	379,853	612,173
Saran	88,264	98,401	169,453	11.48	72.21	6.10	5.76	8.13	288,643	485,800
Singhbhum	440,651	639,764	917,698	45.19	43.44	21.50	26.24	32.07	1,309,630	1,871,995
Sitamarhi	21,636	49,942	87,341	130.83	74.88	1.56	3.16	4.52	152,159	264,692
Siwan	38,170	51,822	78,426	35.77	51.34	3.15	3.54	4.41	123,879	207,803
Vaishali	58,141	77,641	107,723	33.54	38.74	5.13	5.76	6.48	159,519	258,102
Total	3,913,920	5,633,966	8,718,990	43.95	54.76	8.43	10.00	12.47	13,531,001	21,046,999
GOA										
Goa	87,329	203,243	322,785	132.73	58.82	14.80	25.56	32.03	504,000	610,000
Total	87,329	203,243	322,785	132.73	58.82	14.80	25.56	32.03	504,000	610,000
GUJARAT										
Ahmadabad	1,343,579	1,945,814	2,781,078	44.82	42.93	63.07	66.86	71.76	3,598,200	4,256,948
Amreli	142,570	168,746	220,342	18.36	30.58	21.35	19.88	20.42	285,175	374,307
Banas Kantha	70,654	119,589	144,168	69.26	20.55	7.09	9.45	8.64	180,784	246,655
Bharuch	133,798	193,014	241,509	44.26	25.13	15.00	17.39	18.63	304,042	395,656
Bhavnagar	352,429	449,614	625,574	27.58	39.14	31.48	31.99	33.29	828,275	1,054,488
Gandhinagar	0	24,055	62,443	0.00	159.58	0.00	11.99	21.60	123,174	182,022
Jamnagar	293,658	392,407	521,592	33.63	32.92	35.45	35.31	37.44	664,203	821,483
Junagadh	351,752	485,941	639,801	38.15	31.66	28.24	29.33	30.46	818,537	1,034,925
Kachchh	135,038	214,454	274,372	58.81	27.94	19.39	25.24	26.13	346,497	441,361
Kheda	383,771	489,030	606,355	27.43	23.99	19.41	19.95	20.11	757,587	981,925
Mahesana	299,993	388,875	511,420	29.63	31.51	18.37	18.58	20.07	664,606	871,472
Panch Mahals	154,859	207,170	257,552	33.78	24.32	10.54	11.21	11.09	328,204	444,710
Rajkot	467,984	623,236	864,322	33.17	38.68	38.72	38.37	41.29	1,126,810	1,393,519
Sabar Kantha	61,208	103,963	148,710	69.85	43.04	6.66	8.75	9.90	209,110	295,115
Surat	360,540	602,652	1,066,039	67.15	76.89	27.44	33.73	42.76	1,609,024	2,075,981
Surendranagar	185,642	228,319	296,987	22.99	30.08	28.00	27.01	28.72	377,395	477,081
The Dangs	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
Vadodara	397,494	603,205	950,527	51.75	57.58	26.03	30.46	37.16	1,345,115	1,716,360
Valsad	181,655	256,416	388,862	41.16	51.65	15.97	17.95	21.92	552,261	738,990
Total	5,316,624	7,496,500	10,601,653	41.00	41.42	25.77	28.08	31.10	14,118,999	17,802,998
HARYANA										
Ambala	300,953	344,735	463,777	14.55	34.53	33.98	31.39	32.90	658,211	951,817
Bhiwani	76,498	103,188	147,369	34.89	42.82	14.20	14.67	16.02	224,338	352,155
Faridabad	97,460	173,168	408,594	77.68	135.95	20.26	24.20	40.82	776,688	1,184,477
Gurgaon	65,223	92,402	169,189	41.67	83.10	13.33	14.07	19.91	298,267	479,433
Hisar	125,515	179,864	288,647	43.30	60.48	15.02	15.49	19.29	470,119	741,577
Jind	57,018	84,709	129,456	48.57	52.82	10.17	11.08	13.80	206,483	330,647
Karnal	157,666	203,167	346,292	28.86	70.45	20.70	20.55	26.18	577,874	895,894
Kurukshetra	97,926	133,932	186,052	36.77	38.92	15.56	15.52	16.46	277,780	432,553
Mahendragarh	82,051	101,597	125,375	23.82	23.40	13.28	13.24	13.07	173,703	266,759
Rohtak	137,549	192,391	266,094	39.87	38.31	15.88	17.51	19.83	392,397	596,896
Sirsa	52,863	76,260	144,496	44.26	89.48	14.26	14.29	20.44	260,226	420,745
Sonapat	56,958	87,546	152,046	53.70	73.68	10.28	12.74	17.96	259,914	416,050
Total	1,307,680	1,772,959	2,827,387	35.58	59.47	17.23	17.66	21.88	4,576,000	7,069,003
HIMACHAL PRADESH										
Bilaspur	7,752	9,498	11,584	22.52	21.96	4.88	4.88	4.68	13,373	15,916
Chamba	17,188	18,844	21,294	9.63	13.00	7.96	7.50	6.84	23,193	26,694
Hamirpur	0	3,671	15,836	0.00	331.38	0.00	1.39	4.98	41,824	65,553
Kangra	38,435	34,642	48,938	-9.87	41.27	5.85	4.33	4.94	62,495	77,199
Kinnaur	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
	Kullu	4,886	10,758	16,924	120.18	57.32	3.20	5.59	7.09	23,120
Lahul & Spiti	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
Mandi	21,535	48,205	47,257	123.84	- 1.97	5.60	9.36	7.33	46,480	51,324
Shimla	48,059	61,274	80,177	27.50	30.85	14.07	14.59	15.69	94,825	108,015
Sirmaur	14,272	20,715	26,832	45.14	29.53	7.22	8.45	8.74	32,003	37,794
Solan	20,982	23,945	32,623	14.12	36.24	10.89	10.09	10.76	40,113	47,480
Una	5,166	10,338	24,506	100.12	137.05	2.28	3.96	7.72	48,572	59,104
Total	178,275	241,890	325,971	35.68	34.76	6.34	6.99	7.61	420,998	517,998

JAMMU & KASHMIR

Anantnag	34,000	51,351	70,286	51.03	36.87	8.47	9.91	10.71	96,722	139,396
Badgam	3,231	11,858	51,885	267.01	337.55	1.51	4.41	14.13	141,097	237,992
Baramula	57,364	61,218	89,766	6.72	46.63	14.63	11.95	13.40	128,740	186,169
Doda	15,490	19,536	25,174	26.12	28.86	5.90	5.71	5.92	33,590	48,973
Jammu	127,776	191,342	279,644	49.75	46.15	24.90	26.40	29.64	387,557	520,623
Kargil	0	2,390	3,527	0.00	47.57	0.00	4.48	5.34	5,172	7,839
Kathua	15,535	25,085	41,990	61.47	67.39	7.37	9.03	11.38	66,088	99,633
Kupwara	0	5,025	9,688	0.00	92.80	0.00	1.95	2.95	17,185	28,509
Leh (Ladakh)	3,720	5,519	8,718	48.36	57.96	8.53	10.64	12.75	13,158	19,418
Pulwama	11,573	22,883	36,279	97.73	58.54	4.67	7.28	8.98	55,362	83,518
Punch	10,196	13,803	14,171	35.38	2.67	6.60	8.08	6.32	16,101	22,041
Rajauri	6,160	8,397	15,833	36.31	88.56	3.59	3.86	5.23	27,501	44,642
Srinagar	291,853	411,395	570,195	40.96	38.60	66.31	72.90	80.50	719,551	864,500
Udhampur	16,417	28,419	43,247	73.11	52.18	6.30	8.29	9.53	64,175	95,748
Total	593,315	858,221	1,260,403	44.65	46.86	16.66	18.59	21.05	1,771,999	2,399,001

KARNATAKA

Bangalore	1,357,444	1,865,754	3,193,216	37.45	71.15	54.20	55.44	64.54	4,870,104	6,574,836
Belgaum	357,469	497,793	671,418	39.25	34.88	18.02	20.54	22.53	927,644	1,315,930
Bellary	206,537	304,772	492,160	47.56	61.48	22.57	27.15	33.05	749,943	1,062,812
Bidar	81,221	119,131	177,416	46.68	48.93	12.25	14.46	17.82	263,539	388,615
Bijapur	313,406	421,175	578,628	34.39	37.38	18.88	21.21	24.09	805,854	1,137,331
Chikmagalur	89,472	115,078	159,879	28.62	38.93	14.98	15.62	17.54	227,508	332,315
Chitradurga	190,159	282,952	417,743	48.80	47.64	17.38	20.25	23.50	611,679	882,003
Dakshin Kannad	280,359	393,178	581,613	40.24	47.93	17.93	20.27	24.47	848,580	1,213,023
Dharwad	524,624	737,973	1,038,258	40.67	40.69	26.88	31.51	35.25	1,443,654	1,973,428
Gulbarga	226,421	309,276	475,732	36.59	53.82	16.18	17.78	22.86	711,851	1,028,051
Hassan	107,536	149,411	198,472	38.94	32.84	12.00	13.55	14.63	275,741	404,578
Kodagu	42,689	58,691	71,663	37.49	22.10	13.22	15.51	15.52	93,845	134,440
Kolar	293,272	313,115	427,831	6.77	36.64	22.73	20.65	22.45	596,797	850,931
Mandya	100,072	158,788	220,025	58.67	38.57	11.13	13.76	15.52	313,794	462,426
Mysore	414,969	529,118	711,567	27.51	34.48	24.83	25.47	27.41	973,487	1,355,847
Raichur	160,622	217,471	343,728	35.39	58.06	14.61	15.36	19.27	529,818	787,754
Shimoga	260,368	307,313	426,180	18.03	38.68	25.59	23.61	25.72	597,098	843,610
Tumkur	138,989	190,607	272,284	37.14	42.85	10.16	11.71	13.77	397,575	594,591
Uttar Kannad	120,864	150,497	271,793	24.52	80.60	17.53	17.72	25.35	446,493	657,483
Total	5,266,493	7,122,093	10,729,606	35.23	50.65	22.33	24.31	28.89	15,685,004	22,000,004

KERALA

Allepey	310,431	359,696	373,512	15.87	3.84	17.19	16.92	15.89	418,262	544,071
Cannanore	300,117	324,904	655,796	8.26	101.84	17.76	14.53	23.39	1,103,231	1,579,531
Ernakulam	395,310	636,010	1,002,892	60.89	57.68	23.27	29.39	39.56	1,798,075	1,398,423
Idukki	0	20,880	44,629	0.00	113.74	0.00	2.74	4.59	83,951	1,40,226
Kottayam	165,469	213,144	159,107	28.81	- 25.35	12.59	13.81	9.37	142,284	174,279
Kozhikode	406,834	561,570	610,232	38.03	8.67	28.44	30.83	27.18	690,116	873,271
Malappuram	48,650	124,852	177,774	156.63	42.39	3.58	6.73	7.40	252,291	373,648
Palghat	148,873	214,079	206,669	43.80	- 3.46	10.87	12.70	10.11	222,053	292,096
Quilon	144,236	189,903	370,120	31.66	94.90	7.41	7.87	13.15	629,211	947,486
Trichur	185,652	249,845	514,783	34.58	106.04	11.00	11.74	21.10	871,128	1,245,781

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Trivandrum	448,569	571,566	655,761	27.42	14.73	25.71	26.00	25.26	774,047	995,536
Wayanad	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
Total	2,554,141	3,466,449	4,771,275	35.72	37.64	15.11	16.24	18.74	6,584,997	8,964,000

MADHYA PRADESH

Balaghat	46,310	67,953	99,802	46.74	46.87	5.74	6.95	8.69	152,134	242,750
Bastar	26,899	56,635	111,706	110.55	97.24	2.30	3.74	6.06	209,044	365,106
Betul	47,087	67,669	141,736	43.71	109.45	8.40	9.19	15.32	265,767	436,517
Bhind	47,653	73,397	166,212	54.02	126.46	7.43	9.24	17.07	322,513	526,402
Bhopal	229,186	392,641	681,853	71.32	73.66	61.66	68.62	76.21	1,064,541	1,483,304
Bilaspur	168,437	264,113	408,784	56.80	54.78	8.33	10.82	13.84	636,985	997,620
Chhatarpur	56,319	80,058	138,081	42.15	72.48	9.59	11.24	15.57	229,746	364,525
Chhindwara	98,389	165,412	261,167	68.12	57.89	12.53	16.72	21.18	405,467	614,723
Damoh	55,773	78,977	104,025	41.60	31.72	12.72	13.78	14.42	145,762	220,699
Datia	29,430	37,436	60,991	27.20	62.92	14.68	14.67	19.56	96,750	148,270
Dewas	67,380	94,874	148,767	40.80	56.80	15.08	15.96	18.71	232,422	359,332
Dhar	66,489	85,650	132,980	28.82	55.26	10.33	10.17	12.58	208,707	330,721
Durg	156,576	299,634	601,104	91.37	100.61	14.13	20.40	31.80	1,040,765	1,557,841
East Nimar	154,375	206,481	309,200	33.75	49.75	22.53	23.48	26.80	460,995	680,408
Guna	74,870	100,170	141,599	33.79	41.36	12.57	12.78	14.13	208,287	321,221
Gwalior	324,448	442,997	609,411	36.54	37.57	49.32	51.63	55.01	828,486	1,112,204
Hoshangabad	119,223	175,428	252,084	47.14	43.70	19.23	21.72	25.11	365,969	536,299
Indore	452,083	642,899	929,428	42.21	44.57	59.99	62.71	65.94	1,298,686	1,743,574
Jabalpur	472,646	683,554	990,492	44.62	44.90	37.10	40.54	45.05	1,405,857	1,946,493
Jhabua	35,727	48,823	66,257	36.66	35.71	6.95	7.31	8.33	95,898	150,662
Mandla	33,144	48,701	73,179	46.94	50.26	4.84	5.57	7.05	113,819	184,789
Mandsaur	159,531	194,529	255,926	21.94	31.56	21.21	20.23	20.26	354,638	524,415
Morena	67,127	102,997	178,250	53.44	73.06	8.57	10.45	13.68	300,083	485,339
Narsimhapur	48,996	67,324	88,127	37.41	30.90	11.88	12.97	13.55	123,173	186,985
Panna	16,737	30,462	42,041	82.00	38.01	5.05	7.10	7.79	61,695	97,942
Raigarh	59,887	75,935	121,133	26.80	59.52	5.75	5.94	8.39	194,904	316,592
Raipur	228,148	325,065	529,225	42.48	62.81	11.40	12.44	17.19	841,969	1,300,961
Raisen	21,838	30,767	70,736	40.89	129.91	5.31	5.56	9.96	143,980	251,525
Rajgarh	49,019	61,780	104,916	26.03	69.82	9.48	9.59	13.09	174,126	279,781
Rajnandgaon	78,978	97,470	144,252	23.41	48.00	10.16	9.82	12.36	218,882	341,818
Ratlam	138,416	181,227	240,492	30.93	32.70	28.63	28.93	30.72	328,744	465,317
Rewa	43,065	69,182	157,659	60.65	127.89	5.57	7.07	13.06	313,299	528,941
Sagar	180,704	260,258	368,605	44.02	41.63	22.69	24.50	27.86	527,655	763,097
Satna	63,454	94,673	186,737	49.20	97.24	9.14	10.36	16.19	336,912	545,423
Shore	42,606	56,567	87,482	32.77	54.65	11.17	11.07	13.31	136,855	216,247
Seoni	30,274	43,576	62,704	43.94	43.90	5.78	6.52	7.74	94,599	151,457
Shahdol	57,760	121,832	239,616	110.93	96.68	6.96	11.83	17.81	430,698	693,234
Shajapur	53,030	77,781	124,768	46.67	60.41	10.08	11.47	14.85	198,669	312,227
Shivpuri	38,882	71,258	111,147	83.27	55.98	6.97	10.53	12.84	175,011	277,656
Sidhi	5,021	9,364	19,654	86.50	109.89	0.87	1.21	1.98	39,081	72,432
Surguja	43,789	89,040	141,968	103.34	59.44	4.22	6.71	8.69	228,935	373,487
Tikamgarh	20,469	27,905	89,410	36.33	220.41	4.49	4.91	12.13	218,818	393,047
Ujjain	214,702	306,602	418,672	42.80	36.55	32.45	35.55	37.48	578,314	808,668
Vidisha	64,280	92,876	132,905	44.49	43.10	13.14	14.11	16.97	195,219	295,376
West Nimar	138,077	182,795	241,176	32.39	31.94	13.94	14.23	14.79	338,140	511,570
Total	4,627,234	6,784,767	10,586,459	46.63	56.03	14.29	16.29	20.29	16,342,999	24,516,997

MAHARASHTRA

Ahmadnagar	187,315	251,500	351,368	34.27	39.71	10.55	11.08	12.97	491,930	701,894
Akola	262,833	353,349	454,662	34.44	28.67	22.10	23.53	24.89	589,154	783,089
Amravati	322,194	424,683	544,499	31.81	28.21	26.14	27.56	29.25	698,544	911,967
Aurangabad	216,711	329,261	537,535	51.94	63.25	14.14	16.71	22.09	814,283	1,143,935
Bhandara	136,261	180,513	240,754	32.48	33.37	10.74	11.38	13.10	326,414	459,636

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
	Bid	98,649	149,301	229,771	51.35	53.90	9.85	11.61	15.46	339,683
Buldana	175,438	221,808	278,986	26.43	25.78	16.56	17.56	18.49	360,052	488,626
Chandrapur	95,690	167,100	261,735	74.63	56.63	7.73	10.19	12.73	396,062	582,235
Dhule	215,856	287,736	400,181	33.30	39.08	15.97	17.31	19.52	551,504	762,628
Greater Bombay	4,152,056	5,970,575	8,243,405	43.80	38.07	100.00	100.00	100.00	10,682,448	13,044,740
Jalgaon	397,221	502,146	658,257	26.41	31.09	22.50	23.65	25.14	863,585	1,152,477
Kolhapur	307,775	440,245	622,022	43.04	41.29	19.28	21.50	24.82	856,486	1,159,238
Nagpur	787,700	1,055,357	1,469,279	33.98	39.22	52.07	54.32	56.75	1,932,285	2,412,034
Nanded	155,868	228,185	327,849	46.40	43.68	14.44	16.33	18.74	462,545	647,037
Nasik	474,982	678,472	928,145	42.84	36.80	25.60	28.64	31.02	1,241,068	1,637,740
Osmanabad	156,266	236,988	343,237	51.66	44.83	10.58	12.49	15.39	488,828	692,298
Parbhani	166,702	241,938	342,822	45.13	41.70	13.82	16.06	18.74	478,579	665,519
Pune	939,906	1,329,774	1,971,082	41.48	48.23	38.10	41.84	47.33	2,712,202	3,476,075
Raigarh	106,681	152,590	209,876	43.03	37.54	10.08	12.08	14.12	289,892	409,145
Ratnagiri	147,858	167,183	170,917	13.07	2.23	8.09	8.40	8.10	195,174	263,629
Sangli	192,430	286,898	394,089	49.09	37.36	15.64	18.63	21.52	535,522	729,081
Satara	158,427	227,257	265,792	43.45	16.96	11.08	13.16	13.04	329,911	451,578
Solapur	519,874	616,552	767,466	18.60	24.48	27.95	27.36	29.40	963,616	1,244,475
Thane	499,328	826,749	1,486,220	65.57	79.77	30.21	36.23	44.34	2,323,693	3,137,441
Wardha	150,015	191,102	231,510	27.39	21.14	23.65	24.51	24.98	287,905	377,093
Yavatmal	138,525	193,949	262,135	40.01	35.16	12.61	13.62	15.09	357,633	501,901
Total	11,162,561	15,711,211	21,993,594	40.75	39.99	28.22	31.17	35.03	29,568,998	38,321,000
MANIPUR										
Manipur Central	67,717	132,786	322,888	96.09	143.16	12.83	18.42	34.75	470,408	632,945
Manipur East	0	0	5,823	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	7.02	8,483	11,414
Manipur North	0	0	9,631	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.20	14,031	18,879
Manipur South	0	8,706	25,159	0.00	188.98	0.00	8.65	18.67	36,653	49,318
Manipur West	0	0	4,281	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.87	6,236	8,391
Mengnoupal	0	0	7,678	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	13.60	11,185	15,050
Total	67,717	141,492	375,460	108.95	165.36	8.68	13.19	26.42	546,996	735,997
MEGHALAYA										
East Garo Hills	0	0	4,290	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.14	7,217	12,550
East Khasi Hills	102,398	122,752	180,800	19.88	47.29	35.25	32.25	35.35	304,163	528,915
Jaintia Hills	6,197	8,929	12,923	44.09	44.73	7.54	7.86	8.26	21,740	37,805
West Garo Hills	8,888	15,489	39,440	74.27	154.63	3.88	5.10	10.66	66,350	115,378
West Khasi Hills	0	0	3,880	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.40	6,527	11,350
Total	117,483	147,170	241,333	25.27	63.98	15.27	14.55	18.07	405,997	705,998
MIZORAM										
Aizawl	14,257	31,740	97,591	122.63	207.47	7.76	13.85	28.63	191,474	327,669
Chhimituipui	0	0	7,018	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10.57	13,769	23,563
Lunglei	0	6,019	17,205	0.00	185.84	0.00	9.69	19.89	33,756	57,767
Total	14,257	37,759	121,814	164.85	222.61	5.36	11.36	24.67	238,999	408,999
NAGALAND										
Kohima	12,999	33,971	67,218	161.34	97.87	17.27	26.01	26.88	143,678	260,521
Mokokching	6,158	17,423	18,060	182.93	3.66	10.52	21.03	17.33	38,603	69,996
Mon	0	0	6,898	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.74	14,744	26,735
Phek	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
Tuensang	0	0	12,200	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	8.01	26,077	47,284
Wokha	0	0	8,180	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	14.21	17,484	31,703
Zunheboto	0	0	7,678	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.55	16,411	29,758
Total	19,157	51,394	120,234	168.28	133.95	5.19	9.95	15.52	256,997	465,997

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
ORISSA										
Bolangir	49,659	86,663	133,225	74.52	53.73	4.65	6.86	9.13	210,117	341,364
Baleswar	91,905	100,154	185,963	8.98	85.68	6.49	5.47	8.25	333,748	571,623
Cuttack	208,597	305,623	475,993	46.51	55.75	6.82	7.98	10.28	756,139	1,226,901
Dhenkanal	47,088	51,812	123,714	10.03	138.77	4.58	4.00	7.82	261,207	472,213
Ganjam	155,844	259,856	380,389	66.74	46.38	8.32	11.33	14.25	573,255	892,956
Kalahandi	28,573	56,553	80,541	97.92	42.42	2.83	4.86	6.01	121,762	198,558
Kendujhar	31,964	67,347	126,356	110.70	87.62	4.30	7.05	11.34	224,882	374,483
Koraput	76,971	167,259	280,962	117.30	67.98	5.14	8.19	11.31	467,540	765,810
Mayurbhanj	28,420	39,951	90,538	40.57	126.62	2.36	2.79	5.72	185,986	337,317
Phulabani	6,088	19,568	37,761	221.42	92.97	1.18	3.15	5.26	70,145	123,864
Puri	133,406	229,147	432,079	71.77	88.56	7.15	9.79	14.79	765,858	1,255,314
Sambalpur	115,375	221,777	353,433	92.22	59.36	7.65	12.02	15.49	562,593	890,137
Sundargarh	135,760	239,685	409,333	76.55	70.78	17.90	23.25	30.60	657,769	985,462
Total	1,109,650	1,845,395	3,110,287	66.30	68.54	6.32	8.41	11.79	5,191,001	8,436,002
PUNJAB										
Amritsar	464,024	535,470	721,629	15.40	34.77	30.25	29.17	32.97	955,666	1,269,208
Bathinda	147,551	182,274	295,877	23.53	62.33	17.81	17.78	22.68	450,508	648,088
Faridkot	192,608	227,882	343,569	18.31	50.77	19.56	19.75	23.92	497,655	701,236
Firozpur	208,273	231,550	298,071	11.18	28.73	23.87	22.16	22.79	390,900	537,811
Gurdaspur	190,812	249,084	328,268	30.54	31.79	19.45	20.26	21.69	437,928	607,186
Hoshiarpur	94,586	127,223	179,620	34.51	41.19	10.86	12.10	14.44	254,052	368,496
Jalandhar	349,988	437,164	612,591	24.91	40.13	28.54	30.06	35.32	827,287	1,096,724
Kapurthala	79,219	99,670	163,418	25.82	63.96	23.04	23.21	29.97	246,083	343,353
Ludhiana	322,920	494,062	764,140	53.00	54.66	29.17	34.79	42.01	1,089,357	1,451,152
Patiala	250,519	316,309	464,295	26.26	46.79	26.22	26.12	29.59	656,401	904,845
Rupnagar	82,830	82,595	154,638	-0.28	87.22	17.39	15.04	21.58	257,717	382,321
Sangrur	183,976	232,896	321,641	26.59	38.10	19.28	20.31	22.81	441,445	614,579
Total	2,567,306	3,216,179	4,647,757	25.27	44.51	23.06	23.73	27.68	6,504,999	8,924,999
RAJASTHAN										
Ajmer	365,607	432,110	616,406	18.19	42.65	37.44	37.65	42.80	871,474	1,242,435
Alwar	87,892	126,882	196,201	44.36	54.63	7.99	9.04	11.08	310,391	512,087
Banswara	24,830	33,204	55,187	33.73	66.21	5.22	5.07	6.22	93,011	161,871
Barmer	39,710	56,225	98,229	41.59	74.71	6.11	7.26	8.78	170,371	296,154
Bharatpur	156,968	205,095	321,700	30.66	56.85	13.65	13.76	17.07	506,152	809,355
Bhilwara	63,433	116,306	188,563	83.35	62.13	7.33	11.03	14.39	304,722	496,823
Bikaner	188,026	237,151	335,085	26.13	41.30	42.30	41.38	39.48	477,159	699,395
Bundi	51,739	65,548	99,829	26.69	52.30	15.31	14.60	17.01	154,439	246,530
Chittaurgarh	67,689	97,874	162,421	44.59	65.95	9.05	10.36	13.18	268,050	444,473
Churu	208,043	258,628	344,659	24.31	33.26	31.57	29.58	29.22	477,929	708,299
Dungarpur	21,410	31,257	44,126	45.99	41.17	5.26	5.89	6.46	66,433	110,494
Ganganagar	149,952	229,769	418,299	53.23	82.05	14.45	16.48	20.61	724,165	1,188,362
Jaipur	499,315	745,876	1,250,532	49.38	67.66	26.40	30.20	36.56	1,984,076	2,993,642
Jaisalmer	13,646	24,347	32,927	78.42	35.24	9.66	14.51	13.55	47,460	75,641
Jalor	24,714	29,528	72,790	19.48	146.51	4.52	4.42	8.06	157,845	295,315
Jhalawar	37,544	58,805	91,516	56.63	55.63	7.63	9.43	11.66	145,160	238,917
Jhunjhunun	127,320	162,036	251,267	27.27	55.07	17.69	17.44	20.74	390,012	613,214
Jodhpur	265,210	368,238	579,845	38.85	57.46	29.98	31.97	34.77	892,735	1,350,978
Kota	160,080	275,051	498,094	71.82	81.09	18.90	24.08	31.93	831,275	1,284,438
Nagaur	120,657	154,956	237,077	28.43	53.00	12.91	12.28	14.56	369,668	597,549
Pali	76,735	108,431	234,765	41.31	116.51	9.52	11.18	18.42	448,555	753,251
Sawai Madhopur	96,129	142,086	206,090	47.81	45.05	10.19	11.90	13.42	310,995	500,005
Sikar	143,697	177,548	278,936	23.56	57.10	17.52	17.03	20.25	437,392	692,001
Sirohi	57,747	75,717	97,001	31.12	28.11	16.39	17.87	17.90	133,389	204,058
Tonk	73,386	109,194	143,844	48.79	31.73	14.74	17.45	18.36	201,305	308,641
Udaipur	159,999	221,899	355,119	38.69	60.04	11.21	12.30	15.07	569,837	928,073
Total	3,281,478	4,543,761	7,210,508	38.47	58.69	16.28	17.63	21.05	11,344,000	17,752,001

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State Union Territory. District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
SIKKIM										
East	6,848	17,019	43,242	148.53	154.08	12.08	19.88	31.16	84,769	140,615
North	0	331	780	0.00	135.65	0.00	2.54	2.95	1,616	3,205
South	0	1,222	5,365	0.00	339.03	0.00	2.30	7.06	15,995	33,593
West	0	1,096	1,697	0.00	54.84	0.00	1.89	2.26	2,619	4,588
Total	6,848	19,668	51,084	187.21	159.73	4.22	9.37	16.15	104,999	182,001
TAMIL NADU										
Chengalpattu	435,219	907,172	1,407,786	108.44	55.18	20.00	32.35	38.93	2,002,523	2,495,540
Coimbatore	826,587	1,229,072	1,544,171	48.69	25.64	40.03	47.71	50.46	1,893,254	2,193,815
Dharmapuri	93,247	143,941	187,184	54.37	30.04	7.00	8.58	9.37	250,999	340,616
Kanniyakumari	150,079	204,405	245,532	36.20	20.12	15.05	16.72	17.25	306,742	391,858
Madras	1,749,600	2,572,967	3,276,622	47.06	27.35	100.00	100.00	100.00	3,999,199	4,515,178
Madurai	1,015,745	1,324,194	1,643,612	30.37	24.12	31.63	33.62	36.24	2,031,058	2,426,222
Nilgiri	179,867	243,235	307,848	35.23	26.56	43.94	49.24	48.85	381,161	447,469
North Arcot	631,225	783,095	1,015,529	24.06	29.68	20.06	20.85	23.01	1,320,820	1,672,253
Periyar	205,582	327,170	455,203	59.14	39.13	13.77	18.21	22.01	619,591	796,025
Pudukkottai	95,158	114,979	153,668	20.83	33.65	12.68	12.14	13.28	208,216	278,757
Ramanathapuram	599,481	746,662	940,954	24.55	26.02	24.76	26.11	28.21	1,189,823	1,466,522
Salem	524,101	795,382	995,663	51.76	25.18	21.20	26.58	28.93	1,251,126	1,533,624
South Arcot	392,322	512,997	659,623	30.76	28.58	12.87	14.18	15.70	865,185	1,129,772
Thanjavur	651,262	771,688	936,957	18.49	21.42	21.58	21.74	23.06	1,165,713	1,452,853
Tiruchirapalli	593,171	758,379	943,724	27.85	24.44	22.24	23.76	26.13	1,186,004	1,464,980
Tirunelveli	847,882	1,029,496	1,237,799	21.42	20.23	31.05	32.17	34.64	1,499,585	1,783,514
Total	8,990,528	12,464,834	15,951,875	38.64	27.98	26.69	30.26	32.95	20,170,999	24,388,998
TRIPURA										
North Tripura	21,815	27,460	37,432	25.88	36.31	7.44	6.78	6.92	49,345	46,317
South Tripura	17,522	25,298	38,848	44.38	53.56	6.38	6.33	7.25	55,528	53,624
West Tripura	63,660	109,602	149,288	72.17	36.21	11.09	14.58	15.29	193,127	173,057
Total	102,997	162,360	225,568	57.64	38.93	9.02	10.43	10.99	298,000	272,998
UTTAR PRADESH										
Agra	667,984	845,236	1,086,912	26.54	28.59	35.87	36.61	38.10	1,446,846	2,143,127
Aligarh	286,698	377,031	592,144	31.51	57.05	16.24	17.85	23.00	915,337	1,478,259
Allahabad	443,964	542,103	773,588	22.11	42.70	18.21	18.46	20.37	1,136,888	1,840,509
Almora	27,244	39,112	47,596	43.56	21.69	4.93	6.03	6.28	64,561	107,678
Azamgarh	115,173	148,867	326,071	29.26	119.04	4.78	5.21	9.20	647,863	1,213,567
Bahraich	79,588	102,482	156,213	28.77	52.43	5.31	5.93	7.05	247,091	436,186
Ballia	50,241	72,760	176,898	44.82	143.13	3.74	4.58	9.09	374,892	715,183
Banda	63,461	97,956	181,085	54.36	84.86	6.65	8.29	11.80	321,003	573,081
Bara Banki	70,250	94,213	177,932	34.11	88.86	4.97	5.76	8.93	321,734	585,702
Bareilly	326,325	396,498	659,027	21.50	66.21	22.07	22.28	28.99	1,043,978	1,667,544
Basti	38,403	75,299	171,905	96.08	128.30	1.46	2.52	4.80	357,965	705,654
Bijnor	195,908	269,702	480,810	37.67	78.27	16.45	18.10	24.79	803,083	1,323,329
Budaun	119,159	153,871	318,224	29.13	106.81	8.44	9.35	16.14	590,086	1,029,722
Bulandshahr	211,189	263,347	456,025	24.70	73.17	13.32	14.02	19.34	756,929	1,269,985
Chamoli	0	12,206	29,174	0.00	139.01	0.00	4.17	8.01	61,621	118,771
Dehradun	197,835	271,777	372,141	37.38	36.93	46.11	47.08	48.86	511,096	750,907
Deoria	57,577	83,109	231,970	44.34	179.12	2.42	2.96	6.63	544,711	1,098,007
Etah	125,114	154,213	287,966	23.26	86.73	9.63	9.82	15.49	503,390	867,623
Etawah	107,271	141,694	257,651	32.09	81.84	9.07	9.79	14.79	445,055	769,291
Faizabad	141,787	184,182	261,199	29.90	41.82	8.67	9.56	10.96	389,400	658,003
Farrukhabad	143,081	169,902	314,872	18.75	85.33	11.05	10.91	16.15	549,661	949,609
Fatehpur	42,757	71,908	141,292	68.18	96.49	4.01	5.63	8.99	262,151	481,329
Garhwal	27,498	34,847	62,669	26.73	79.84	5.70	6.30	9.82	109,101	194,213
Ghaziabad	197,925	330,260	629,076	66.86	90.48	16.03	19.76	34.13	1,023,144	1,574,549
Ghaziipur	45,154	69,000	154,282	52.81	123.60	3.42	4.50	7.93	312,908	597,046

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
Gonda	101,256	130,116	207,524	28.50	59.49	4.88	5.65	7.32	337,785	600,259
Gorakhpur	187,343	240,158	401,942	28.19	67.37	7.30	7.90	10.59	669,382	1,176,655
Hamirpur	66,553	97,956	198,396	47.18	102.54	8.38	9.91	16.61	363,104	630,525
Hardoi	114,286	146,169	251,572	27.90	72.11	7.26	7.90	11.06	425,647	749,015
Jalaun	84,674	111,824	196,452	32.06	75.68	12.77	13.75	19.92	327,145	545,512
Jaunpur	91,425	124,562	168,878	36.25	35.58	5.29	6.21	6.67	246,760	423,615
Jhansi	233,947	279,317	431,354	19.39	54.43	33.94	33.73	37.94	649,186	1,005,961
Kanpur	976,291	1,282,331	1,733,492	31.35	35.18	40.99	42.80	46.32	2,358,441	3,452,474
Kheri	69,597	92,343	187,385	32.68	102.92	5.53	6.21	9.60	355,490	657,950
Lalitpur	25,220	41,980	77,002	66.46	83.43	6.33	8.77	13.33	134,425	235,108
Lucknow	663,356	823,470	1,059,739	24.14	28.69	49.55	50.90	52.60	1,388,677	1,987,987
Mainpuri	87,159	122,022	191,258	40.00	56.74	7.38	8.44	11.08	304,105	523,412
Mathura	179,627	212,795	328,712	18.46	54.47	16.77	16.49	21.07	504,987	820,074
Meerut	369,562	499,787	863,966	35.24	72.87	22.67	26.43	31.22	1,416,307	2,304,792
Mirzapur	143,727	185,385	267,665	28.98	44.38	11.53	12.03	13.13	402,728	678,576
Moradabad	437,697	577,257	848,666	31.89	47.02	22.18	23.77	26.95	1,255,877	1,989,187
Muzaffarnagar	191,133	249,815	493,985	30.70	97.74	13.23	13.86	21.72	879,749	1,485,430
Nainital	112,178	174,879	312,443	55.89	78.66	19.53	22.13	27.49	525,287	869,269
Pilibhit	84,337	102,810	163,592	21.90	59.12	13.69	13.67	16.22	260,819	441,852
Pithoragarh	0	11,942	27,019	0.00	126.25	0.00	2.88	5.52	55,669	108,467
Pratapgarh	21,397	27,909	90,910	30.43	225.74	1.71	1.96	5.05	238,599	507,711
Rae Bareli	39,846	51,403	139,007	29.00	170.43	3.01	3.40	7.37	318,534	632,879
Rampur	145,982	176,045	315,107	20.59	78.99	20.81	19.53	26.74	525,189	858,871
Saharanpur	372,091	482,807	724,119	29.76	49.98	23.03	23.50	27.08	1,085,059	1,724,322
Shahjahanpur	157,596	196,022	319,338	24.38	62.91	13.94	15.24	19.38	511,455	851,613
Sitapur	122,751	142,075	240,530	15.74	69.30	7.63	7.54	10.29	403,786	712,491
Sultanpur	26,081	32,330	67,375	23.96	108.40	1.85	1.97	3.30	133,167	261,747
Tebri Garhwal	7,596	10,523	20,546	38.53	95.25	2.18	2.65	4.13	38,733	74,291
Unnao	29,780	38,195	216,324	28.26	466.37	2.43	2.57	11.87	713,547	1,429,199
Uttarkashi	2,677	6,020	13,272	124.88	120.47	2.18	4.07	6.95	26,822	51,601
Varanasi	553,146	716,774	994,823	29.58	38.79	23.39	25.13	26.88	1,419,046	2,225,282
Total	9,479,895	12,388,596	19,899,115	30.68	60.62	12.85	14.02	17.95	32,016,001	53,165,001
WEST BENGAL										
24 Parganas	1,997,957	2,970,320	4,169,482	48.67	40.37	31.81	35.15	38.82	5,583,607	7,048,567
Bankura	122,157	151,735	181,247	24.21	19.45	7.34	7.47	7.63	230,129	317,749
Bardhaman	561,078	891,990	1,421,169	58.98	59.33	18.20	22.78	29.39	2,078,910	2,748,272
Birbhum	100,769	124,772	173,533	23.82	39.08	6.97	7.03	8.28	244,106	348,843
Calcutta	2,927,289	3,148,746	3,305,006	7.57	4.96	100.00	100.00	100.00	3,524,286	3,868,073
Darjiling	144,637	180,212	282,153	24.60	56.57	23.16	23.05	27.55	412,744	533,286
Haora	825,092	1,013,533	1,338,793	22.84	32.09	40.48	41.93	45.12	1,707,728	2,089,049
Hugli	579,283	760,270	1,050,529	31.24	38.18	25.96	26.47	29.53	1,410,775	1,824,703
Jalpaiguri	123,814	168,080	311,221	35.75	85.16	9.11	9.60	14.05	520,454	765,191
Koch Bihar	71,446	96,652	122,260	35.28	26.50	7.01	6.83	6.90	161,860	228,411
Maldah	50,785	68,026	97,196	33.95	42.88	4.16	4.22	4.78	140,655	207,689
Medinipur	334,286	420,156	572,757	25.69	36.32	7.70	7.63	8.49	795,063	1,131,561
Murshidabad	195,464	248,425	346,018	27.10	39.28	8.53	8.45	9.36	486,684	693,813
Nadia	315,338	418,059	639,869	32.57	53.06	18.42	18.74	21.59	934,924	1,282,877
Puruliya	92,478	132,367	166,762	43.13	25.98	6.80	8.26	9.00	218,911	303,773
West Dinajpur	98,969	173,690	268,726	75.50	54.72	7.48	9.34	11.17	404,165	585,141
Total	8,540,842	10,967,033	14,446,721	28.41	31.73	24.45	24.75	26.47	18,855,001	23,996,998
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS										
Andamans	14,075	26,218	49,634	86.27	89.31	28.73	28.05	31.36	91,000	157,000
Nicobars	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
Total	14,075	26,218	49,634	86.27	89.31	22.15	22.77	26.30	91,000	157,000

Annexure I (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Urban population			Urban population growth rate (percent)		Percentage of urban population to the total			Projected urban population	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
CHANDIGARH										
Chandigarh	99,262	232,940	422,841	134.67	81.52	82.80	90.55	93.63	726,001	1,154,000
Total	99,262	232,940	422,841	134.67	81.52	82.80	90.55	93.63	726,001	1,154,000
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI										
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	6,914	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.67	8,000	10,000
Total	0	0	6,914	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.67	8,000	10,000
DAMAN & DIU										
Daman	9,197	17,317	21,003	88.29	21.29	41.08	44.70	43.25	357,910	424,708
Diu	4,138	6,214	8,020	50.17	29.06	28.98	25.99	26.36	146,108	185,311
Total	13,335	23,531	29,023	76.46	23.34	36.36	37.56	36.75	504,018	610,019
DELHI										
Delhi U.T.	2,359,408	3,647,023	5,768,200	54.57	58.16	88.75	89.70	92.73	8,812,000	12,903,000
Total	2,359,408	3,647,023	5,768,200	54.57	58.16	88.75	89.70	92.73	8,812,000	12,903,000
LAKSHADWEEP										
Lakshadweep	0	0	18,629	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.28	34,000	40,000
Total	0	0	18,629	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	46.28	34,000	40,000
PONDICHERRY										
Karaikal	22,252	26,080	43,408	17.20	66.44	26.49	26.07	36.17	64,171	80,692
Mahe	7,951	8,972	9,588	12.84	6.87	40.81	38.78	33.75	10,785	12,722
Pondicherry	51,762	154,945	251,420	199.34	62.26	20.02	45.54	56.57	358,742	433,711
Yanam	7,032	8,291	11,631	17.90	40.28	100.00	100.00	100.00	15,302	17,876
Total	88,997	198,288	316,047	122.80	59.39	24.11	42.04	52.28	449,000	545,001

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Note : Excluding Assam.

Annexure II India : Distribution of Towns by their Growth Pattern, 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
INDIA	3,301	568	1,365	487	881
Andhra Pradesh					
Adilabad	12	6	3	2	1
Anantapur	11	4	6	1	0
Chittoor	13	6	7	0	0
Cuddapah	13	5	2	1	5
East Godavari	16	0	8	4	4
Guntur	15	4	8	3	0
Hyderabad	2	0	1	0	1
Karimnagar	12	5	5	1	1
Khammam	7	4	2	0	1
Krishna	15	2	12	0	1
Kurnool	11	2	7	1	1
Mahbubnagar	11	7	3	1	0
Medak	10	5	2	1	2
Nalgonda	10	4	2	0	4
Nellore	8	4	3	0	1
Nizamabad	7	2	3	1	1
Prakasam	11	5	3	1	2
Rangareddi	5	3	0	0	2
Srikakulam	11	1	6	4	0
Vishakhapatnam	9	2	5	2	0
Vizianagaram	10	2	3	4	1
Warangal	4	2	2	0	0
West Godavari	11	2	7	1	1
Total	234	77	100	28	29
Arunachal Pradesh					
Dibang Valley	0	0	0	0	0
East Kameng	0	0	0	0	0
East Siang	1	1	0	0	0
Lohit	1	1	0	0	0
Lower Subansiri	2	0	0	0	2
Trip	0	0	0	0	0
Upper Subansiri	0	0	0	0	0
West Kameng	1	0	1	0	0
West Siang	1	1	0	0	0
Total	6	3	1	0	2
Bihar					
Aurangabad	5	2	2	0	1
Begusarai	3	2	1	0	0
Bhagalpur	5	3	2	0	0
Bhojpur	8	0	4	1	3
Darbhanga	1	0	1	0	0
Dhanbad	11	2	4	1	4
Gaya	5	2	3	0	0
Giridih	6	2	1	2	1
Gopalganj	3	1	1	0	1
Hazaribag	7	3	3	0	1
Katihar	2	1	0	0	1
Madhubani	3	0	2	0	1
Munger	12	4	5	3	0
Muzaffarpur	1	1	0	0	0
Nalanda	5	2	1	0	2

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Nawada	3	1	2	0	0
Palamu	6	1	3	1	1
Paschim Champaran	4	1	3	0	0
Patna	9	3	4	0	2
Purba Champaran	4	4	0	0	0
Purnia	8	4	2	0	2
Ranchi	9	3	5	0	1
Rohtas	6	3	2	1	0
Saharsa	7	1	6	0	0
Samastipur	4	1	2	0	1
Santhal Pargana	11	5	4	0	2
Saran	4	0	2	0	2
Singhbhum	17	4	7	3	3
Sitamarhi	4	2	0	1	1
Siwan	3	2	1	0	0
Vaishali	3	1	2	0	0
Total	179	61	75	13	30
Goa					
Goa	15	2	8	1	4
Total	15	2	8	1	4
Gujarat					
Ahmadabad	12	0	6	6	0
Amreli	12	1	10	1	0
Banas Kantha	5	2	2	1	0
Bharuch	8	1	2	4	1
Bhavnagar	16	2	12	0	2
Gandhinagar	1	1	0	0	0
Jamnagar	15	0	9	5	1
Junagadh	20	2	14	3	1
Kachchh	10	1	5	4	0
Kheda	18	0	6	10	2
Mahesana	14	0	10	3	1
Panch Mahals	8	0	6	2	0
Rajkot	12	3	5	4	0
Sabar Kantha	8	2	3	1	2
Surat	14	2	5	2	5
Surendranagar	10	1	7	2	0
The Dangs	0	0	0	0	0
Vadodara	18	1	6	5	6
Valsad	19	1	7	3	8
Total	220	20	115	56	29
Haryana					
Ambala	11	0	5	3	3
Bhiwani	4	0	3	0	1
Faridabad	5	1	2	0	2
Gurgaon	9	2	3	2	2
Hisar	8	2	2	2	2
Jind	6	1	4	0	1
Karnal	8	1	2	1	4
Kurukshetra	7	2	5	0	0
Mahendragarh	6	1	3	2	0
Rohtak	6	0	3	2	1
Sirsa	4	2	1	0	1
Sonapat	3	3	0	0	0
Total	77	15	33	12	17

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Himachal Pradesh					
Bilaspur	3	1	1	1	0
Chamba	4	0	0	3	1
Hamirpur	3	1	0	0	2
Kangra	8	0	3	3	2
Kinnaur	0	0	0	0	0
Kullu	3	0	2	0	1
Lahul & Spiti	0	0	0	0	0
Mandi	4	0	1	3	0
Shimla	6	1	2	2	1
Sirmaur	3	1	1	1	0
Solan	7	1	3	2	1
Una	5	0	1	1	3
Total	46	5	14	16	11
Jammu & Kashmir					
Anantnag	8	0	5	1	2
Badgam	1	0	0	0	1
Baramulla	6	2	2	1	1
Doda	6	1	3	2	0
Jammu	8	1	5	0	2
Kargil	1	1	0	0	0
Kathua	6	1	2	1	2
Kupwara	2	0	1	0	1
Leh (Ladakh)	1	1	0	0	0
Pulwama	4	0	3	0	1
Punch	1	0	0	1	0
Rajauri	4	1	0	1	2
Srinagar	2	0	1	0	1
Udhampur	6	0	2	3	1
Total	56	8	24	10	14
Karnataka					
Bangalore	11	5	6	0	0
Belgaum	19	2	11	5	1
Bellary	12	3	5	1	3
Bidar	6	1	4	0	1
Bijapur	19	1	14	2	2
Chikmagalur	10	0	4	5	1
Chitradurga	10	4	4	2	0
Dakshin Kannad	17	0	3	6	8
Dharwad	22	0	17	1	4
Gulbarga	15	3	8	1	3
Hassan	12	3	5	3	1
Kodagu	10	1	5	3	1
Kolar	13	5	8	0	0
Mandya	11	0	8	2	1
Mysore	13	1	12	0	0
Raichur	12	4	5	1	2
Shimoga	13	1	6	5	1
Tumkur	12	4	7	1	0
Uttar Kannad	13	3	5	0	5
Total	250	41	137	38	34
Kerala					
Alleppey	7	1	0	5	1
Cannanore	20	3	3	0	14
Ernakulam	13	2	1	4	6
Idukki	2	1	0	0	1
Kottayam	4	0	0	4	0

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Kozhikode	2	0	1	1	0
Malappuram	4	1	3	0	0
Palghat	4	1	1	2	0
Quilon	6	1	1	0	4
Trichur	18	1	1	3	13
Trivandrum	5	2	1	2	0
Wayanad	0	0	0	0	0
Total	85	13	12	21	39

Madhya Pradesh

Balaghat	5	1	1	2	1
Bastar	4	2	1	0	1
Betul	5	1	2	1	1
Bhind	10	1	3	0	6
Bhopal	2	1	1	0	0
Bilaspur	12	1	9	0	2
Chhatarpur	10	3	3	1	3
Chhindwara	11	2	3	2	4
Damoh	3	0	3	0	0
Datia	2	0	1	0	1
Dewas	8	2	5	0	1
Dhar	8	1	5	0	2
Durg	6	5	0	0	1
East Nimar	6	0	3	0	3
Guna	6	2	4	0	0
Gwalior	4	1	2	1	0
Hoshangabad	11	2	8	0	1
Indore	5	1	3	1	0
Jabalpur	10	0	7	0	3
Jhabua	6	1	5	0	0
Mandla	4	1	2	0	1
Mandsaur	12	0	8	4	0
Morena	8	4	1	1	2
Narsimhapur	4	0	4	0	0
Panna	2	0	2	0	0
Raigarh	6	0	3	1	2
Raipur	10	4	4	0	2
Raisen	6	2	1	0	3
Rajgarh	8	1	4	0	3
Rajnandgaon	5	2	3	0	0
Ratlam	6	0	5	0	1
Rewa	9	0	1	0	8
Sagar	10	3	5	0	2
Satna	9	1	3	0	5
Shore	4	0	3	0	1
Seoni	2	0	1	0	1
Shahdol	13	4	4	0	5
Shajapur	9	0	4	2	3
Shivpuri	5	2	2	0	1
Sidhi	1	1	0	0	0
Surguja	7	3	4	0	0
Tikamgarh	6	1	0	0	5
Ujjain	6	1	4	1	0
Vidisha	4	2	2	0	0
West Nimar	13	2	7	4	0
Total	303	61	146	21	75

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Maharashtra					
Ahmadnagar	7	0	4	1	2
Akola	9	0	7	2	0
Amravati	12	0	8	4	0
Aurangabad	9	2	7	0	0
Bhandara	7	0	2	3	2
Bid	7	5	2	0	0
Buldana	9	1	7	1	0
Chandrapur	8	4	3	0	1
Dhule	7	1	5	1	0
Greater Bombay	1	0	1	0	0
Jalgaon	14	1	10	3	0
Kolhapur	11	1	5	4	1
Nagpur	14	1	6	4	3
Nanded	11	4	6	1	0
Nasik	15	2	5	6	2
Osmanabad	13	2	10	1	0
Parbhani	12	1	9	2	0
Pune	17	2	8	3	4
Raigarh	16	2	5	7	2
Ratnagiri	13	0	3	9	1
Sangli	6	0	4	1	1
Satara	10	0	5	4	1
Solapur	10	0	4	6	0
Thane	24	5	1	7	11
Wardha	6	0	3	3	0
Yavatmal	8	1	7	0	0
Total	276	35	137	73	31
Manipur					
Manipur Central	23	5	2	0	16
Manipur East	1	0	0	0	1
Manipur North	3	0	0	0	3
Manipur South	3	1	0	0	2
Manipur West	1	0	0	0	1
Mengnoupal	1	0	0	0	1
Total	32	6	2	0	24
Meghalaya					
East Garo Hills	1	0	0	0	1
East Khasi Hills	2	0	1	0	1
Jaintia Hills	1	0	1	0	0
West Garo Hills	2	1	0	0	1
West Khasi Hills	1	0	0	0	1
Total	7	1	2	0	4
Mizoram					
Aizawl	4	1	0	0	3
Chhimituipui	1	0	0	0	1
Lunglei	1	1	0	0	0
Total	6	2	0	0	4
Nagaland					
Kohima	2	2	0	0	0
Mokokching	1	0	0	1	0
Mon	1	0	0	0	1
Phek	0	0	0	0	0
Tuensang	1	0	0	0	1
Wokha	1	0	0	0	1
Zunheboto	1	0	0	0	1
Total	7	2	0	1	4

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Orissa					
Bolangir	7	1	4	1	1
Baleshwar	6	2	1	1	2
Cuttack	8	2	5	0	1
Dhenkanal	9	2	2	0	5
Ganjam	20	1	12	2	5
Kalahandi	5	1	4	0	0
Kendujhar	6	2	2	0	2
Koraput	14	3	5	2	4
Mayurbhanj	4	1	1	0	2
Phulabani	3	1	1	0	1
Puri	9	2	3	0	4
Sambalpur	8	6	2	0	0
Sundargarh	4	1	2	1	0
Total	103	25	44	7	27
Punjab					
Amritsar	11	1	1	5	4
Bathinda	12	2	6	3	1
Faridkot	11	2	5	0	4
Ferozpur	9	5	2	2	0
Gurdaspur	11	0	8	2	1
Hoshiarpur	10	1	5	3	1
Jalandhar	16	3	6	3	4
Kapurthala	8	0	3	0	5
Ludhiana	10	2	4	0	4
Patiala	13	4	6	1	2
Rupnagar	9	3	2	2	2
Sangrur	14	1	9	2	2
Total	134	24	57	23	30
Rajasthan					
Ajmer	8	2	5	1	0
Alwar	5	2	2	0	1
Banswara	2	1	1	0	0
Barmer	3	1	1	0	1
Bharatpur	12	1	8	0	3
Bhilwara	6	1	3	0	2
Bikaner	4	1	3	0	0
Bundi	5	1	3	0	1
Chittaurgarh	8	2	5	0	1
Churu	11	2	7	2	0
Dungarpur	2	0	2	0	0
Ganganagar	16	8	4	0	4
Jaipur	16	2	6	1	7
Jaisalmer	2	0	2	0	0
Jalor	4	2	0	0	2
Jhalawar	6	1	3	1	1
Jhunjhunun	13	2	8	1	2
Jodhpur	4	2	2	0	0
Kota	11	2	4	0	5
Nagaur	10	2	6	0	2
Pali	12	1	4	1	6
Swai Madhopur	6	1	4	0	1
Sikar	9	2	5	0	2
Sirohi	5	0	5	0	0
Tonk	6	1	3	2	0
Udaipur	9	2	4	0	3
Total	195	42	100	9	44

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Sikkim					
East	3	2	1	0	0
North	1	1	0	0	0
South	2	2	0	0	0
West	2	1	1	0	0
Total	8	6	2	0	0
Tamil Nadu					
Chengalpattu	15	3	8	3	1
Coimbatore	10	0	8	2	0
Dharmapuri	7	1	4	2	0
Kanniyakumari	5	0	3	2	0
Madras	1	0	1	0	0
Madurai	22	1	9	11	1
Nilgiri	7	2	4	1	0
North Arcot	20	0	12	7	1
Periyar	12	1	2	4	5
Pudukkottai	8	0	4	3	1
Ramanathapuram	30	3	10	12	5
Salem	18	0	7	10	1
South Arcot	14	1	7	5	1
Thanjavur	29	0	8	20	1
Tiruchirapalli	17	0	4	13	0
Tirunelveli	30	0	10	19	1
Total	245	12	101	114	18
Tripura					
North Tripura	3	0	2	0	1
South Tripura	4	0	0	2	2
West Tripura	3	0	1	1	1
Total	10	0	3	3	4
Uttar Pradesh					
Agra	14	3	5	1	5
Aligarh	20	0	6	0	14
Allahabad	16	0	5	0	11
Almora	4	0	1	2	1
Azamgarh	21	1	4	0	16
Bahraich	5	1	2	0	2
Ballia	9	0	3	0	6
Banda	10	4	1	0	5
Bara Banki	12	0	5	0	7
Bareilly	18	1	4	0	13
Basti	10	0	3	0	7
Bijnor	19	1	10	0	8
Badaun	22	0	6	0	16
Bulandshahr	22	1	9	2	10
Chamoli	7	2	0	0	5
Dehradun	7	1	2	2	2
Deoria	16	1	3	0	12
Etah	19	1	4	2	12
Etawah	12	1	4	1	7
Faizabad	7	2	3	0	2
Farrukhabad	11	1	3	0	7
Fatehpur	6	1	1	0	4
Garhwal	8	3	2	1	2
Ghaziabad	13	6	3	0	4
Ghazipur	9	0	3	0	6

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Gonda	11	1	5	0	5
Gorakhpur	11	0	2	0	9
Hamirpur	12	1	3	1	7
Hardoi	13	0	7	0	6
Jalaun	10	1	3	0	6
Jaunpur	7	0	6	0	1
Jhansi	13	1	5	1	6
Kanpur	12	1	1	0	10
Kheri	9	1	3	0	5
Lalitpur	4	1	0	1	2
Lucknow	8	0	1	1	6
Mainpuri	11	2	5	0	4
Mathura	18	0	4	2	12
Meerut	23	3	5	0	15
Mirzapur	12	6	4	1	1
Moradabad	19	1	9	0	9
Muzaffarnagar	18	1	6	0	11
Nainital	17	6	1	1	9
Pilibhit	6	1	2	0	3
Pithoragarh	5	1	0	0	4
Pratapgarh	7	1	0	0	6
Rae Bareli	7	1	1	0	5
Rampur	8	0	2	0	6
Saharanpur	16	1	7	0	8
Shahjahanpur	10	0	4	1	5
Sitapur	10	1	5	0	4
Sultanpur	4	1	0	0	3
Tehri Garhwal	5	3	0	1	1
Unnao	18	1	0	0	17
Uttarkashi	3	1	0	0	2
Varanasi	15	3	5	0	7
Total	659	72	188	20	379
West Bengal					
24 Parganas	14	4	7	3	0
Bankura	5	0	3	2	0
Bardhaman	17	8	6	1	2
Birbhum	7	2	4	0	1
Calcutta	1	0	1	0	0
Darjiling	7	1	2	1	3
Haora	5	1	0	2	2
Hugli	6	0	4	0	2
Jalpaiguri	10	1	4	1	4
Koch Bihar	6	0	5	1	0
Maldah	2	0	1	0	1
Medinipur	16	1	11	3	1
Murshidabad	10	4	5	1	0
Nadia	10	4	3	1	2
Puruliya	7	0	3	3	1
West Dinajpur	7	4	2	1	0
Total	130	30	61	20	19
Andaman & Nicobar Islands					
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1	0	0	0
Total	1	1	0	0	0
Chandigarh					
Chandigarh	1	1	0	0	0
Total	1	1	0	0	0

Annexure II (contd.)

India/State/Union Territory/ District	Number of towns				
	Total 1981	Fast growing 1971-81 (> 46.24%)	Moderately growing 1971-81 (20%-46.24%)	Slow growing 1971-81 (< 20%)	New towns 1981
Dadra & Nagar Haveli					
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1	0	0	0	1
Total	1	0	0	0	1
Daman & Diu					
Daman	1	0	1	0	0
Diu	1	0	1	0	0
Total	2	0	2	0	0
Delhi					
Delhi, U.T.	6	1	0	0	5
Total	6	1	0	0	5
Lakshadweep					
Lakshadweep	3	0	0	0	3
Total	3	0	0	0	3
Pondicherry					
Karaikal	1	1	0	0	0
Mahe	1	0	0	1	0
Pondicherry	1	1	0	0	0
Yanam	1	0	1	0	0
Total	4	2	1	1	0

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Note : Excluding Assam.

Annexure III India : Area, Population and Population Growth Rate of Cities (Population above 100,000 in 1981)

State/Union Territory/ City	District	Area (km ²)			Population			Decadal population growth rate (percent)	
		1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81
		ANDHRA PRADESH							
Hyderabad U.A.	Hyderabad	220.36	298.51	N.A.	1,248,969	1,796,339	2,545,836	43.83	41.72
Vishakhapatnam U.A.	Vishakhapatnam	29.14	94.53	96.54	211,190	363,467	603,630	72.10	66.08
Vijayawada U.A.	Krishna	24.14	66.30	82.50	234,360	344,607	543,008	47.04	57.57
Guntur	Guntur	30.02	30.01	30.01	187,122	269,991	367,699	44.29	36.19
Warangal	Warangal	62.16	54.98	54.98	156,106	207,520	335,150	32.94	61.50
Rajahmundry U.A.	East Godavari	10.59	43.90	50.56	130,002	188,805	268,370	45.23	42.14
Nellore	Nellore	13.68	13.68	48.39	106,776	133,590	237,065	25.11	77.46
Kakinada	East Godavari	24.53	30.51	30.51	122,865	164,200	226,409	33.64	37.89
Kurnool	Kurnool	15.02	15.02	15.02	100,815	136,710	206,362	35.60	50.95
Nizamabad	Nizamabad	36.86	36.86	36.86	79,093	115,640	183,061	46.21	58.30
Eluru	West Godavari	12.02	14.38	14.55	108,321	127,023	168,154	17.27	32.38
Machilipatnam	Krishna	24.86	23.93	24.88	101,417	112,612	138,530	11.04	23.02
Anantapur	Anantapur	18.78	18.78	16.35	52,280	80,069	119,531	53.15	49.28
Tenali	Guntur	6.94	7.90	7.90	78,525	102,937	119,257	31.09	15.85
Tirupati	Chittoor	4.40	19.74	16.21	35,845	65,843	115,292	83.69	75.10
Vizianagaram	Vizianagaram	8.81	8.95	8.95	76,808	86,608	114,806	12.76	32.56
Adoni	Kurnool	30.12	30.12	30.12	69,951	85,311	108,939	21.96	27.70
Proddatur	Cuddapah	7.12	7.12	7.12	50,616	70,822	107,070	39.92	51.18
Cuddapah	Cuddapah	6.84	6.84	6.84	49,027	66,195	103,125	35.02	55.79
Bheemavaram	West Godavari	23.31	25.64	25.64	43,821	63,762	101,894	45.51	59.80
BIHAR									
Patna U.A.	Patna	74.18	93.35	108.58	414,811	551,210	918,903	32.88	66.71
Dhanbad U.A.	Dhanbad	124.20	206.33	203.91	223,843	458,625	678,069	104.89	47.85
Jamshedpur U.A.	Singhbhum	79.00	145.00	146.59	328,044	456,146	669,580	39.05	46.79
Ranchi U.A.	Ranchi	39.86	94.88	182.09	140,253	266,545	502,771	90.05	88.63
Bokaro Stl City U.A.	Dhanbad	0.00	178.93	187.74	0	107,159	264,480	0.00	146.81
Gaya	Gaya	30.51	28.62	28.62	151,105	179,884	247,075	19.05	37.35
Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur	28.72	30.17	30.17	143,850	172,202	225,062	19.71	30.70
Muzaffarpur	Muzaffarpur	20.46	15.57	15.57	109,048	126,379	190,416	15.89	50.67
Darbhanga	Darbhanga	19.43	19.18	19.18	103,016	132,059	176,301	28.19	33.50
Bihar	Nalanda	19.43	19.34	19.34	78,581	100,046	151,343	27.32	51.27
Munger	Munger	17.35	17.50	17.50	89,768	102,474	129,260	14.15	26.14
Arrah	Bhojpur	28.72	30.97	30.97	76,766	92,919	125,111	21.04	34.65
Katihar	Katihar	10.90	16.56	24.54	59,344	80,121	122,005	35.01	52.28
Chapra	Saran	19.42	16.96	16.96	75,580	83,101	111,564	9.95	34.25
Purnia U.A.	Purnia	54.65	59.70	60.26	53,653	71,311	109,875	32.91	54.08
Bermo U.A.	Giridih	63.14	72.90	79.03	60,208	69,321	101,946	15.14	47.06
GUJARAT									
Ahmadabad U.A.*	Ahmadabad	92.98	108.24	98.51	1,206,001	1,752,414	2,548,057	45.31	45.40
Surat U.A.*	Surat	24.01	49.37	55.68	317,519	493,001	913,806	55.27	85.36
Vadodara U.A.	Vadodara	34.42	78.13	114.36	309,716	467,487	744,881	50.94	59.34
Rajkot	Rajkot	N.A.	60.15	69.00	194,145	300,612	445,076	54.84	48.06
Jamnagar U.A.*	Jamnagar	14.43	25.90	25.90	159,217	227,640	317,362	42.97	39.41
Bhavnagar U.A.*	Bhavnagar	N.A.	90.16	90.16	176,473	225,974	308,642	28.05	36.58
Nadiad	Kheda	28.28	28.58	28.48	78,952	108,269	142,689	37.13	31.79
Porbandar U.A.	Junagadh	9.92	27.67	30.06	75,081	106,727	133,307	42.15	24.90
Wadhwan U.A.	Surendranagar	23.28	32.60	18.41	75,706	97,251	130,602	28.46	34.29
Navsari U.A.	Valsad	N.A.	18.07	21.75	63,190	80,101	129,266	26.76	61.38
Junagadh U.A.*	Junagadh	13.47	13.47	13.47	74,298	95,900	120,416	29.07	25.56
Bharuch U.A.*	Bharuch	8.03	8.02	8.02	73,639	92,251	112,524	25.27	21.98
Patan U.A.	Junagadh	35.74	37.68	38.40	60,857	75,520	105,307	24.09	39.44

Annexure III (contd.)

State/Union Territory/ City	District	Area (km ²)			Population			Decadal population growth rate (percent)	
		1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81
		HARYANA							
Faridabad	Faridabad	25.75	25.75	178.24	59,039	122,817	330,864	108.03	169.40
Comp. Admn.	Faridabad	25.75	25.75	178.24	59,039	122,817	330,864	108.03	169.40
Rohtak	Rohtak	11.66	11.66	22.03	88,193	124,755	166,767	41.46	33.68
Yamunanagar U.A.	Ambala	13.88	43.05	27.60	84,337	115,020	160,424	36.38	39.47
Panipat	Karnal	7.77	7.77	20.82	67,026	87,981	137,927	31.26	56.77
Hisar U.A.	Hisar	17.53	31.34	41.38	60,222	89,437	137,369	48.51	53.59
Karnal	Karnal	9.84	18.57	22.10	72,109	92,784	132,107	28.67	42.38
Ambala U.A.	Ambala	36.26	36.26	37.51	105,543	102,493	121,203	- 2.89	18.25
Sonipat	Sonipat	4.38	21.37	21.37	45,882	62,393	109,369	35.99	75.29
Ambala	Ambala	8.70	8.70	16.94	76,204	83,633	104,565	9.75	25.03
Bhiwani	Bhiwani	12.95	9.07	29.74	58,194	73,086	101,277	25.59	38.57
Gurgaon U.A.	Gurgaon	5.18	15.33	24.13	37,868	57,151	100,877	50.92	76.51
JAMMU & KASHMIR									
Srinagar U.A.	Srinagar	291,853	423,253	606,002	47.08	103.28	177.25	45.02	43.18
Jammu U.A.	Jammu	108,257	164,207	223,361	20.46	67.34	61.42	51.68	36.02
KARNATAKA									
Bangalore U.A.	Bangalore	501.21	177.30	365.65	1,206,961	1,664,208	2,921,751	37.88	75.56
Hubli-Dharwad	Dharwad	41.18	182.30	190.94	248,489	379,166	527,108	52.59	39.02
Mysore U.A.	Mysore	37.30	37.30	82.27	253,865	355,685	479,081	40.11	34.69
Mangalore U.A.	Dakshin Kannad	49.21	53.74	22.13	176,003	223,335	306,078	26.89	37.05
Belgaum U.A.	Belgaum	13.99	34.84	91.13	146,790	213,872	300,372	45.70	40.44
Gulbarga	Gulbarga	23.31	13.97	28.31	97,069	145,588	221,325	49.98	52.02
Bellary	Bellary	25.90	27.71	65.90	85,673	125,183	201,579	46.12	61.03
Davangere	Chitradurga	19.42	19.42	20.51	78,124	121,110	196,621	55.02	62.35
Shimoga	Shimoga	5.96	5.96	16.26	63,764	102,709	151,783	61.08	47.78
Bijapur	Bijapur	14.50	14.50	44.78	78,854	103,931	147,313	31.80	41.74
Kolar Gold Fld. U.A.	Kolar	77.70	65.73	52.13	146,811	118,861	144,385	- 19.04	21.47
Bhadravati U.A.	Shimoga	13.99	12.21	22.62	65,776	101,358	130,606	54.10	28.86
Raichur	Raichur	52.58	22.00	28.43	63,329	79,831	124,762	26.06	56.28
Gadag Betigeri	Dharwad	10.62	11.65	17.10	76,614	95,426	117,368	24.55	22.99
Hospet U.A.	Bellary	26.42	24.30	36.00	62,870	76,168	115,351	21.15	51.44
Tumkur	Tumkur	19.43	12.95	15.32	47,277	70,476	108,670	49.07	54.19
Mandya	Mandya	5.18	16.84	16.84	33,347	72,132	100,285	116.31	39.03
KERALA									
Cochin U.A.	Ernakulam	74.83	131.74	188.76	292,167	505,838	685,836	73.13	35.58
Calicut U.A.	Kozhikode	84.56	116.92	138.35	297,364	420,705	546,058	41.48	29.80
Trivandrum U.A.	Trivandrum	55.73	74.93	93.74	262,303	409,627	520,125	56.17	26.98
Trichur U.A.	Trichur	12.67	21.10	54.82	73,038	102,198	170,122	39.92	66.46
Alleppey	Alleppey	46.78	46.77	46.77	138,834	160,166	169,940	15.37	6.10
Quilon U.A.	Quilon	16.34	18.48	24.36	91,018	124,208	167,598	36.47	34.93
Cannanore U.A.	Cannanore	28.24	14.86	44.49	79,535	67,208	157,797	- 15.50	134.79
Palghat U.A.	Palghat	26.60	26.60	30.59	77,620	95,788	117,986	23.41	23.17
MADHYA PRADESH									
Indore	Indore	55.84	58.72	113.52	394,941	560,936	829,327	42.03	47.85
Jabalpur U.A.	Jabalpur	153.33	221.51	230.64	367,014	534,845	757,303	45.73	41.59
Bhopal	Bhopal	71.20	71.20	284.90	222,948	384,859	671,018	72.62	74.35
Gwalior U.A.	Gwalior	62.44	N.A.	303.18	300,587	406,140	555,862	35.12	36.86
Durg-Bhilainagar U.A.*	Durg	124.06	135.04	118.53	133,230	245,124	490,214	83.99	99.99
Raipur	Raipur	25.17	N.A.	55.03	139,792	205,986	338,245	47.35	64.21
Ujjain	Ujjain	17.48	74.54	74.78	144,161	208,561	282,203	44.67	35.31
Sagar U.A.	Sagar	50.06	52.03	52.03	104,676	154,785	207,479	47.87	34.04
Bilaspur U.A.	Bilaspur	32.35	60.69	46.12	86,706	136,676	187,104	57.63	36.90
Ratlam U.A.	Ratlam	12.95	15.53	40.87	87,472	119,247	155,578	36.33	30.47

Annexure III (contd.)

State/Union Territory/ City	District	Area (km ²)			Population			Decadal population growth rate (percent)	
		1961	1971	1981	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971
Burhanpur	East Nimar	11.37	12.83	12.67	82,090	105,335	140,986	28.32	33.85
Murwara U.A.	Jabalpur	21.96	88.57	80.42	60,472	86,535	123,017	43.10	42.16
Khandwa	East Nimar	22.56	23.08	22.57	63,505	85,403	114,725	34.48	34.33
Rewa	Rewa	12.20	52.57	52.57	43,065	69,182	100,641	60.65	45.47
MAHARASHTRA									
Greater Bombay	Greater Bombay	437.71	437.71	437.71	4,152,056	5,970,575	8,243,405	43.80	38.07
Pune U.A.	Pune	282.18	324.52	344.18	790,798	1,135,034	1,686,109	43.53	48.55
Nagpur U.A.	Nagpur	238.59	236.80	263.93	690,302	930,459	1,302,066	34.79	39.94
Ulhasnagar U.A.	Thane	44.21	45.53	45.53	247,250	396,384	648,671	60.32	63.65
Solapur U.A.*	Solapur	22.35	23.23	25.33	337,583	398,361	514,860	18.00	29.24
Nasik U.A.	Nasik	127.79	132.97	145.23	215,576	271,681	429,034	26.03	57.92
Thane U.A.	Thane	33.46	41.42	41.42	109,215	207,352	389,801	89.86	87.99
Kolhapur U.A.	Kolhapur	70.11	72.78	67.24	193,186	267,513	351,392	38.47	31.36
Aurangabad U.A.*	Aurangabad	50.56	50.48	40.79	97,701	165,253	316,421	69.14	91.48
Sangli U.A.	Sangli	70.94	63.82	84.17	127,183	201,597	268,988	58.51	33.43
Amravati City	Amravati	36.34	36.34	36.34	137,875	193,800	261,404	40.56	34.88
Malegaon City	Nasik	10.44	12.95	12.95	121,408	191,847	245,883	58.02	28.17
Akola City	Akola	16.39	20.88	20.88	115,760	168,438	225,412	45.51	33.82
Dhule City	Dhule	26.75	26.75	46.46	98,893	137,129	210,759	38.66	53.69
Nanded City	Nanded	9.66	12.17	12.17	81,087	126,538	191,269	56.05	51.16
Ahmadnagar U.A.	Ahmadnagar	24.71	31.76	31.76	119,020	148,405	181,210	24.69	22.11
Jalgaon City	Jalgaon	17.72	12.30	12.44	80,351	106,711	145,335	32.81	36.19
Ichalkaranji City	Kolhapur	22.51	18.13	22.53	50,978	87,731	133,751	72.10	52.46
Bhusawal U.A.	Jalgaon	28.21	27.25	35.44	79,121	104,708	132,142	32.34	26.20
Jalna City	Aurangabad	51.98	25.90	25.90	67,158	91,099	122,276	35.65	34.22
Chandrapur City	Chandrapur	28.54	28.54	28.54	51,484	75,134	115,777	45.94	54.09
Bhiwandi City	Thane	4.12	4.12	4.12	47,630	79,576	115,298	67.07	44.89
Latur City	Osmanabad	29.19	11.27	7.08	40,913	70,156	111,986	71.48	59.62
Parbhani City	Parbhani	46.57	46.57	46.57	36,795	61,570	109,364	67.33	77.63
Gondia City	Bhandara	18.08	18.08	18.08	56,320	77,992	100,423	38.48	28.76
MANIPUR									
Imphal	Manipur Central	17.48	17.48	29.57	67,717	100,366	156,622	48.21	56.05
MEGHALAYA									
Shillong U.A.	East Khasi Hills	21.27	21.27	25.40	102,398	122,752	174,703	19.88	42.32
ORISSA									
Cuttack U.A.	Cuttack	68.89	104.40	109.95	159,786	230,059	327,412	43.98	42.32
Rourkela U.A.	Sundargarh	95.31	121.73	139.04	90,287	172,502	322,610	91.06	87.02
Bhubaneswar	Puri	50.25	65.03	92.91	38,211	105,491	219,211	176.07	107.80
Brahmapur	Ganjam	22.27	29.27	76.15	76,931	117,662	162,550	52.94	38.15
Sambalpur U.A.	Sambalpur	44.81	76.69	89.50	57,738	105,085	162,214	82.00	54.36
Puri	Puri	16.83	16.84	16.84	60,815	72,674	100,942	19.50	38.90
PUNJAB									
Ludhiana	Ludhiana	19.66	41.70	110.00	244,032	401,176	607,052	64.39	51.32
Amritsar	Amritsar	49.85	49.85	114.95	398,047	458,029	594,844	15.07	29.87
Jalandhar	Jalandhar	44.03	62.16	79.40	222,569	296,106	408,196	33.04	37.85
Patiala U.A.*	Patiala	33.67	24.09	31.20	125,234	151,041	206,254	20.61	36.55
Bathinda U.A.*	Bathinda	20.72	20.72	82.88	52,253	65,318	127,363	25.00	94.99
Pathankot	Gurdaspur	11.06	16.37	20.98	54,810	78,192	110,039	42.66	40.73
Batala U.A.	Gurdaspur	6.06	6.06	8.75	51,300	76,488	101,966	49.10	33.31

Annexure IV India : Data Sheet Showing the Computation of the Components of Urban Growth during 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory	Urban population			1971 population of towns declassified in 1981	Urban population in 1971 exclusive of population of towns declassified in 1981
	1981	1971	Net increase 1971-81		
INDIA*	157,680,171	107,824,755	49,855,416	926,997	106,897,758
States					
Andhra Pradesh	12,487,576	8,402,527	4,085,049	20,613	8,381,914
Arunachal Pradesh	41,428	17,288	24,140	0	17,288
Bihar	8,718,990	5,633,966	3,085,024	68,512	5,565,454
Goa	322,785	203,243	119,542	0	203,243
Gujarat	10,601,653	7,496,500	3,105,153	43,992	7,452,508
Haryana	2,827,387	1,772,959	1,054,428	5,039	1,767,920
Himachal Pradesh	325,971	241,890	84,081	0	241,890
Jammu & Kashmir	1,260,403	858,221	402,182	1,822	856,399
Karnataka	10,729,606	7,122,093	3,607,513	65,790	7,056,303
Kerala	4,771,275	3,466,449	1,304,826	520,321	2,946,128
Madhya Pradesh	10,586,459	6,784,767	3,801,692	5,180	6,779,587
Maharashtra	21,993,594	15,711,211	6,282,383	65,289	15,645,922
Manipur	375,460	141,492	233,968	0	141,492
Meghalaya	241,333	147,170	94,163	0	147,170
Mizoram	121,814	37,759	84,055	0	37,759
Nagaland	120,234	51,394	68,840	0	51,394
Orissa	3,110,287	1,845,395	1,264,892	5,173	1,840,222
Punjab	4,647,757	3,216,179	1,431,578	0	3,216,179
Rajasthan	7,210,508	4,543,761	2,666,747	0	4,543,761
Sikkim	51,084	19,668	31,416	0	19,668
Tamil Nadu	15,951,875	12,464,834	3,487,041	110,565	12,354,269
Tripura	225,568	162,360	63,208	0	162,360
Uttar Pradesh	19,899,115	12,388,596	7,510,519	6,256	12,382,340
West Bengal	14,446,721	10,967,033	3,479,688	8,445	10,958,588
Union Territories					
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	49,634	26,218	23,416	0	26,218
Chandigarh	422,841	232,940	189,901	0	232,940
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	6,941	0	6,941	0	0
Daman & Diu	29,023	23,531	5,492	0	23,531
Delhi	5,668,200	3,647,023	2,121,177	0	3,647,023
Lakshadweep	18,629	0	18,629	0	0
Pondicherry	316,047	198,288	117,759	0	198,288

Annexure IV India : Data Sheet Showing the Computation of the Components of Urban Growth during 1971-81

Rate of natural increase 1971-81 (percent)	Actual natural increase 1971-81	Natural increase as percentage of net increase in urban population	Net immigration (rural-urban plus immigration from other countries)	Percentage of net immigration to net increase in urban population	Population of new towns of 1981
19.24	20,567,129	41.25	20,010,692	40.13	8,262,665
20.95	1,756,010	42.98	2,070,185	50.67	299,037
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	14,116
19.72	1,097,507	35.57	1,181,275	38.29	337,965
12.34	25,081	20.98	56,947	47.63	39,217
21.19	1,579,186	50.85	1,348,533	43.42	167,871
21.77	384,876	36.50	416,721	39.52	181,463
15.13	36,598	43.52	13,726	16.32	33,114
15.63	133,855	33.28	188,502	46.86	74,943
17.80	1,256,022	34.81	1,977,382	54.81	384,754
19.14	563,889	43.21	329,499	-25.25	817,390
22.17	1,503,034	39.53	1,484,839	39.05	689,462
18.47	2,889,802	45.99	3,095,360	49.27	353,050
16.93	23,954	10.23	84,621	36.16	123,859
12.80	18,838	20.00	56,073	59.54	18,450
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	30,116
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	34,956
19.95	367,124	29.02	568,347	44.93	269,740
20.14	647,738	45.24	415,682	29.03	221,831
22.42	1,018,711	38.20	1,098,423	41.18	535,115
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0
16.95	2,094,049	60.05	1,124,360	32.24	154,495
12.33	20,019	31.67	22,570	35.70	20,558
20.47	2,534,665	33.74	1,650,470	21.97	3,199,802
14.02	1,536,394	44.15	1,401,403	40.27	196,901
19.41	5,089	21.73	18,185	77.66	0
27.13	63,197	33.27	84,203	44.34	0
N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap	6,914
12.34	2,093	52.86	2,589	47.14	0
19.99	729,039	34.36	956,804	45.10	38,917
N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap	N.Ap	18,629
13.56	26,888	22.83	38,921	33.05	0

Annexure IV India : Data Sheet Showing the Computation of the Components of Urban Growth during 1971-81

India/State/Union Territory	Percentage of new town population to net increase in urban population	Urban area (in km ²)			Area of new towns of 1981 (in km ²)
		1981	1971	Net change 1971-81	
INDIA	16.57	52,649.00	42,597.91	10,051.09	6,736.42
States					
Andhra Pradesh	7.32	3,685.97	3,563.35	122.62	334.07
Arunachal Pradesh	58.47	0.00	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Bihar	10.95	4,130.99	2,773.24	1,357.75	288.20
Goa	32.81	177.30	137.09	40.21	46.47
Gujarat	5.40	4,613.03	4,558.07	54.96	140.75
Haryana	17.20	763.77	451.36	312.41	70.59
Himachal Pradesh	39.38	212.14	155.42	56.72	48.37
Jammu & Kashmir	18.63	557.44	393.20	164.24	86.01
Karnataka	10.66	3,601.74	3,134.20	467.54	616.52
Kerala	62.64	1,787.56	1,341.24	446.32	430.33
Madhya Pradesh	18.10	4,838.43	2,524.57	2,313.86	1,265.45
Maharashtra	5.61	5,739.17	5,984.64	- 245.47	213.82
Manipur	52.93	151.35	45.84	105.51	81.54
Meghalaya	19.59	84.78	38.13	46.65	33.29
Mizoram	35.82	319.00	21.39	297.61	124.00
Nagaland	50.77	108.84	41.80	67.04	52.17
Orissa	21.32	2,288.64	1,658.03	630.58	307.48
Punjab	15.49	1,195.55	6,684.27	511.28	71.86
Rajasthan	20.06	4,496.44	3,791.86	704.58	849.56
Sikkim	0.00	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	0.00
Tamil Nadu	4.43	5,859.88	58,93.22	- 33.34	84.37
Tripura	32.52	54.36	41.94	12.24	11.93
Uttar Pradesh	42.60	4,537.29	2,841.33	1,695.96	1,382.25
West Bengal	5.65	2,638.10	1,954.08	684.02	129.08
Union Territories					
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.00	14.14	7.95	6.19	0.00
Chandigarh	0.00	68.33	57.60	10.73	0.00
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	100.00	6.65	0.00	6.65	6.65
Daman & Diu	0.00	15.60	15.60	0.00	0.00
Delhi	1.83	591.85	446.26	145.59	51.07
Lakshadweep	100.00	10.59	0.00	10.59	10.59
Pondicherry	0.00	100.07	57.80	42.27	0.00

Annexure IV India : Data Sheet Showing the Computation of the Components of Urban Growth during 1971-81

Urban area increase exclusive of the area of new towns (in km ²)	1971 area of towns declassified in 1981 (in km ²)	Urban area increase attributable to change in jurisdiction of towns (in km ²)	Population density in 1981 (per km ²)	Net territorial change of towns	
				Estimated population	Percentage contribution to urban population change
3,314.67	1,384.08	4,698.75	216	1,014,930	2.03
- 211.45	5.38	- 206.07	195	- 40,183	- 0.98
N.A.	0.00	N.A.	8	N.A.	N.A.
1,069.55	95.32	1,164.87	402	468,277	15.17
6.26	0.00	- 6.26	272	- 1,702	- 1.42
- 85.79	140.75	54.96	174	9,563	0.30
241.82	2.59	244.41	292	71,368	6.76
8.35	0.00	8.35	77	64,295	0.76
78.23	4.52	82.75	59	488,225	1.21
- 148.98	94.11	- 54.87	194	- 10,645	- 0.29
15.99	370.34	386.33	655	253,046	19.39
1,048.41	5.46	1,053.87	118	124,357	3.27
- 459.29	185.62	- 273.67	204	- 55,829	- 0.88
23.97	0.00	23.97	64	1,534	0.65
13.36	0.00	13.36	60	802	0.85
173.61	0.00	173.61	23	3,993	4.75
14.87	0.00	14.87	47	690	1.01
322.10	30.04	353.14	169	59,681	4.71
439.42	0.00	439.42	333	146,327	10.22
144.98	0.00	- 144.98	100	14,498	0.54
N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	45	N.A.	N.A.
- 117.71	124.53	- 306.82	372	114,137	3.27
0.31	0.00	0.31	196	61	0.09
313.71	19.40	333.11	377	125,582	1.67
554.94	6.02	560.96	615	344,990	9.91
6.19	0.00	6.19	23	142	0.60
10.73	0.00	10.73	3,961	42,501	22.38
0.00	0.00	0.00	211	0.00	0.00
0.00	0.00	0.00	705	0.00	0.00
94.52	0.00	94.52	4,194	396,417	18.68
0.00	0.00	0.00	1,258	0.00	0.00
42.27	0.00	42.27	1,229	51,950	44.11

Source : Census of India, 1981 and Sample Registration Bulletin, Vol XVIII, No. 2, December 1984, pp. 8-14.

*Excluding Assam.

Note : For a note on urban area figures see Table 33.

"On a clear night a close-up satellite picture of Earth looks like a view into the depths of space. The stars, nebulae and galaxies of Earth are cities, urban constellations on a dark background.

"The image is both revealing and incomplete. The brightness of the cities pushes them into the foreground as centres of human attraction, creators of intellectual light and economic power. What is missing from the image is the negative side—the idea that the city's attraction creates the darkness around it.

"Is the city a dynamo of social economic development or a parasite, an obstacle to healthy growth?"

This is an excerpt from Rafael M. Salas' message contained in the *State of World Population 1986*—a message that provided to the National Institute of Urban Affairs the necessary impulse to prepare this report on the *State of India's Urbanisation*. This report does not claim to decide whether urbanisation is desirable or undesirable, or whether it has generated progress or drained the economy of its strength; rather, it provides a comprehensive analysis of the urbanisation processes in India, by looking at its scale, the growth behaviour, the components, the share of migration, the pattern of urban spread, the contribution of urbanisation to the Indian economy, and, to a minor extent, its consequences.

The *State of India's Urbanisation* responds to the growing need to better understand the urbanisation processes and the nature of relationships between urbanisation and other economic and social development parameters. Being the first of its kind, it is expected that readers will find it as a basic document on the subject, and be able to utilise it for policy making and policy-oriented research.

The National Institute of Urban Affairs (NIUA) is a premier institute for urban research in India. Its main aim is to assist and strengthen the decision-making process by making available to policy-makers a critical and objective analysis of the urban situation, as well as alternative sets of approaches to the urban problems faced by them. The Institute's functions include research, training, consultancy services, and documentation and information dissemination. It undertakes and promotes research on urbanisation and urban-related issues, organises training workshops and seminars in fields related to urban planning and development, and acts as a clearing house of information.

