Reshaping Urban Growth Patterns
Some Options

Research Study No. 30

(Prepared for the National Commission on Urbanisation)

National Institute of Urban Affairs
11 Nyaya Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi – 110 021

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PREFACE

RESHAPING URBAN GROWTH PATTERNS: SOME OPTIONS is concerned with the future patterns of urbanisation.

Undertaken at the instance of the National Commission on Urbanisation, this study report shows, to begin with, that the existing distribution pattern of urban population in India is uneven and skewed - whether one looks at it in terms of size classes or regions. It suggests that if the present pattern of growth continues, then India will encounter in the year 2001 A.D at least three megaloploises, 46 one-million cities, about 450 cities with more than 100,000 population, and a score of others which will enter the urban space through a simple process of reclassification of rural settlements into urban.

How can the existing pattern of population distribution be changed in light of the fact that the 1981-2001 period may register an addition of at least 160 million persons to the country's already large urban population base? This is the question that this report attempts to address.

The report points out that the question of the future pattern of urban population growth is linked with several normative considerations, such as — should the future pattern be reshaped on efficiency grounds or on the basis of equity, both of which happen to share today's manifesto of development goals? Should the future urban policy be concerned with only spatial goals or designed to serve the larger national economic and social objectives?

The report argues that any urban policy aimed primarily at the correction of spatial imbalances is myopic, and if the policy has to take roots in the country then it will be necessary to link it with the larger socioeconomic framework. It offers several possible courses of actions to link the two.

The undersigned has been assisted in the preparation of this report by V.K. Dhar, Housing, Environmental and Urban Planner, and Pushpa Pathak, Research Fellow at the National Institute of Urban Affairs, supported by a team of dedicated researchers. I would like to acknowledge their assistance on this study. I would also like to express my gratitude to the National Commission on Urbanisation for affording me opportunities of presenting draft findings of this study.

June 1988

Om Prakash Mathur
Director

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INTRODUCTION

Almost all population projections indicate that India's urban population will cross the 320 million mark by the turn of the century. Between 1981 when it stood at 159.7[1] million and the year 2001, nearly 160 million persons are expected to be added to India's urban population base. One important aspect of this growth which bears overwhelmingly on this study is that of the expected increase of 160 million, migration from rural areas will account for anywhere between 60-70 million persons. The balance will be accounted for by natural increase (65 million) and reclassification of rural settlements into urban as well as readjustment of boundaries (30 millions).[2]

Evidently, the question arises as to where should this increase take place, assuming, of course, that it is possible to influence and channel the impending growth into appropriately chosen areas and locations. Should this question of the future population distribution be left to the market — howsoever distorted it might be, or should an attempt be made to intervene into the market and direct this growth into specific regions, areas, even individual centres which may be especially chosen for future urban development? Should the growth be directed towards larger cities to achieve economies of scale and higher levels of productivity, or towards smaller towns for fostering better rural-urban linkages? Should the growth be promoted in regions

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1. Includes the estimated urban population of Assam.

2. During 1971-81, migration contributed 40.13 per cent to the total urban population growth. Natural increase contributed 41.25 per cent and 18.6 per cent of the increase was contributed by reclassification of settlments into urban. The same percentages have been applied to estimate their relative contributions in the decades 1981-2001. See National Institute of Urban Affairs, State of India's Urbanisation, New Delhi, June 1988.

that are already developed and fast developing, or in lagging regions? This set of questions implies that the way population is distributed in space makes a difference to the overall development processes, and that the spatial distribution of urban population is not a neutral factor in development. Or, else, the distributive aspects of population growth will not be an issue in urban policy making exercises.

It needs to be pointed out at the very outset that the entire field of urban population growth and change is immensely complex, and despite long years of research and empirical work not much light has been shed on why growth occurs in some areas and not in others, and why certain towns register high population growth and others lag behind. The explanations that one finds in literature have been either too general attributing the growth or the lack of it to the classical factors of production, or too specific to the towns in question. One point that has emerged from the past work is that urban population growth and change is a dynamic and interactive process, and to try to explain it in any definitive way could be misleading, if not hazardous. As a consequence, the countries have not found it easy to formulate policies to influence population distribution. There are few countries today that have explicit or direct policies of population redistribution. Those who have them have not succeeded in their efforts to alter the pattern of population distribution. These countries have also realised that it is not something that can be accomplished in a short run; it requires "much capital, diverse infrastructure, a time perspective of 15-20 years, and a strong

regional development effort to distribute even 1-2 per cent of population."[3]

Irrespective of the limits of such policies, the fact remains that the distributive aspects of population growth can not be left to the market particularly in a country like India where the distribution of urban population is quite uneven and skewed.[4] It is also evident that if this pattern of growth persists, and the distribution is left to the forces and pressures which are exercised by the locational decisions of major economic sectors taken independently, then the chances are that India may up in the year 2001 with at least three megalopolises (Calcutta, 16.53 million, Bombay, 16.0 million, and Delhi 13.52 million), as many as 46 cities in the population range of 1-10 million (as against 12 of 1981), and about 450 cities with populations ranging between 100,000-1 million.[5] This general picture of the future distribution is not enviable particularly if it occurs without the planners and people being conscious of, and prepared for it.

It is in the context of the larger issue of the future course of urbanisation that this study has been conducted. The specific context of the study, however, has a legacy which cannot be overlooked. During the census decade 1971-81, 568 urban centres (17.2 per cent of

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3. Robin J. Pryor, "Population Redistribution: Policy Formulation and Implementation", in United Nations, Population Distribution Policies in Development Planning, New York, 1981.

4. It has been amplified in subsequent sections. See also, National Institute of Urban Affairs, "A Report of the Symposium on Interim Report of the National Commission on Urbanisation", New Delhi, October 1987.

5. These numbers are based on population projections by using straight line methods.

the total urban centres of 1981)[6] experienced a population growth rate of over 46.24 per cent, this being the average growth rate of urban population in the country during the said period.[7] Likewise, the population growth rate of 487 urban centres (14.7 per cent of the total) turned out to be less than 20 per cent, 20 per cent being the estimated natural growth rate of urban population during 1971-81. While it was generally understood that there will invariably be towns which will achieve higher than average growth rates and others will lag behind, the sheer number of the fast and slow growing towns, 1055 out of a total 3301 urban centres, gave rise to a number of searching questions: what happened during this census decade that caused such a large number of them to register a growth rate of 46.24 per cent, and others, 487 of them, to experience a low population growth rate? Was it a new phenomenon on India's urban space or a continuation of the past trends? Was this merely a demographic phenomenon of expansion and contraction, or associated with economic, social and physical changes? Was it caused by factors internal to the towns or influenced by external forces? The central issue was about the process of urban growth and decline: was it really so dynamic as had been predicated in the previous work, or was it possible to distinguish features which characterised the fast and slow growing towns, to identify the factors responsible for change, and design on that basis future policy interventions?

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6. India had a total of 3301 urban centres in 1981. This number treats urban agglomerations as single units.

7. Excluding the growth rate of Assam.

The National Commission on Urbanisation (NCU) proposed that these questions should be systematically examined and studied in order that it can make "specific recommendations on the towns which should be selected for development."[8] Vide letter No. K-14011/41/85-UD/III.A, the Commission proposed that the study should cover:

i. a macroanalysis of the demographic aspects of the fast growing and slow growing towns; it should aim at a better understanding of their broad characteristics and typologies;

ii. a microanalysis of a few sampled fast growing and slow growing towns, with the object of identifying their economic, social and physical features and characteristics; and

iii. the process of identification of towns for "development".

The National Institute of Urban Affairs submitted an Interim Note in the month of November 1987, presenting in it the first set of results of —

i. the demographic aspects of the entire universe of the fast growing and slow growing towns. It focussed on determining whether there was any regularity and consistency in the pattern of their growth and decline; and

ii. the data from a field survey of 35 fast growing and an equal number of the slow growing towns. Data from the field survey related to those aspects which, on prima facie considerations, indicated the growth or the stagnation of the economy of the towns.

The note, as mentioned, was interim. More important, it was partial as it focussed on only the fast growing (568) and slow growing towns (487) of the 1971-81 decade, ignoring from its scope 1365 urban centres whose populations had risen moderately, that is, between 20-46.24 per cent. Also, it did not examine the role of the 881 new

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8. National Commission on Urbanisation, Interim Report, p.10, New Delhi, 1987.

towns of 1981, meaning that these were not candidates in any scheme of future urban development. This proposition was clearly unacceptable.

In this study on the future patterns of urbanisation, we have analysed the growth behavior of the entire universe of 3301 towns, with a view to identify the existing distribution patterns of urban growth and to determine the most viable options for the future course of urbanisation. Emphasis has been placed on the selection of a combination of patterns and strategies of urban growth which can, on the one hand, meet the broader economic and social development objectives - assuming that there will be no major or dramatic departures from those which have sustained our development paths so far, and, on the other hand, serve the diverse needs of this large country.

India is endowed with diverse patterns of urbanisation. There are regions and subregions that have attained moderate to high levels of urbanisation and are still registering high urban population growth. These are contrasted with others where both the urbanisation levels as well as growth rates are low in comparison with the averages for the country. Then there are regions which are at a very low level of urbanisation but are going through a process of urban growth. There are areas which have earned the distinction of having a concentration of slow growing and stagnating towns. The forces underlying the patterns also vary; in some regions, these are the outcomes of agricultural prosperity; in others, of agricultural stagnation. In yet others, it is the industry - concentration of manufacturing activities, which has shaped the urbanisation processes. In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, a substantial part of urban growth during 1971-81

has occurred due to the notification of the erstwhile rural settlements into urban.

All these diverse patterns tend to clearly suggest that they can not be dealt with in the framework of a simplistic policy A policy, for instance, to develop small and medium towns without their being related to the overall system of settlements is unlikely to yield the desired results in a situation where the patterns of growth, the forces underlying them, the problems of urbanisation and the needs of the various regions happen to be different. Likewise, a policy directed at a particular region or a subregion can, at most, provide a short term palliative.

Literature on urbanisation is replete with references to growth poles, growth centres, decentralised concentration, balanced urban growth, and systems approaches to urban population distribution. By and large, these approaches have focussed on either a preferred size group, or a preferred region or a subregion. In this study, we have taken a view that for a long range urban policy, a broader view linking urbanisation and urban growth with economic development processes is necessary. Such an approach alone can provide the necessary interface between urban and national economic development.

At least five types of responses and interventions have been proposed in this study. These are:

Development of high productivity urban corridors - The rationale of, and justification for, this proposal is based on the fact that there are several areas in the country that have attained economies of

scale, of agglomeration and specialisation. These are the centres of high technology research and development. Much of the country's GNP emanates from such centres. They have begun to form clusters but do not yet enjoy the interindustry and spatial linkages. One of the proposed responses is to develop selected "urban corridors" in order to further maximise the scale and specialisation economies.

Development of a network of secondary cities and towns - The primary focus underlying this intervention is not so much to slow down the growth of large cities but develop a network of medium-sized towns which would be able to establish and foster better and sustainable rural-urban relationships. These will enable the rural areas to take full advantage of the urban services, and the urban areas to develop rural and agri-based technologies and services.

Development of an interlinked hierarchy of urban settlements - Such a strategy is necessary for regions where the size of urban settlements, and consequently the levels of demand are small, and where because of the scale limitations, investments in infrastructure and services can neither be justified, nor sustained. An interlinked hierarchy of settlements which can mutually support and reinforce each other is inevitable for such regions.

An urban revitalisation strategy for stagnating towns - The basic idea is to intervene in those regions which have a disproportionately high concentration of slow growing and stagnating towns. Initially, the objective will be to identify the reasons of stagnation in those areas and then design specific policies to revitalise the economy of those areas.

Prevent spurious urban growth - A detailed study of the components of urban population growth suggests that in states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, much of the urban population increase during 1971-81 occurred as a result of the notification of erstwhile rural settlements as municipal bodies, without any regard to the criteria used by census for classifying settlements as "urban". This is, at best, an administrative decision to classify an area as urban. Such areas have virtually no urban character. The idea underlying this proposal is to make the procedures of classifying settlements as urban "stricter" and prevent what one might call spurious urban growth.

Admittedly, a strategy that aims at the simultaneous development of urban corridors, a network of secondary cities, a hierarchy of centres in selected regions, revitalisation of stagnating towns, and prevention of spurious urban growth would require a bold and stronger action. The five year plans have so far not recognised the importance of looking at the entire spectrum of urban space. The approach has so far been to look at a part of the urban space. In times of resource scarcity, it is this sector that has suffered. The National Institute of Urban Affairs believes that the present approach is myopic and needs to be jettisoned favour of one which can maximise the contribution of urbanisation to the total development process. Often, it is less than realised that the urban sector is as vital to the country's economy as the rural sector. It is atleast twice as productive (in terms of GNP) as its rural counterpart.[9] A positive orientation of the future pattern of urbanisation will unquestionably

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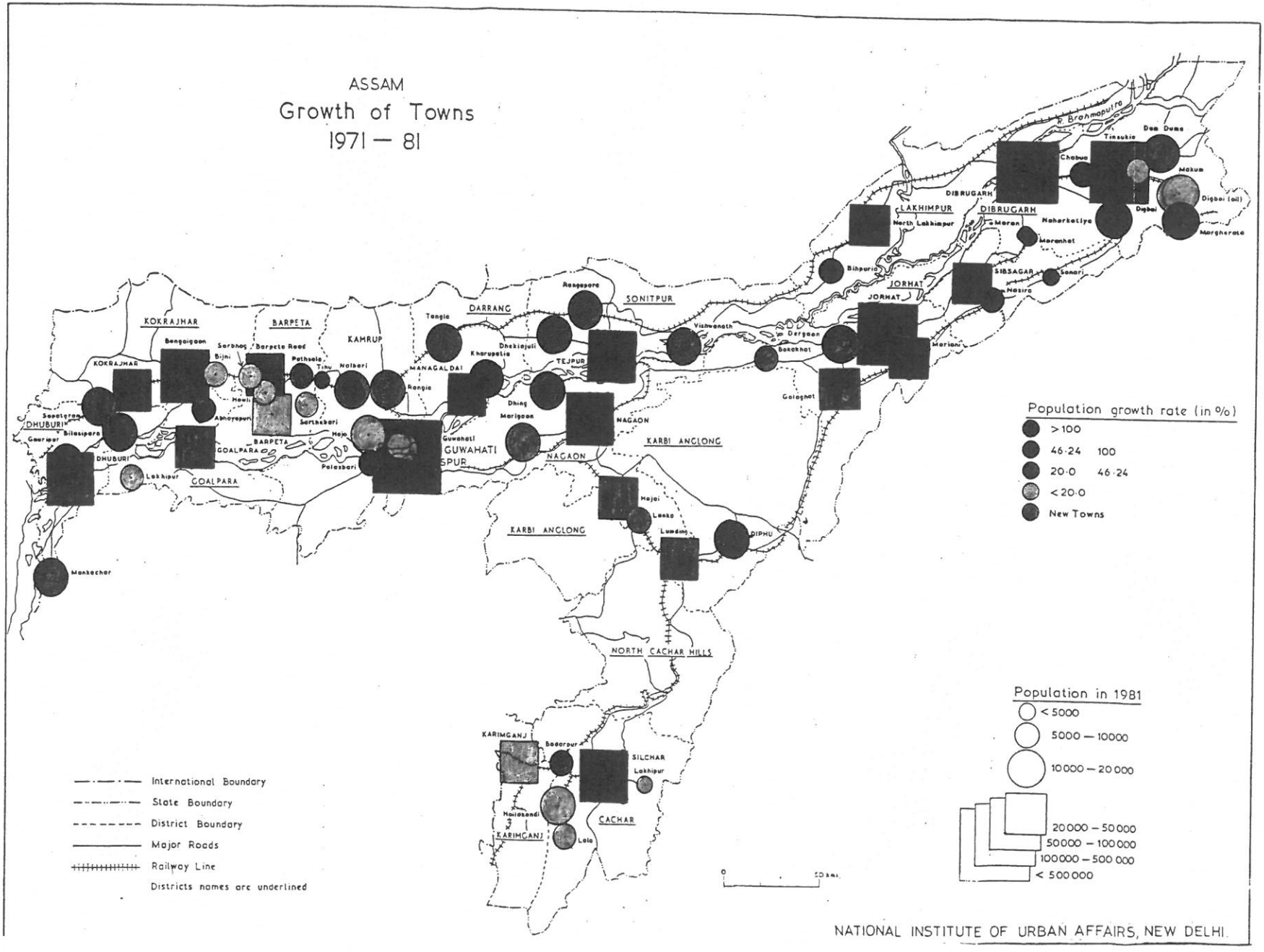
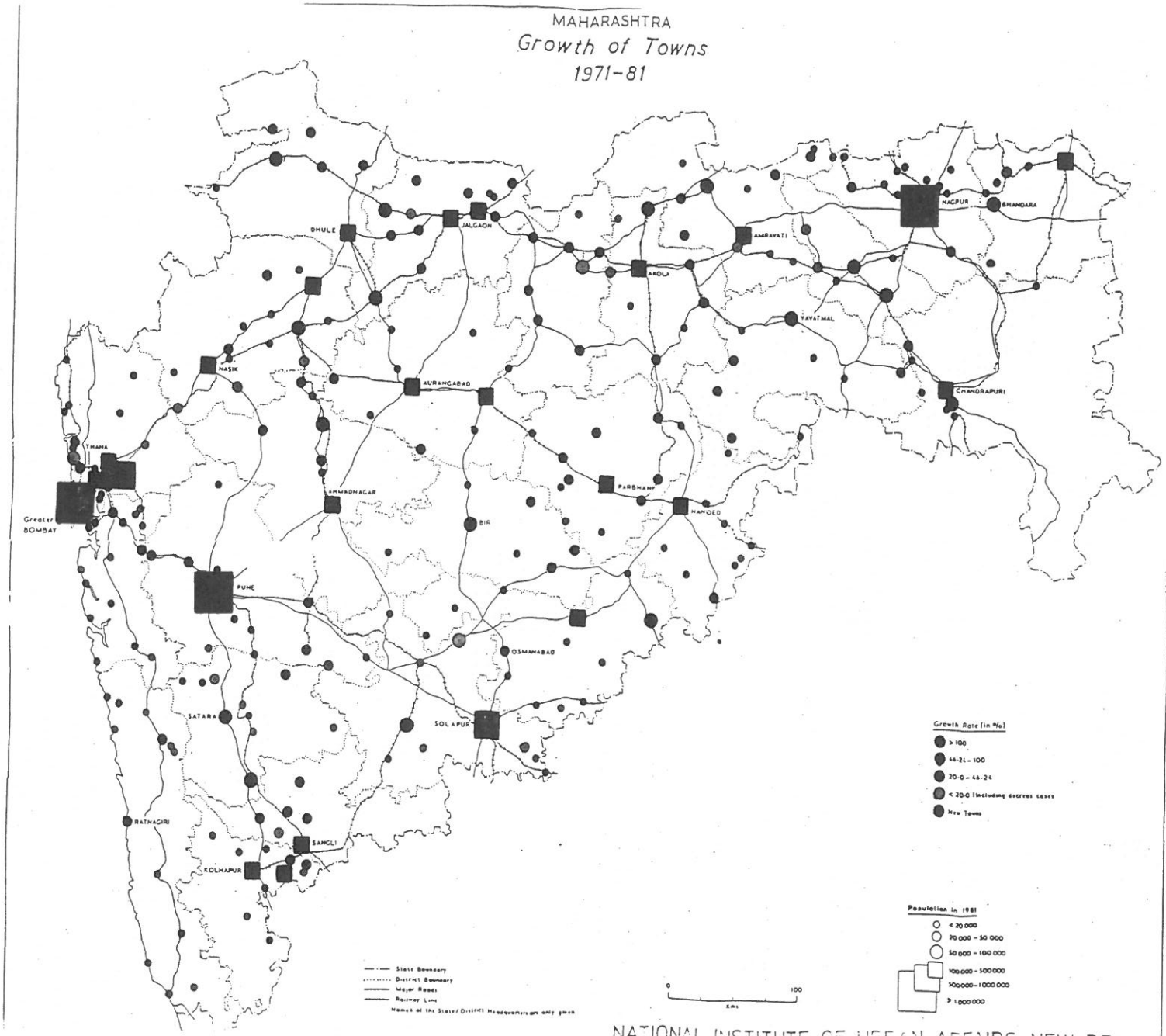
9. Rakesh Mohan, "Urbanisation in India's Future", Population and Development Review, New York, Vol 11, No.4, 1985.

further its contribution to economic growth and help in the attainment of other development goals.

It is this message that constitutes the main theme of this study.


ASSAM
Growth of Towns
1971 — 81
KOKRAJHAR
BARPETA
KAMRUP
DARRANG
SONITPUR
LAKHIMPUR
DIBRUGARH
JORHAT
SIBSAGAR
NAGAON
KARBI ANGLONG
NORTH CACHAR HILLS
CACHAR
KARIMGANJ
DHUBURI
GOALPARA
GUWAHATI SPUR
TEJPUR
DIPHU
SILCHAR
Population growth rate (in %)
> 100
46·24 100
20·0 46·24
< 20·0
New Towns
Population in 1981
< 5000
5000 — 10000
10000 — 20000
20000 — 50000
50000 — 100000
100000 — 500000
< 500000
International Boundary
State Boundary
District Boundary
Major Roads
Railway Line
Districts names are underlined
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS, NEW DELHI.


MAHARASHTRA
Growth of Towns
1971-81
DHULE
JALGAON
AKOLA
AMRAVATI
NAGPUR
BHANDARA
YAVATMAL
CHANDRAPURI
NASIK
AURANGABAD
PARBHANI
NANDED
THANA
AHMADNAGAR
BIR
Greater BOMBAY
PUNE
OSMANABAD
SATARA
SOLAPUR
RATNAGIRI
SANGLI
KOLHAPUR
Growth Rate (in %)
> 100
44.24 - 100
20.0 - 44.24
< 20.0 (including decrease cases
New Towns
Population in 1981
< 20,000
20,000 - 50,000
50,000 - 100,000
100,000 - 500,000
500,000 - 1,000,000
> 1,000,000
State Boundary
District Boundary
Major Roads
Railway Line
Names of the State/District Headquarters are only given
0
100
Kms
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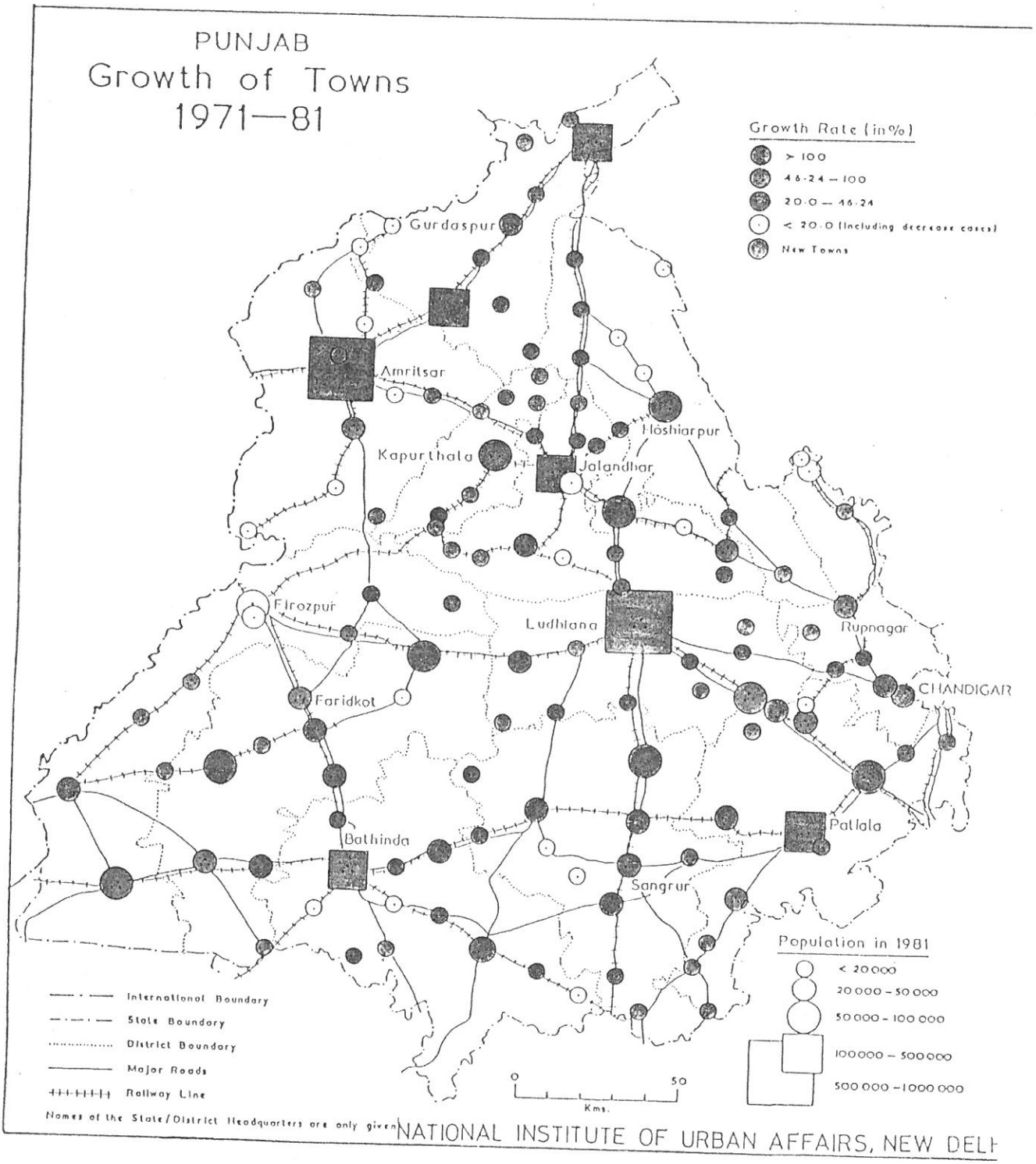
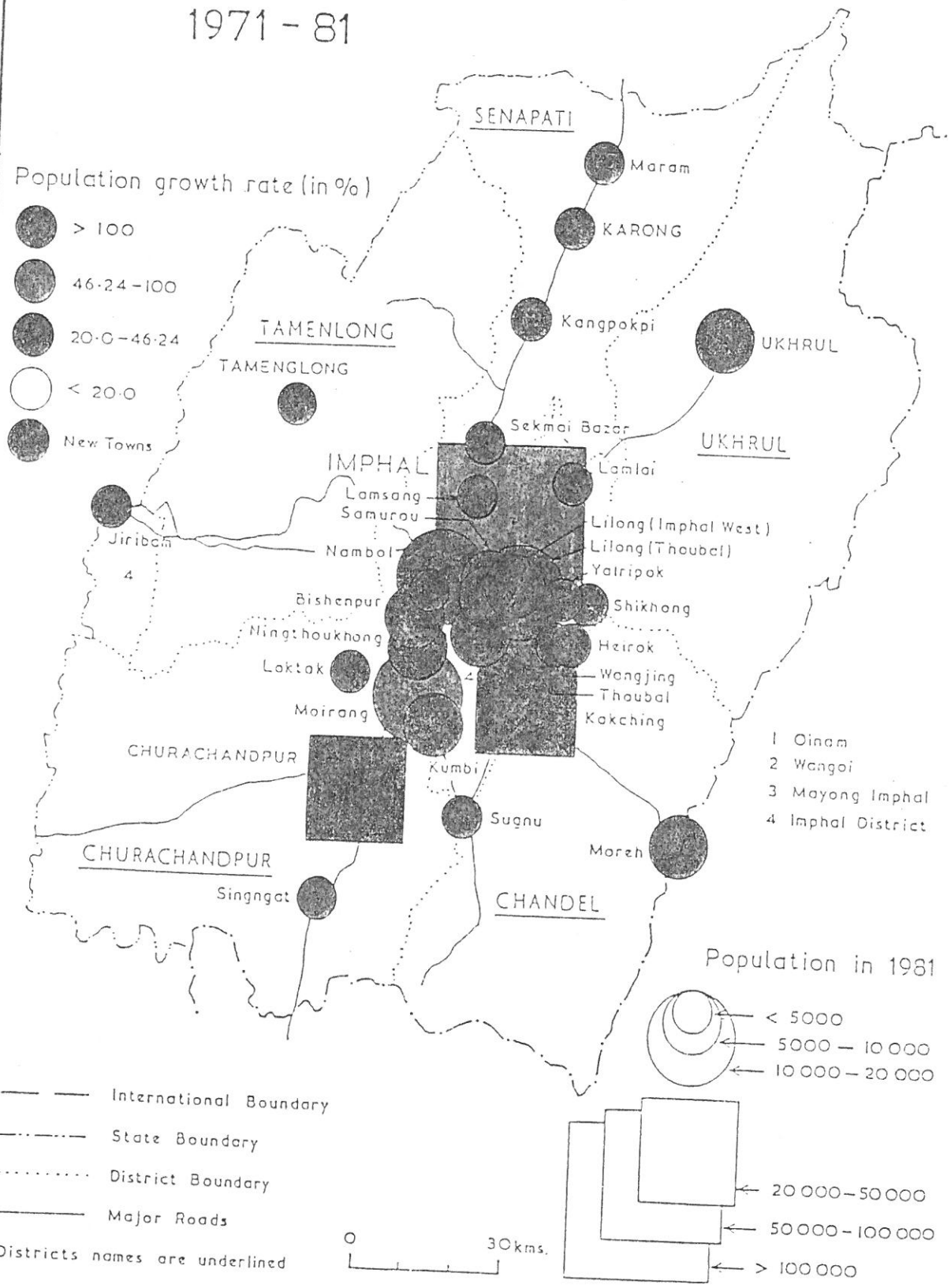

PUNJAB
Growth of Towns
1971—81
Growth Rate (in %)
> 100
46·24 — 100
20·0 — 46·24
< 20·0 (including decrease cases)
New Towns
Gurdaspur
Amritsar
Kapurthala
Jalandhar
Hoshiarpur
Firozpur
Ludhiana
Rupnagar
CHANDIGAR
Faridkot
Bathinda
Patiala
Sangrur
Population in 1981
< 20 000
20 000 – 50 000
50 000 – 100 000
100 000 – 500 000
500 000 – 1 000 000
International Boundary
State Boundary
District Boundary
Major Roads
Railway Line
0
50
Kms.
Names of the State/District Headquarters are only given
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS, NEW DELH

MANIPUR
Growth of Towns
1971 - 81



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PATTERNS OF URBAN POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

PATTERN OF URBAN POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

The question where to direct the future urban population and how to identify the areas of intervention have been approached in literature from a variety of angles. The first and perhaps the most conventional and widely used of the approaches has been to analyse the urban population growth and distribution according to the population size class of urban centres. Wherever the analysis has shown that the urban population is unevenly distributed between centres of different sizes, and that the weight of any one class overshadows the weights of other classes, then interventions have been proposed to change the pattern of distribution in favour of the most "preferred size class". The size class analysis has been the forte of much of the urbanisation literature in the country.

A second approach - also very dominant in urban analysis, has been to look at urban population in terms of its distribution in regions and subregions. If the distribution is considered to be skewed, imbalanced and distorted, then policies have been proposed to correct the distortions, again on the basis of the most "preferred region or subregion." This approach has been the bane of the backward area development and balanced regional development policies and programmes in many countries.

Then there is the third approach which focusses on the growth rates of the individual urban centres. This approach involves an analysis of the growth rates of the various categories of urban centres, that is, fast growing, moderately growing, and slow growing,

and design policies to influence and temper with the growth rates in such a way that they fall in line with the urban policy goals and objectives.

In order to be able to determine which of the approaches would be most appropriate in the context of the main issue of the future petterns of urbaisation, it is necessary to look at the existing distribution patterns of urban population from at least two interrelated points of view —

- from the point of view of the variations in the existing distribution of urban population, that is, whether there are variations in the existing distribution by size class of urban centres, or by regions and subregions?; and whether the existing patterns are balanced or imbalanced?
- from the point of view of the regularity in the patterns of urban population growth and distribution, that is, whether it is possible to distinguish or identify any dominant pattern(s) of urban population growth and distribution. 11

1. Size Class Analysis

It is best to begin by looking at the overall distribution of urban population in terms of firstly, the size classes of urban centres; secondly, the regions and subregions; and finally the population growth rates of individual centres, with the help of data drawn from the census reports. Table 1 gives the 1981 urban population according to the size classes of urban centres.

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11. The above is central to the analysis, as there is no way in which the future patterns of urbanisation could be determined independent of what exists on the ground. Theoretically, of course, it is possible to construct models of population distribution which stand delinked from the existing distribution, but such models are outside the realm of reality, and do not, therefore, form a part of this study.

Table - 1

Size Distribution of the Number of Urban Settlements with their Share in Urban Population, 1981

Size categories	Number of urban settlements	Urban population	
		Total (million)	% of the total
Large cities (+ 100,000)	218	95.33	60.46
Medium sized towns (20,000-100,000)	1013	40.75	25.84
Small towns (< 20,000)	2070	21.60	13.70
Total	3301	157.68	100.00

Table 1 shows that in the census year 1981, the total urban population of the country placed at 157.68 million (excluding that of Assam) was distributed in 3301 urban centres. Of these, 218 urban centres had populations in excess of 100,000; 1031 were in the population range of 20,000 - 100,000; and the balance of 2070 urban centres were small towns having a population base of less than 20,000.

According to the table, the 218 urban centres in the population range of more than 100,000 accounted for 60.46 per cent of the country's total urban population. The share of the secondary or the medium-sized towns (20,000 - 100,000 size class) was low, being 25.84 per cent. The weight of the small towns - 2070 of them, which accounted for 13.70 per cent of the total urban population was even lower, indicating that the urban centres in the size class of more

than 100,000 carried a disproportionately large weight on India's total urban space.[12]

It is important to note that the large city size class has not always been in this primate position. In 1901, for instance, this size class accounted for only 25.95 per cent of the country's total urban population. Even in 1951, the first census held after India attained independence, large cities as a class carried a much lower population weight. In contrast, the small towns size class had 47.09 per cent of the total urban population in 1901; in 1951, its share was 30.01 per cent. The medium-sized towns (20,000-100,000) have maintained, somewhat stoically, stability in their share in total urban population. Graph 1 and Table 2 may be seen for historical data on the respective shares of the various size classes of urban centres.

Table - 2

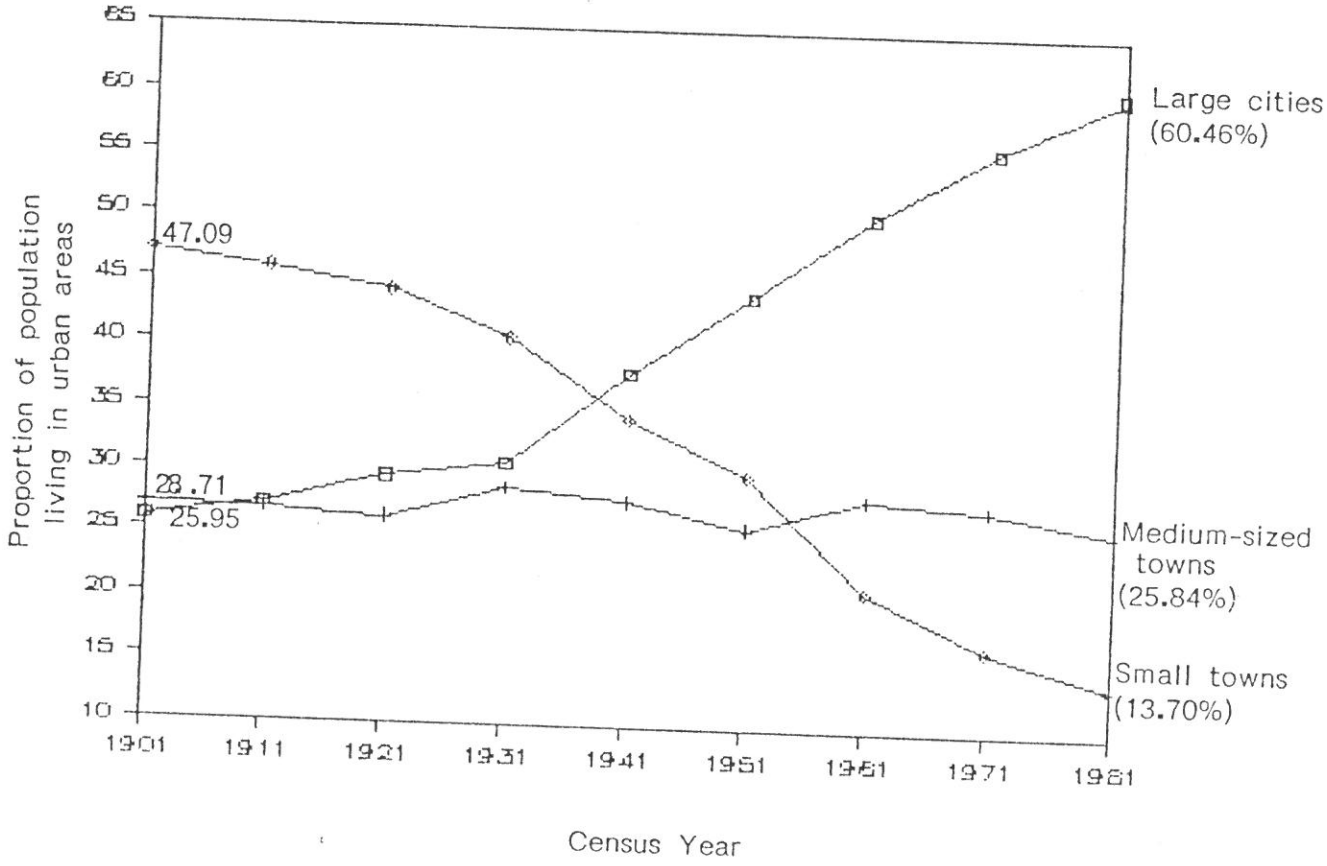
Percentage Distribution of Urban Population by Size Classes, 1901-1981

Year	Size classes		
	Large (+100,000)	Medium (20,000-100,000)	Small (- 20,000)
1901	25.95	26.96	47.09
1911	27.30	26.75	45.95
1921	29.50	26.24	44.26
1931	30.68	28.71	40.61
1941	37.89	27.81	34.30
1951	44.14	25.83	30.01
1961	50.57	28.35	21.08
1971	55.82	27.63	16.55
1981	60.46	25.84	13.70

12. There are several publications which analyse the urban population growth and distribution by size classes and regions. We have, therfore, limited the analysis of these two variables to a bare minimum in this study. The analysis of the existing pattern by population growth rates is, however, extensive, this being the main thrust of the NCU's contract study.

Graph 1

Share of Large Cities, and Medium and Small Towns in Total Urban Population, 1901-81



No less important is the fact that the hegemony of large cities whichever way it is looked at, has not shown any signs of tapering off. According to a simple size class analysis, the population growth rate of +100.000 urban centres during this decade was placed at 54.17 per cent. In comparison, the medium-sized towns registered in aggregate a growth rate of 40.88 per cent, and small towns, an even lower rate of 26.56 per cent.

Results do not change when the growth rates are computed by holding the size class constant in the base year, in this case, the year 1971. The growth rate for large city size class works out to 41.51 per cent, and 35.92 per cent for the small towns size class.

Table - 3

Population Growth Rates by Size Class of Urban Centres 1971-81

Size Class	Per cent growth rates*	
	Method 1	Method 2
Large (+100,000)	54.17	41.51
Medium (20,000-100,000)	40.88	38.23
Small (< 20,000)	26.56	35.92
Total	46.24	39.79

* Method 1 computes growth rates by using a simple size class analysis. Method 2 computes growth rates by holding the size class constant in the base year.

population has changed dramatically in favour of the large city size class (+100,000). Population growth rates and size class have moved in the same direction, contributing significantly to the imbalances in the distribution of urban population.

2. Regional Analysis

Regional distribution of the 1981 urban population is given in Table 4 below. Like in the case of the size class variations, there are wide variations in the regional distribution of urban population with several states having significantly larger shares in urban populations as well as higher levels of urbanisation and population growth rates. Maharashtra, for instance, accounted for in 1981, 13.77 per cent of the country's total urban population. Its share in the total number of urban centres was 8.36 per cent and in total population, it was 9.16 per cent. Tamil Nadu was also in a somewhat similar position; with a share of 7.06 per cent in total population and 7.42 per cent in the total number of urban centres, it accounted for 9.99 per cent of the total urban population, displaying a high coefficient of urban population concentration (1.43).

The above table shows that nearly 50 per cent of the country's total urban population is concentrated in six most-urbanised states of the country, these being, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Karnataka, Punjab and West Bengal. Together these states account for about one-third of the country's total population. On the other hand, there are states where urban population concentration is low. In Bihar, the urban population coefficient of concentration was 0.53; in Orissa, it worked out to just 0.50, while in Uttar Pradesh, it was 0.77.

Table 4

Regional (State) Distribution of Urban Centres and Urban Population, 1981

States	Number of urban centres	Urban population (million)	Level of urbanisation (%)	Share of each state in urban population (%)	Urban population growth rate 1971-81 (%)
Andhra Pradesh	234	12.49	23.32	7.82	48.62
Bihar	179	8.72	12.47	5.46	54.76
Gujarat	220	10.60	31.10	6.64	41.42
Haryana	77	2.83	21.88	1.77	59.47
Himachal Pradesh	46	0.32	7.61	0.20	34.76
Jammu & Kashmir	56	1.26	21.05	0.79	46.86
Karnataka	250	10.73	28.89	6.72	50.65
Kerala	85	4.77	18.74	2.99	37.64
Madhya Pradesh	303	10.59	20.29	6.63	56.03
Maharashtra	276	21.99	35.03	13.77	39.99
Manipur	32	0.37	26.42	0.24	165.36
Meghalaya	7	0.24	18.07	0.15	63.98
Nagaland	7	0.12	15.52	0.08	133.95
Orissa	103	3.11	11.79	1.95	68.54
Punjab	134	4.65	27.68	2.91	44.51
Rajasthan	195	7.21	21.05	4.51	58.69
Sikkim	8	0.05	16.15	0.03	159.73
Tamil Nadu	245	15.95	32.95	9.99	27.98
Tripura	10	0.22	10.99	0.14	38.93
Uttar Pradesh	659	19.90	17.95	12.46	60.62
West Bengal	130	14.45	26.47	9.04	31.73
Union Territories	45 *	7.10	-	5.71 *	-
Total	3301	157.68	23.70	100.00	46.24

* These represent the shares of Union Territories and Goa, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram.

Equally wide variations are noted in the regional levels of urbanisation. In 1981, the urbanisation levels of 15 out of the 24 major states were below the national aggregate of 23.70 per cent. Among them featured Bihar (12.47 per cent), Orrisa (11.79 per cent), and Uttar Pradesh (17.95 per cent). What is important to note is that these states have so far not been able to reach even the 1961 national urbanisation level of 18.32 per cent. As opposed to these low urbanised states are those (e.g., Maharashtra, 35.03; Tamil Nadu, 32.95; and Gujarat, 31.10) which have maintained their ranks in the national urban hierarchy.

Wide variations in the urban population growth rates particularly during the 1971-81 decade are also noted from the above table. According to the table, the urban population growth rates reached a high of over 60 per cent, as in the case of Orissa (68.54 per cent) and Uttar Pradesh (60.62 per cent), and plummetted to a low of 27.98 per cent in Tamil Nadu, and of 31.73 per cent in West Bengal. Maharashtra and Gujarat also recorded below national average growth rates during the last census decade.

The rankings of states in terms of the levels of urbanisation have, however, not shown any noticeable change even though, as indicated above as well as in the table, some of the low-urbanised states (Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh) registered acceleration in the urban population growth rates and the high-urbanised states experienced relatively low growth rates.[13]

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13 For details on the rankings of the various states, see, National Institute of Urban Affairs, State of India's Urbanisation, New Delhi, 1988

This state of the facts imply that firstly, the imbalances in the regional distribution of urban population are appreciable and continue to persist and secondly, regional distribution of urban population can not be altered in a shorter span of time. A much longer time frame is needed to influence the population distribution patterns.

Imbalances in the spatial spread of urban population is a feature not only of states; these are equally, if not more, pronounced at the level of the districts. An examination of the relevant data would show that while the number of the entirely urban (6) and entirely rural districts (10) is small, there are 114 or approximately 29 per cent of the total number of districts which have extremely low levels of urbanisation. In 1981, the urbanisation level of these districts was less than 10 per cent. The extent of inequality in the distribution pattern can be further assessed by the fact that 56 per cent of the total number of districts had not been able to reach in 1981, even the 1951 level of urbanisation. At the other end were 18 districts which had over 50 per cent of their population living in urban areas, and another 35 districts (8.71 per cent of the total) whose levels ranged between 33.34 and 49.99 per cent. It is significant to note that a majority of the low-urbanised districts happen to be the characteristic of the low-income states.

Table 5

Distribution of Districts by their Levels of Urbanisation, 1981[14]

	Levels of Urbanisation (%)					
	More than 50	33.34 to 44.99	23.71 to 33.33	10 to 23.70	Less than 10	Total
Number of districts	18	35	62	173	114	402 *
Percentage to total	4.48	8.71	15.42	43.03	28.36	100.00

* Ten entirely rural districts have not been taken into account

All this data leave no doubt about the existence of serious imbalances in the distribution of urban population by states and districts. The spread of urban growth has been uneven and confined to a limited number of states and districts. Six states, as pointed out earlier, account for nearly 50 per cent of the country's total urban population, leaving rest of the states in the country to share the balance. Similarly, 25 per cent of the districts had in 1981 about 68 per cent of the total urban population, which raise some basic questions about the distribution pattern: are such imbalances inevitable in the early stages of country's economic development? Does this pattern lend support to the theory that development does not take place every where at the same time, and that it is space selective? And, does this pattern of growth present a cause for concern, and calls for intervention?

14. A further break-up of this data by states can be seen in State of India's Urbanisation, Ibid.

3. Fast Growing, Moderately Growing and Slow Growing Towns An Analysis of Growth Patterns

According to the 1981 census, there were 3301 urban centres of which 881 were new towns in the sense of their having attained the urban status for the first time. Of the 2420 towns which existed in both 1971 and 1981 census, 568 experienced relatively high population growth rates which exceeded the overall national average of 46.24 per cent. These experienced net inmigrations on a significant scale. Many recorded extraordinarily high growth rates of over 100 per cent. On the other end of the scale were 487 towns which managed to barely achieve a growth rate of 20 per cent.[15] Many even lost population in absolute terms. The balance of 1365 towns registered moderate growth rate which ranged between 20 and 46.24 per cent. The fast growing towns accounted for 23.47 of the total number which existed in both the censuses; the share of the slow growing towns was 20.12 per cent, while the moderately growing towns claimed the highest proportion of 56.40 per cent in the total. Table 6 gives the composition of towns by their growth rate characteristics.

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15. The average natural growth rate (births minus deaths) for urban population during 1971-81 was placed at 19.24 per cent. Taking into account the under-reporting particularly in the birth rates, this rate has been averaged at 20 per cent. See, Registrar General of India, Sample Registration Bulletin, December 1984, New Delhi.

Table 6

Distribution of the Various Categories of Towns by Growth Rates, 1971-81

Category of towns	Per cent growth rates, 1971-81*						
	Negative	Less than 10	10 to 20	20 to 46.24	46.24 to 75.00	75.00 to 100.00	100 and more
Fast growing towns					408 (16.9)	76 (3.1)	84 (3.5)
Moderately growing towns				1365 (56.4)			
Slow growing towns	44 (1.8)	117 (4.8)	326 (13.5)				

Note: Figures in parenthesis are the percentage of towns in each category to the total number of towns which existed in the census decades of 1971 and 1981.

Like the earlier analysis, we have analysed the growth and distribution pattern of the fast growing, moderately growing, and slow growing towns with a view to determine whether these are a characteristic of any particular size class, or region or subregion; whether their distribution is balanced or imbalanced; and whether there is any regularity or consistency in the pattern of their growth and distribution. A series of tables have been prepared for purposes of this analysis, with Table 7 giving the distribution of the various categories of towns by their size class.

Table 7

Distribution of Towns by Population Size Class, 1981

Size class	Towns that existed in 1971 and 1981							
	Total		Fast Growing		Moderatelty Growing		Slow Growing	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
More than one million	12	0.50 (100.00)	4	0.70 (33.33)	8	0.59 (66.67)	0	0.00 (0.00)
500,000 - 1 million	30	1.24 (100.00)	13	2.29 (43.33)	16	1.17 (53.33)	1	0.21 (3.33)
100,000 - 500,000	176	7.27 (100.00)	64	11.27 (36.36)	104	7.62 (59.09)	8	1.64 (4.55)
50,000 - 100,000	269	11.12 (100.00)	100	17.60 (37.17)	144	10.55 (53.33)	25	5.13 (9.29)
20,000 - 50,000	701	28.97 (100.00)	181	31.87 (25.82)	418	30.62 (59.63)	102	20.94 (14.55)
10,000 - 20,000	802	33.14 (100.00)	142	25.00 (17.71)	472	34.58 (58.85)	188	38.60 (23.44)
5,000 - 10,000	328	13.55 (100.00)	44	7.75 (13.41)	175	12.82 (53.35)	109	22.38 (33.23)
Less than 5,000	102	4.21 (100.00)	20	3.52 (19.61)	28	2.05 (27.45)	54	11.09 (52.94)
Total	2420	100.00	568	100.00	1365	100.00	487	100.00

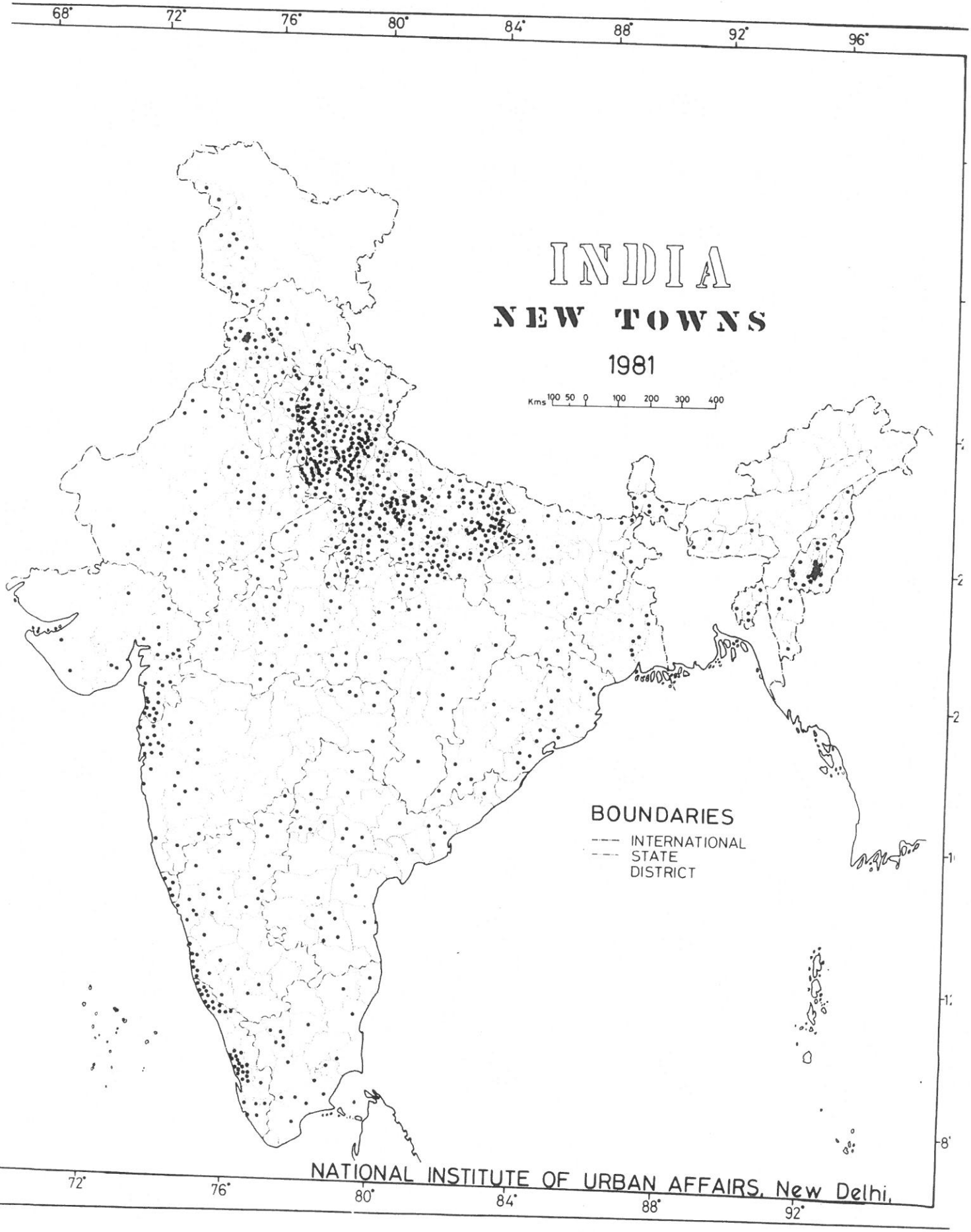
Note: Figures in parenthesis are the percentage of the each category of towns to the total number in each size class.

A size class shows that the fast and slow growing towns as also the moderately growing towns are widely distributed among different size classes, and that they are not the exclusive feature of any particular size class, with only one exception which is that there is no slow growing town in the million plus population category. There is, however, a noticeable concentration of the fast growing towns in

population size classes of 20,000 and above, and of the slow growing towns in lower population size classes. As the table shows, 31.9 per cent of the fast growing towns had populations exceeding 50,000, and 33.5 per cent of the slow growing towns had populations of less than 10,000. The largest number of the fast growing towns happened to be in the population range of 20,000 - 50,000, and the slow growing towns in the size class of 10,000-20,000. The median population size of a fast growing town was in the proximity of 43,000; that of a moderately growing town about 16,000, and of a slow growing town, a little over 14,000.

The same table giving the percentage of the different categories of towns to the total number of towns in individual size class further supports the conclusion reached above. It shows that of the 218 large cities (+ 100,000 size class), 81 or 37.2 per cent were in the category of "fast growing", 128 or 58.7 per cent "moderately growing", and only 9 (or 4.1 per cent) were "slow growing". In lower size classes, the proportions of the slow growing towns were higher. Of the 1232 towns with less than 20,000 population, 351 or 28.5 per cent were reported to be slow growing; 675 or 54.8 per cent had registered moderate growth rates and only 188 (15.2 per cent) had achieved higher than the national average growth rate of 46.24 per cent.

Just as there are imbalances in the distribution of these towns among different size classes, in the same manner, there are noticeable imbalances in the pattern of their distribution among different states. In fact, the regional distribution of these towns is far more skewed as may be seen in Tables 8 to 11 and the attached maps.


68°
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INDIA
NEW TOWNS
1981
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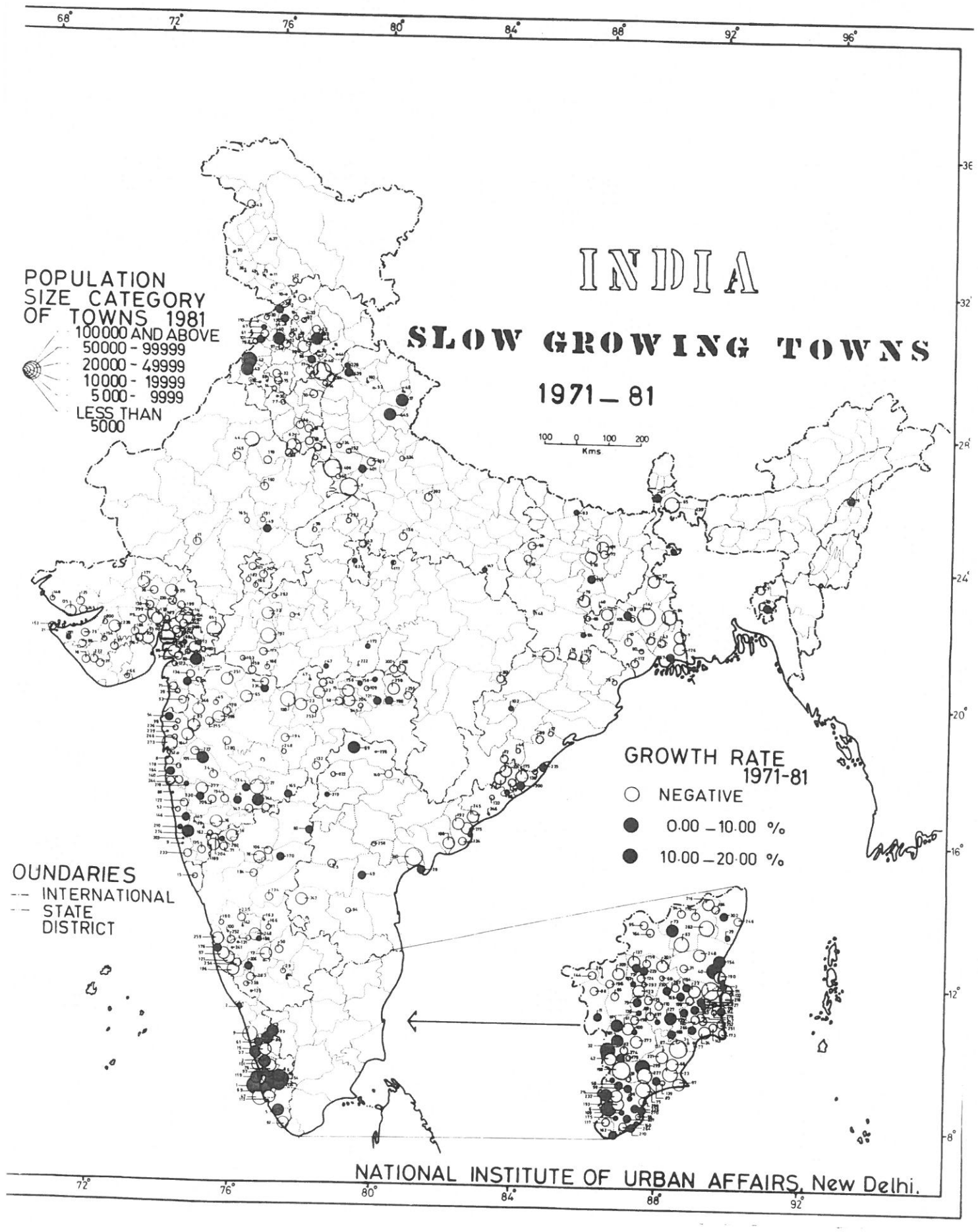
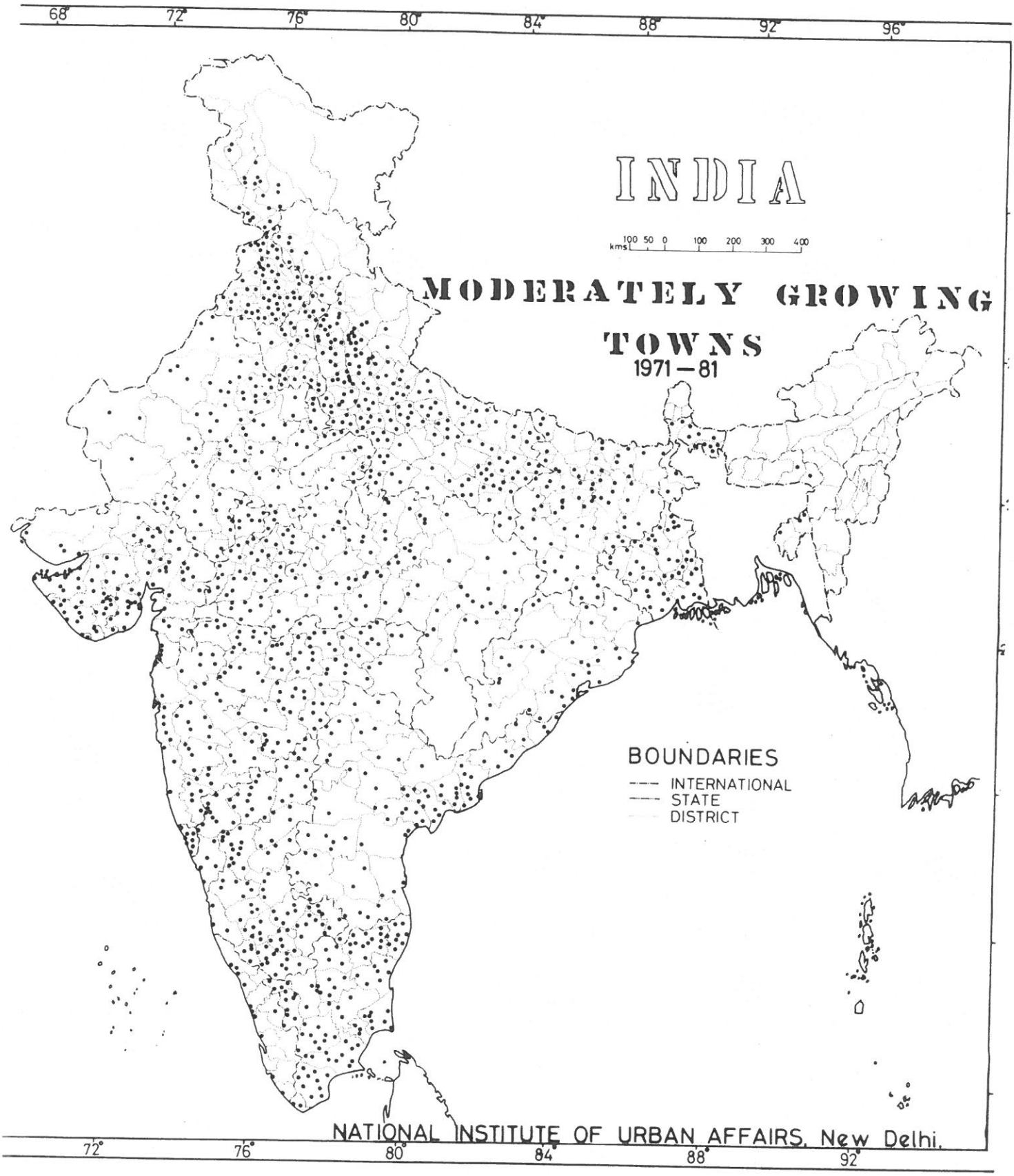
BOUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL
STATE
DISTRICT
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS, New Delhi.


INDIA
SLOW GROWING TOWNS
1971 – 81
POPULATION SIZE CATEGORY OF TOWNS 1981
100000 AND ABOVE
50000 - 99999
20000 - 49999
10000 - 19999
5000 - 9999
LESS THAN 5000
100 0 100 200
Kms
GROWTH RATE 1971-81
NEGATIVE
0.00 – 10.00 %
10.00 – 20.00 %
OUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL
STATE
DISTRICT
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS, New Delhi.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MODERATELY GROWING
TOWNS
1971 – 81
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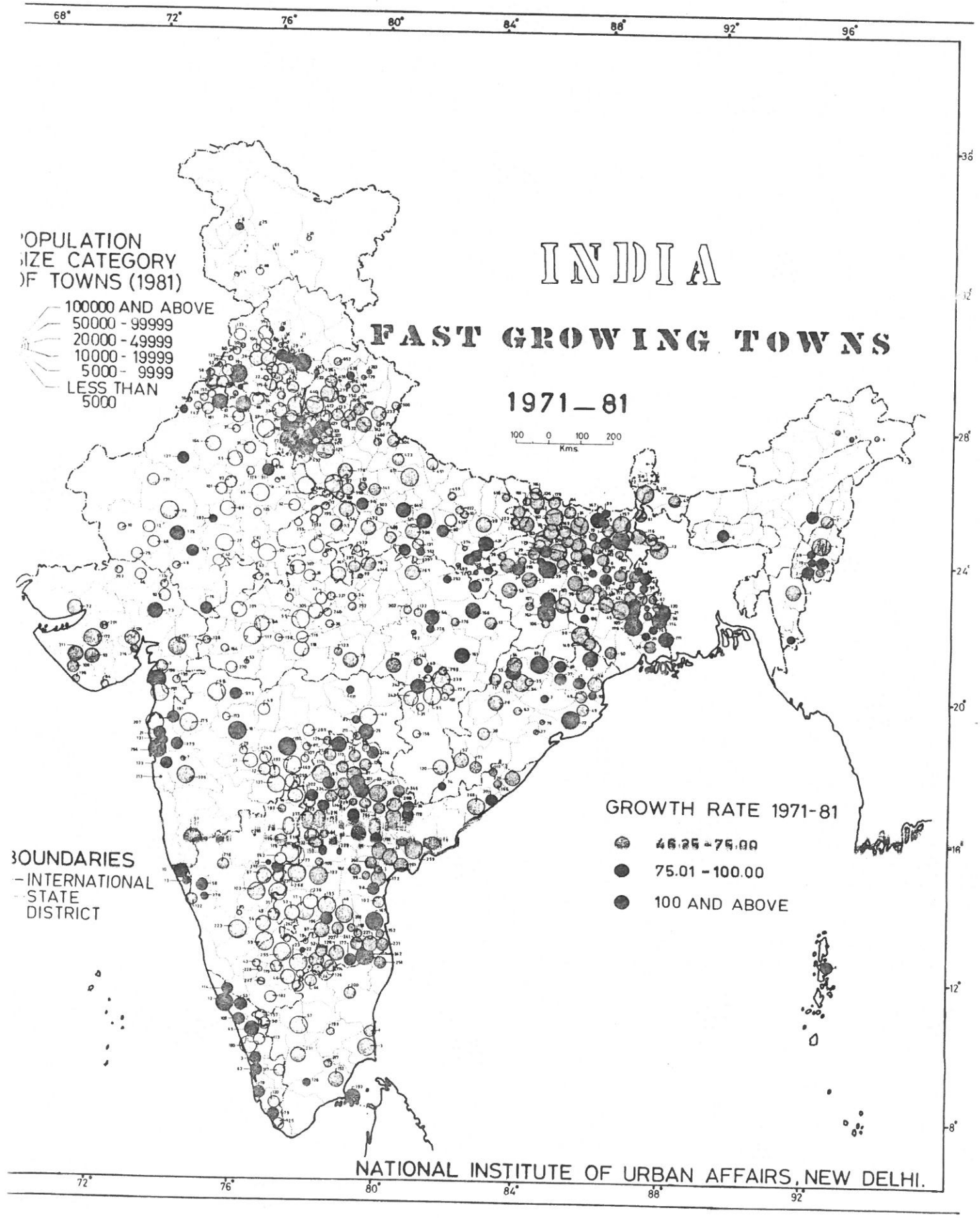
INDIA
FAST GROWING TOWNS
1971—81
100 0 100 200
Kms.
POPULATION SIZE CATEGORY OF TOWNS (1981)
100000 AND ABOVE
50000 - 99999
20000 - 49999
10000 - 19999
5000 - 9999
LESS THAN 5000
GROWTH RATE 1971-81
46.25 - 75.00
75.01 - 100.00
100 AND ABOVE
BOUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL
STATE
DISTRICT
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS, NEW DELHI.

Table 8

Distribution of the Fast and Slow Growing Towns by States, 1981

States/ Union Territories	Number of towns							
	Total		Fast growing		Moderately growing		Slow growing	
	Number (1981)	% to total	Number	% to total	Number	% to total	Number	% to total
Andhra Pradesh	205	8.47	77	13.56	100	7.33	28	5.75
Arunachal Pradesh	4	0.16	3	0.53	1	0.07	0	0.00
Bihar	149	6.16	61	10.74	75	5.49	13	2.67
Gujarat	191	7.89	20	3.52	115	8.42	56	11.50
Goa	11	0.45	2	0.35	8	0.59	1	0.21
Haryana	60	2.48	15	2.64	33	2.42	12	2.46
Himachal Pradesh	35	1.45	5	0.88	14	1.02	16	3.29
Jammu & Kashmir	42	1.73	8	1.41	24	1.76	10	2.05
Karnataka	216	8.92	41	7.22	137	10.04	38	7.80
Kerala	46	1.90	13	2.29	12	0.88	21	4.31
Madhya Pradesh	228	9.42	61	10.74	146	10.69	21	4.31
Maharashtra	245	10.12	35	6.16	137	10.04	73	14.99
Manipur	8	0.33	6	1.06	2	0.15	0	0.00
Meghalaya	3	0.12	1	0.18	2	0.15	0	0.00
Mizoram	2	0.08	2	0.35	0	-	0	0.00
Nagaland	3	0.12	2	0.35	0	-	1	0.21
Orissa	76	3.14	25	4.40	44	3.22	7	1.44
Punjab	104	4.30	24	4.23	57	4.18	23	4.72
Rajasthan	151	6.24	42	7.39	100	7.32	9	1.85
Sikkim	8	0.33	6	1.06	2	0.15	0	0.00
Tamil Nadu	227	9.38	12	2.11	101	7.40	114	23.41
Tripura	6	0.25	0	0.00	3	0.22	3	0.62
Uttar Pradesh	280	11.57	72	12.68	188	13.77	20	4.11
West Bengal	111	4.59	30	5.28	61	4.47	20	4.11
Andaman Nicobar	1	0.04	1	0.18	0	-	0	0.00
Chandigarh	1	0.04	1	0.18	0	-	0	0.00
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	-	0	0.00	0	-	0	0.00
Delhi	1	0.04	1	0.18	0	-	0	0.00
Daman & Diu	2	0.08	0	0.00	2	0.15	0	0.00
Lakshadweep	0	-	0	0.00	0	-	0	0.00
Pondicherry	4	0.16	2	0.35	1	0.07	1	0.21
India	2420	100.00	568	100.00	1365	100.00	487	100.00

Source: Census of India, 1981.

The table together with the maps exhibit a fairly high degree of concentration of the fast growing towns in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, and a slightly lesser degree of concentration in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The shares of these states in slow growing towns are correspondingly small. On the other hand, the slow growing towns display a high degree of concentration in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu; together, these account for nearly 50 per cent of the total number of slow growing towns in the country. Tamil Nadu alone accounts for almost one-fourth of them.

Further analysis of the same data shows that the fast growing towns are concentrated in low urbanised states (Table 9), while the slow growing towns are localised in high-urbanised states (Table 11). An appreciable percentage of the moderately growing towns also appear to be localised in the low-income states (Table 10). When arranged according to the states' urban population growth rates, the fast growing towns demonstrate a tendency to concentrate in fast-urbanising states (that is, those which registered during 1971-81 a growth rate in excess of 46.24 per cent), and the slow growing towns in slow-urbanising states.

Table 9
Distribution of Fast Growing Towns by States Levels of Urbanisation, 1981 and Urban Population Growth Rate, 1971-81

Urban Growth rate 1971-81	Levels of urbanisation, 1981	
	Higher than the national average (23.7 +)	Lower than the national average (23.7 -)
Higher than the national average (46.24+)	56 (9.87)	373 (65.67)
Lower than the national average (46.24 -)	121 (21.30)	18 (3.16)

Table 10

Distribution of Slow Growing Towns by States Levels of Urbanisation, 1981 and Urban Population Growth Rates, 1971-81

Urban Growth rate 1971-81	Levels of urbanisation, 1981	
	Higher than the national average (23.7 +)	Lower than the national average (23.7 -)
Higher than the national average (46.24+)	40 (8.21)	121 (24.85)
Lower than the national average (46.24 -)	286 (58.73)	40 (8.21)

Table 11

Distribution of Moderately Growing Towns by States Level of Urbanisation 1981 and Urban Population Growth Rate, 1971-81

Urban Growth rate 1971-81	Levels of urbanisation, 1981	
	Higher than the national average (23.7 +)	Lower than the national average (23.7 -)
Higher than the national average (46.24+)	148 (10.84)	713 (52.23)
Lower than the national average (46.24 -)	473 (34.65)	31 (2.27)

This pattern of distribution of the fast and slow growing towns is extremely significant in as much it marks a break from the generally-held view that the fast growing towns are a characteristic of the most-urbanised and high income states, and the slow-growing towns, a peculiarity of the least-urbanised and low-income states.[16] In order to ascertain whether the pattern of distribution as observed during 1971-81 was a new phenomenon or whether it represented a continuation of the trends observed in the earlier decade, we have looked at the pattern for two decades, namely 1961-71 and 1971-81.

An examination of the data for these two decades shows that the number of the consistently fast growing and consistently slow growing towns is small; only 240 out of the 568 fast growing towns of the 1981 census reported achieving higher than the national urban population growth rates consequentively for two decades (Map 5). For the rest, the growth rate was less than the national average. Similarly, the number of the consistently slow growing towns was 214 out of 487 towns towns. In many cases, the growth rates improved between 1961-71 and 1971-81;

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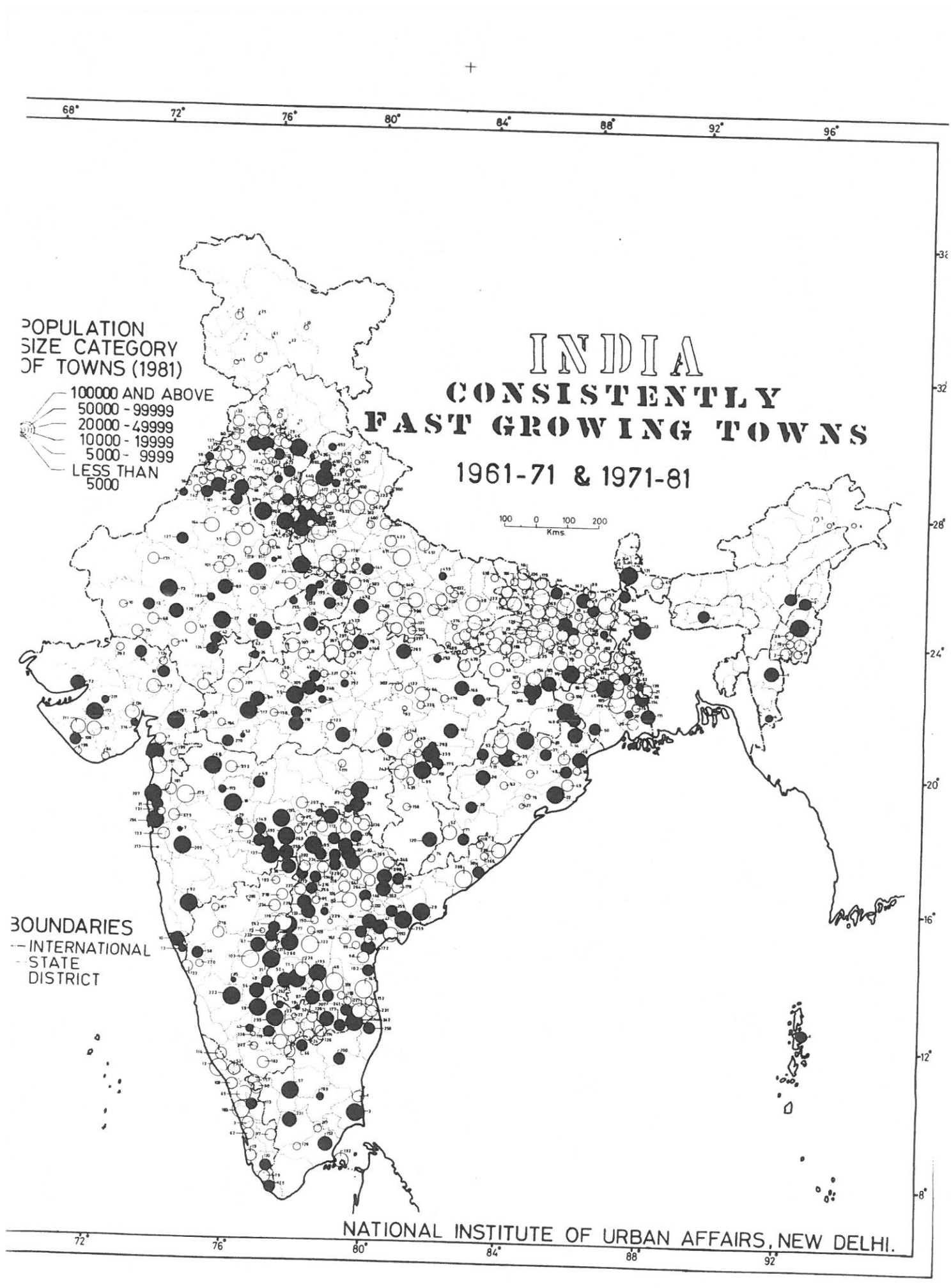
16. The entire pattern of concentration of the fast growing and slow growing towns thus presents a number of interesting possibilities and hypotheses. For instance, the relatively high concentration of the slow growing towns in most urbanised states raises the issue whether these states are beginning to reach a plateau in their levels of urbanisation, or whether it reflects in any way the redistribution of the economic development processes in favour of the least urbanised states. Could it be on account of the lower birth rates which characterised at least two of the high-urbanised states, namely Maharashtra, 26.97 per 1000 population, and Tamil Nadu, 25.83 per 1000 population? The 'natural' urban growth rates of these two states were 18.47 and 16.95 respectively as compared to the national urban average of 19.24 per 1000 persons. Could it be due to the net outmigration from some of the states? Could the relatively high concentration of the fast growing towns in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh be explained by high birth rates? Or, was the phenomenon due to new agricultural or industrial activity as contended by the National Commission of Urbanisation.


INDIA
CONSISTENTLY
FAST GROWING TOWNS
1961-71 & 1971-81
POPULATION
SIZE CATEGORY
OF TOWNS (1981)
100000 AND ABOVE
50000 - 99999
20000 - 49999
10000 - 19999
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Kms.
BOUNDARIES
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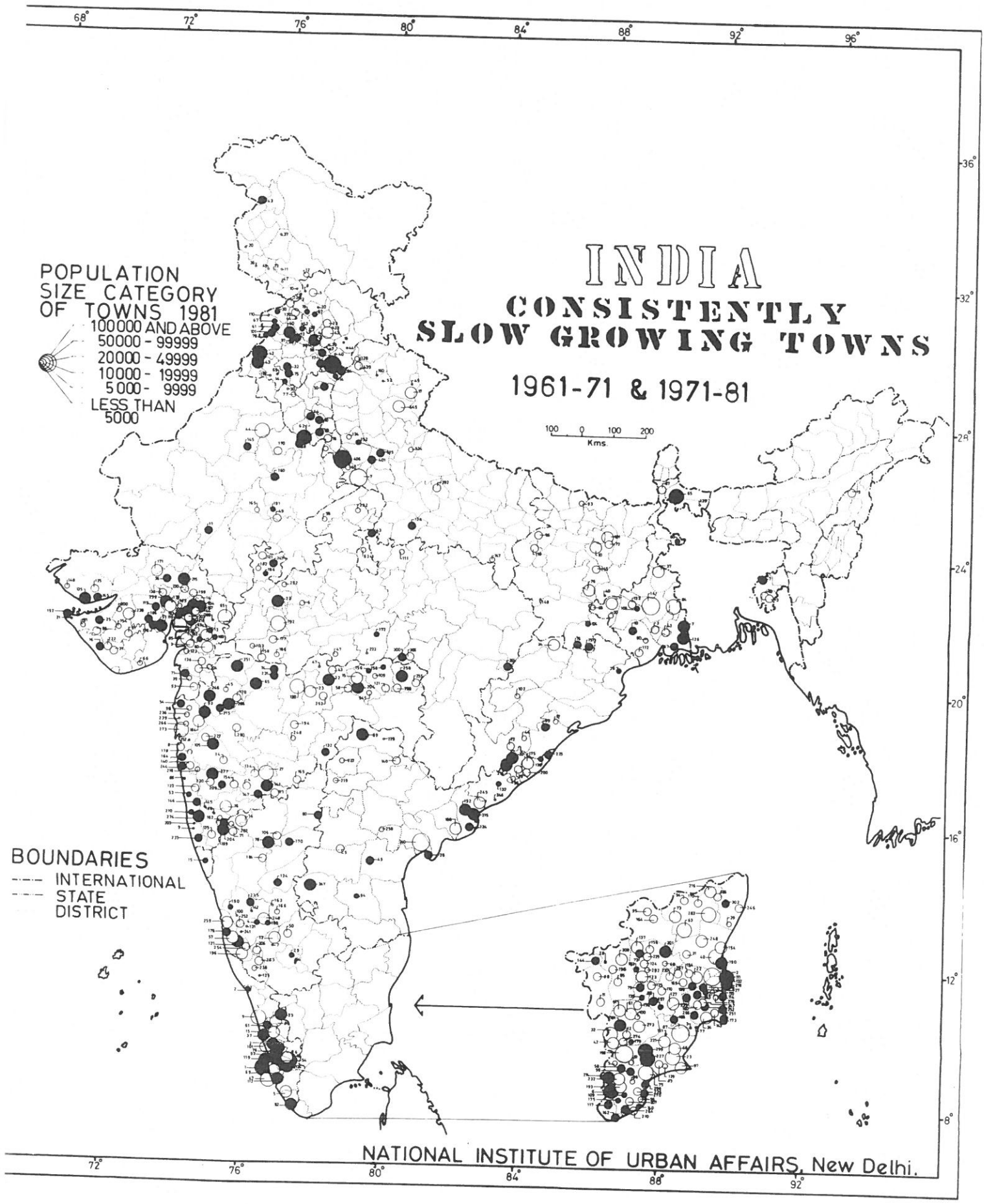
INDIA
CONSISTENTLY
SLOW GROWING TOWNS
1961-71 & 1971-81
POPULATION
SIZE CATEGORY
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BOUNDARIES
INTERNATIONAL
STATE
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NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS, New Delhi.

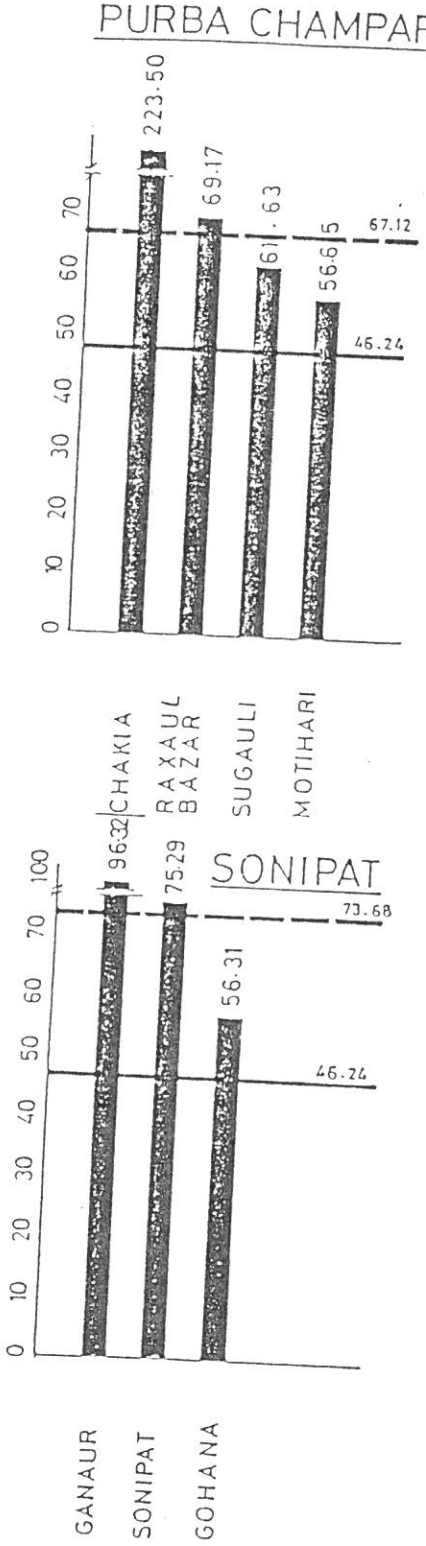
in others, the growth rates showed a perceptible decline between the two census decades. Many experienced highly irregular growth rates, as shown in attached sample graphs.

Perhaps a far more significant feature of the analysis of this set of data is that in proportionate terms, there was concentration of the consistently fast growing towns in the most-urbanised and more developed states which included Gujarat, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Their concentration coefficients worked out to be 1.18, 1.68 and 1.38 respectively. Many other states which included Madhya Pradesh (1.39) and Orissa (1.13) also showed trends towards concentration of the consistently fast growing towns. On the other hand, there was little regularity about the pattern of concentration of the slow growing towns. In relative terms, there was concentration of the consistently slow growing towns in Haryana (1.70) and Punjab (1.68), the two states that have enjoyed consistently high per capita net domestic product. (See tables annexed with this chapter).

The fast and slow growing towns are distributed more or less the same way among districts, with as many as 114 fast growing towns (37 per cent of the total) being located in most urbanised districts. Only four out of the 568 towns are located in low growth districts. The pattern with respect to the slow growing towns is, however, less evident even though one-fourth of them happens to be located in high growth districts. A majority of them are located in districts which registered during 1971-81 a growth rate ranging between 20 and 46.24 per cent.

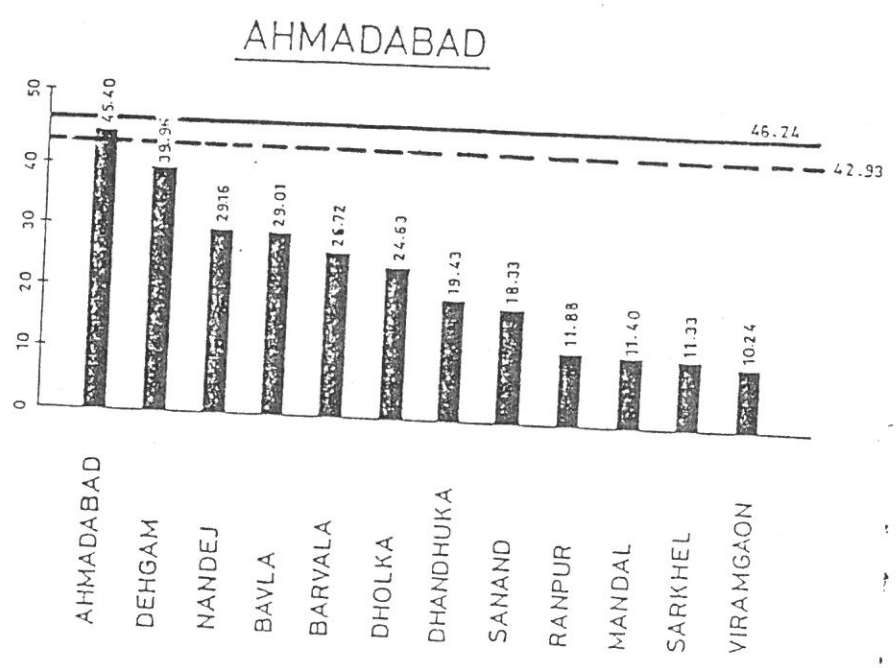
Graph 2

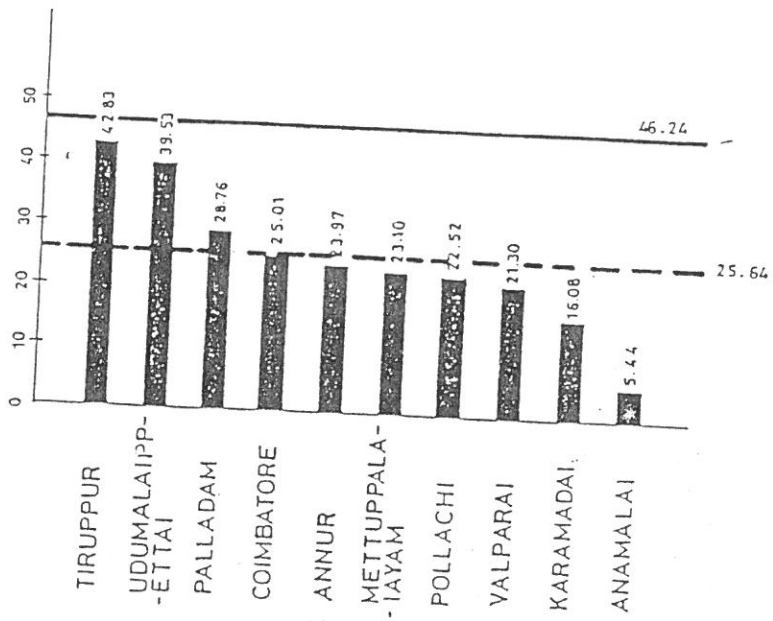
Samples of Districts with All Fast Growing Towns



Graph 3

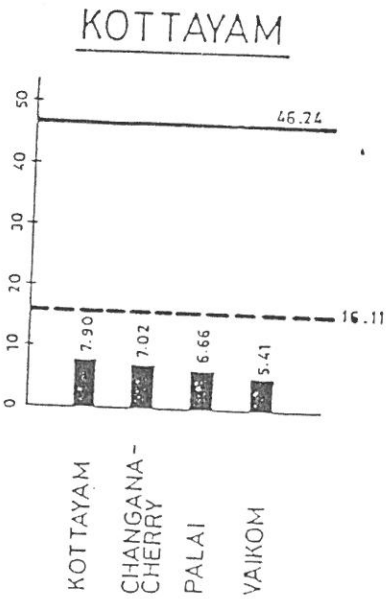
Samples of Districts with All Moderately Growing Towns





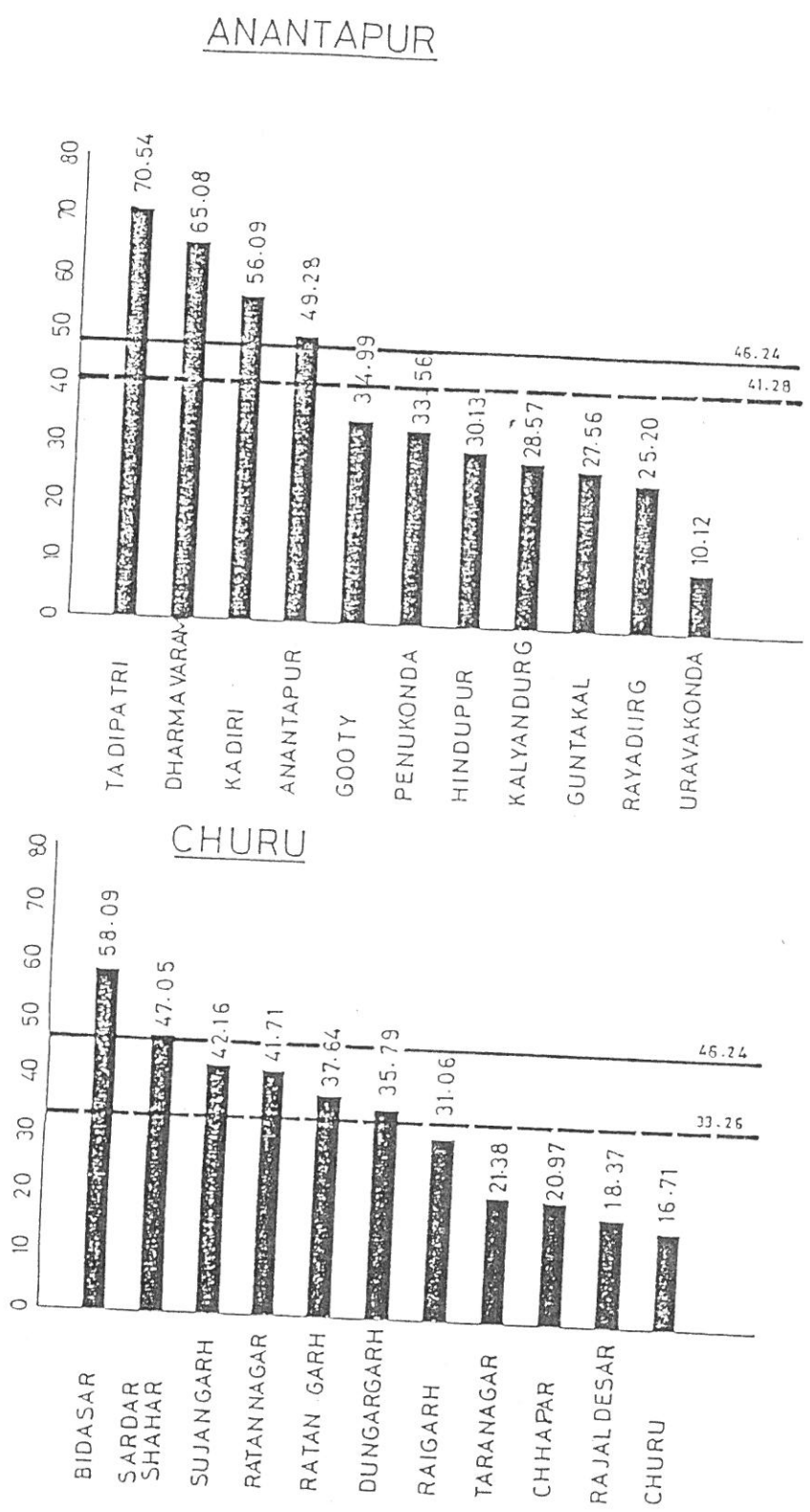
Graph 4

Samples of Districts with All Slow Growing Towns



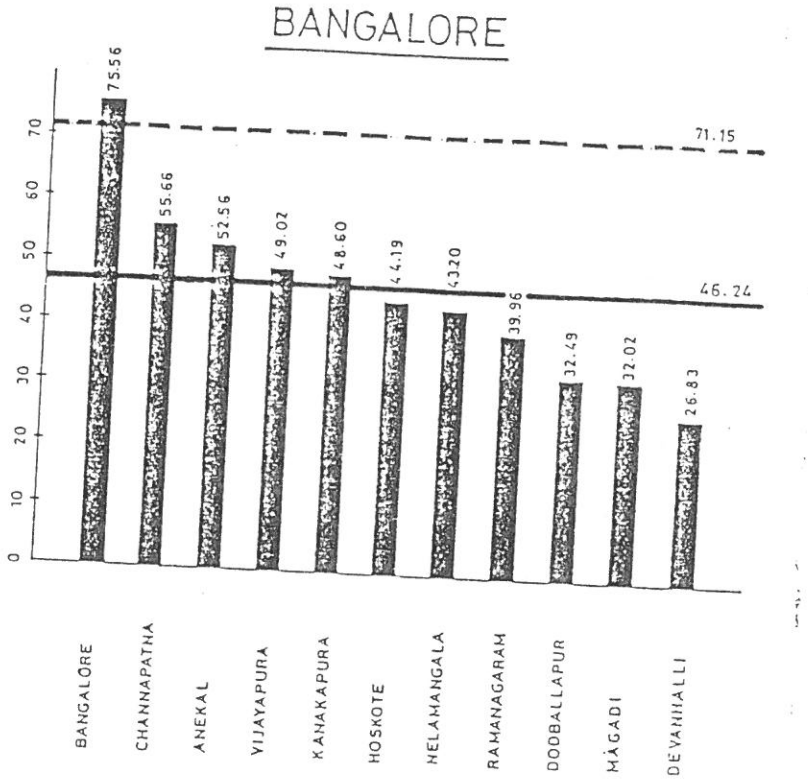
Graph 5

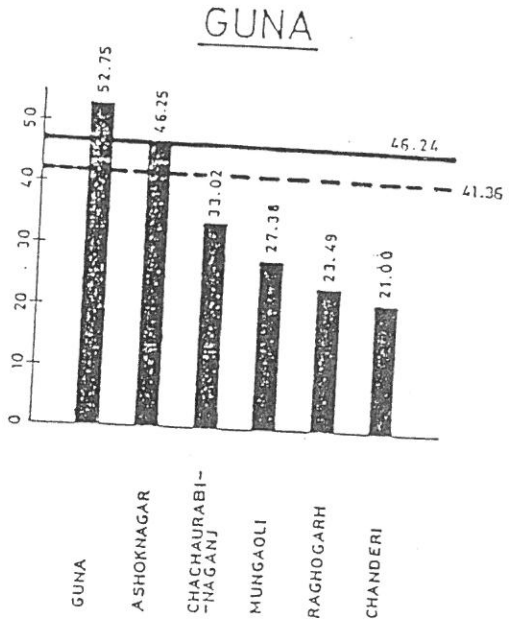
Samples of Districts with Fast, Moderately and Slow Growing Towns



Graph 6

Samples of Districts with Fast and Moderately Growing Towns





Graph 7

Samples of Districts with Fast and Slow Growing Towns

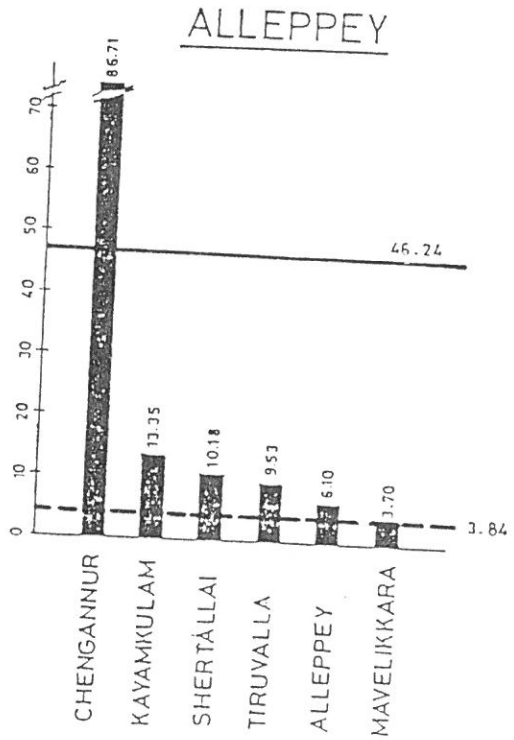


Table 12

Distribution of Fast and Slow Growing Towns by the Urban Population Growth Rate of Districts of their location, 1971-81

Urban population growth rate of districts, 1971-81	Fast growing towns		Slow growing towns	
	Number	%	Number	%
Low growth (less than 20%)	4	0.70	38	7.80
Moderate growth (20-46.24 %)	171	30.11	331	67.97
High growth (more than 46.24%)	393	69.19	118	24.23
Total	568	100.00	487	100.00

Several conclusions can be drawn from the preceding analysis of which the one that stands out overwhelmingly is that there are serious imbalances in the pattern of urban population growth and distribution. Almost the entire analysis testifies the existence of such imbalances. In terms of size class distribution, the share of the higher size classes has escalated with every successive decade to the extent that the smaller size classes stand displaced from the position that they once enjoyed in India's economy. The relatively high-income states have significantly larger shares of country's urban population, almost suggesting that economic development including urban growth forces have remained confined to the already developed areas and regions. The inter-se positions of states in the urban hierarchy have not shown any appreciable changes. There are no genuine signals of any changes in the pattern of urban population distribution.

Annexure 1 of Section II

Different Categories of Towns by Size Classes, 1981

Class	Population Size	Total		Fast growing		Slow growing		Moderate growing		New towns	
		Number	Popu-lation	Number	Popu-lation	Number	Popu-lation	Number	Popu-lation	Number	Popu-lation
Ia	1,000,000 +	12	42121700	4	11352303	0	0	8	30769397	0	0
%age			26.71		23.87		0.00		33.53		0.00
Ib	500,000-1,000,000	30	19832474	13	8837061	1	747318	16	10248095	0	0
%age			12.58		18.58		7.40		11.17		0.00
Ic	100,000-500,000	176	33378934	64	12467429	8	1080837	104	19830668	0	0
%age			21.17		26.21		10.70		21.61		0.00
II	50,000-100,000	270	18189728	100	6633944	25	1650325	144	9829057	1	76402
%age			11.54		13.95		16.34		10.71		0.92
III	20,000-50,000	743	22557147	181	5724773	102	2964175	418	12703367	42	1164832
%age			14.31		12.04		29.34		13.84		14.10
IV	10,000-20,000	1059	15006860	142	2127423	188	2650767	472	6883567	257	3345103
%age			9.52		4.47		26.24		7.50		40.48
V	5,000-10,000	758	5740603	44	361660	109	825359	175	1404936	430	3148648
%age			3.64		0.76		8.17		1.53		38.11
VI	Below 5,000	253	852725	20	54616	54	183700	28	86729	151	527680
%age			0.54		0.11		1.82		0.09		6.39
Total		3301	157680171	568	47559209	487	10102481	1365	91755816	881	8262665
%age			100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00

Note: Excluding Assam
Source: Census of India, 1981

Annexure 2 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Fast Growing Towns of 1971-81 by Size Classes, 1981.

State/U.T./India	Fast Growing								
	Ia	Ib	Ic	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Andhra Pradesh	0	2	9	19	33	13	1	0	77
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Bihar	0	4	6	11	21	16	3	0	61
Gujarat	0	2	2	5	4	7	0	0	20
Goa	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Haryana	0	0	5	2	3	3	1	1	15
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	5
Jammu & Kashmir	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	8
Karnataka	1	0	7	6	14	7	4	2	41
Kerala	0	0	2	1	10	0	0	0	13
Madhya Pradesh	0	2	2	18	9	25	4	1	61
Maharashtra	1	1	9	3	10	9	1	1	35
Manipur	0	0	1	0	2	3	0	0	6
Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mizoram	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Nagaland	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Orissa	0	0	3	6	8	6	2	0	25
Punjab	0	1	1	3	9	3	7	0	24
Rajasthan	1	1	3	5	16	13	2	1	42
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	6
Tamil Nadu	0	0	1	2	5	3	1	0	12
Tripura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uttar Pradesh	0	0	6	11	22	21	9	3	72
West Bengal	0	0	5	6	9	9	1	0	30
Andaman & Nicobar	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Chandigarh	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
India	4	13	64	100	181	142	44	20	568

Note: Excluding Assam

Population Size Classes of Towns

Ia	1,000,000+	Ib	500,000 - 1,000,000
Ic	100,000 - 500,000	II	50,000 - 100,000
III	20,000 - 50,000	IV	10,000 - 20,000
V	5,000 - 10,000	VI	Below 5,000

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Annexure 3 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Moderately Growing Towns of 1971-81 by Size Classes, 1981.

State/U.T./India	Moderately Growing								
	Ia	Ib	Ic	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Andhra Pradesh	1	0	7	11	42	35	4	0	100
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bihar	0	0	6	8	30	25	6	0	75
Gujarat	1	0	8	16	28	42	20	0	115
Goa	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	4	8
Haryana	0	0	5	2	10	7	9	0	33
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	6	14
Jammu & Kashmir	0	1	1	0	5	2	10	5	24
Karnataka	0	1	8	5	39	62	19	3	137
Kerala	0	3	2	2	5	0	0	0	12
Madhya Pradesh	0	2	8	9	30	64	33	0	146
Maharashtra	2	1	11	14	52	40	17	0	137
Manipur	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Meghalaya	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Orissa	0	0	3	1	12	23	4	1	44
Punjab	0	1	4	6	14	21	9	2	57
Rajasthan	0	0	6	5	35	45	9	0	100
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Tamil Nadu	1	4	11	25	33	20	6	1	101
Tripura	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
Uttar Pradesh	2	3	17	25	57	62	21	1	188
West Bengal	1	0	5	12	22	17	3	1	61
Andaman & Nicobar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
India	8	16	104	144	418	472	175	28	1365

Note: Excluding Assam

Population Size Classes of Towns

Ia	1,000,000+	Ib	500,000 - 1,000,000
Ic	100,000 - 500,000	II	50,000 - 100,000
III	20,000 - 50,000	IV	10,000 - 20,000
V	5,000 - 10,000	VI	Below 5,000

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Annexure 4 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Slow Growing Towns of 1971-81 by Size Classes, 1981.

State/U.T./India	Slow Growing								
	Ia	Ib	Ic	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Andhra Pradesh	0	0	1	0	10	8	7	2	28
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bihar	0	0	0	0	3	6	2	2	13
Gujarat	0	0	0	2	14	26	12	2	56
Goa	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Haryana	0	0	1	1	0	4	5	1	12
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	10	16
Jammu & Kashmir	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	8	10
Karnataka	0	0	0	0	9	13	8	8	38
Kerala	0	0	1	4	15	1	0	0	21
Madhya Pradesh	0	0	0	1	1	7	11	1	21
Maharashtra	0	0	0	3	14	34	14	8	73
Manipur	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Orissa	0	0	0	0	1	2	4	0	7
Punjab	0	0	0	1	3	9	6	4	23
Rajasthan	0	0	0	1	0	5	3	0	9
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	0	0	3	10	25	53	19	4	114
Tripura	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
Uttar Pradesh	0	1	1	0	2	6	7	3	20
West Bengal	0	0	1	2	4	7	5	1	20
Andaman & Nicobar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
India	0	1	8	25	102	188	109	54	487

Note: Excluding Assam

Population Size Classes of Towns

Ia	1,000,000+	Ib	500,000 - 1,000,000
Ic	100,000 - 500,000	II	50,000 - 100,000
III	20,000 - 50,000	IV	10,000 - 20,000
V	5,000 - 10,000	VI	Below 5,000

Source : Census of India, 1981.

Annexure 5 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Consistently Fast Growing Towns of 1971-81 by Size Classes, 1981

State/UT's	Fast growing								
	Ia	Ib	Ic	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Andhra Pradesh	0	2	5	13	19	1	0	0	40
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bihar	0	3	0	3	4	3	0	0	13
Gujarat	0	2	1	1	3	3	0	0	10
Goa	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Haryana	0	0	3	2	2	1	1	0	9
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Jammu Kashmir	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	4
Karnataka	0	0	5	4	5	3	1	0	18
Kerala	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3
Madhya Pradesh	0	2	2	15	7	9	1	0	36
Maharashtra	1	1	8	3	6	5	1	0	25
Manipur	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mizoram	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Nagaland	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Orissa	0	0	3	4	5	0	0	0	12
Punjab	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	4
Rajasthan	1	1	3	3	7	4	1	0	20
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Tamil Nadu	0	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	7
Tripura	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uttar Pradesh	0	0	2	3	4	4	1	2	16
West Bengal	0	0	4	2	3	1	0	0	10
Andaman & Nicobar	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Chandigarh	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
India	3	12	41	58	76	38	9	3	240

Note: Excluding Assam
Source: Census of India, 1981

Annexure 6 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Consistently Slow Growing Towns of 1971-81 by Size Classes, 1981

State/UT's	Slow growing								
	Ia	Ib	Ic	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Andhra Pradesh	0	0	0	0	6	4	3	0	13
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bihar	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	4
Gujarat	0	0	0	0	7	11	3	2	23
Goa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haryana	0	0	1	1	0	4	3	0	9
Himachal Pradesh	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	10
Jammu Kashmir	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Karnataka	0	0	0	0	3	6	4	4	17
Kerala	0	0	1	2	9	1	0	0	13
Madhya Pradesh	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	6
Maharashtra	0	0	0	0	10	13	5	5	33
Manipur	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meghalaya	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mizoram	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nagaland	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Orissa	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Punjab	0	0	0	1	3	5	6	2	17
Rajasthan	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	4
Sikkim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	0	0	0	4	5	25	8	4	46
Tripura	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Uttar Pradesh	0	0	1	0	0	4	1	2	8
West Bengal	0	0	0	1	2	1	3	0	7
Andaman & Nicobar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
India	0	0	3	9	46	85	45	27	215

Note: Excluding Assam
Source: Census of India, 1981

Annexure 7 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Districts by Their Urban Growth Pattern, 1971-81.

State/U.T.'s	Number of Districts by urban growth patterns, 1971-81							
	All slow	All fast	All moderate	Fast + slow	Fast + moderate	Slow + moderate	Fast + slow + moderate	Total Districts
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
All India	6	36	47	6	113	48	122	378
Andhra Pradesh	0	1	1	0	6	1	14	23
Arunachal Pradesh	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	4
Bihar	0	3	3	1	17	1	6	31
Gujarat	0	1	0	0	1	5	11	18
Goa	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Haryana	0	1	1	0	4	2	4	12
Himachal Pradesh	1	1	1	0	0	3	4	10
Jammu & Kashmir	1	2	3	1	1	2	3	13
Karnataka	0	0	0	0	5	4	10	19
Kerala	1	1	0	1	3	1	4	11
Madhya Pradesh	0	3	10	0	20	3	9	45
Maharashtra	0	0	1	0	4	9	12	26
Manipur	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Meghalaya	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
Mizoram	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Nagaland	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Orissa	0	0	0	0	8	0	5	13
Punjab	0	0	1	0	2	1	8	12
Rajasthan	0	1	3	0	15	0	7	26
Sikkim	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	4

Contd...

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Tamil Nadu	0	0	1	0	0	8	7	16
Tripura	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Uttar Pradesh	0	6	11	2	24	4	9	56
West Bengal	0	0	3	1	1	3	8	16
Andaman & Nicobar	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Chandigarh	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Dadra & Nagar Havel	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Daman & Diu	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Delhi	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Pondicherry	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4

Annexure 8 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Fast and Slow Growing Towns Having Consistent and Irregular Growth Rates during 1961-71 and 1971-81

State/U.Ts.	Fast Growing Towns				Slow Growing Towns			
	Consistently fast growing	1961-71 below the national Av.71-81	Did not exist in 1961	Total	Consistently slow growing	Decline in their G.R.	Did not exist in 1961	Total
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Andhra Pradesh	40	27	10	77	13	8	7	28
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
Bihar	13	37	11	61	4	4	5	13
Goa	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1
Gujarat	10	7	3	20	23	21	12	56
Haryana	9	5	1	15	9	3	0	12
Himachal Pradesh	1	1	3	5	10	3	3	16
Jammu & Kashmir	4	3	1	8	1	8	1	10
Karnataka	18	17	6	41	17	19	2	38
Kerala	3	4	6	13	13	8	0	21
Madhya Pradesh	36	16	9	61	6	12	3	21
Maharashtra	25	3	7	35	33	39	1	73
Manipur	1	0	5	6	0	0	0	0
Meghalaya	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Mizoram	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0

Contd...

Table (contd.)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Nagaland	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	1
Orissa	12	6	7	25	2	3	2	7
Punjab	4	19	1	24	17	5	1	23
Rajasthan	20	19	3	42	4	4	1	9
Sikkim	1	0	5	6	0	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	7	5	0	12	46	61	7	114
Tripura	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
Uttar Pradesh	16	41	15	72	8	7	5	20
West Bengal	10	15	5	30	7	12	1	20
Andaman & Nicobar	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	1
All India	240	226	102	568	51	215	221	487

Annexure 9 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Fast and Slow Growing Towns by Level of Urbanisation of Thier Location, 1981

States/U.Ts.	Fast Growing Towns			Slow Growing Towns		
	Above the national average (Above 23.70%)	Below the national average (Below 23.70%)	Total	Above the national average (Above 23.70%)	Below the national average (Below 23.70%)	Total
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Andhra Pradesh	13	64	77	6	22	28
Arunachal Pradesh	0	3	3	0	0	0
Bihar	9	52	61	4	9	13
Gujarat	12	8	20	31	25	56
Goa	2	0	2	1	0	1
Haryana	2	13	15	4	8	12
Himachal Pradesh	0	5	5	0	16	16
Jammu & Kashmir	1	7	8	0	10	10
Karnataka	14	27	41	15	23	38
Kerala	4	9	13	7	14	21
Madhya Pradesh	14	47	61	3	18	21
Maharashtra	12	23	35	42	31	73
Manipur	5	1	6	9	0	0
Meghalaya	0	1	1	0	0	0
Mizoram	1	1	2	0	0	0
Nagaland	2	0	2	0	1	1
Orissa	1	24	25	1	6	7
Punjab	12	12	24	9	14	23
Rajasthan	11	31	42	4	5	9
Sikkim	2	4	6	0	0	0

Contd...

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Tamil Nadu	9	3	12	71	43	114
Tripura	0	0	0	0	3	3
Uttar Pradesh	28	44	72	6	14	20
West Bengal	14	16	30	7	13	20
Andaman & Nicobar	1	0	1	0	0	0
Chandigarh	1	0	1	0	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	1	0	1	0	0	0
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	2	0	2	1	0	1
INDIA	173	395	568	212	275	487

Note: Excluding Assam.

Annexure 10 of Section II

India: Statewise Distribution of Fast and Slow Growing Towns by Urban Growth Rate of the District of Their Location, 1971-81

State/U.Ts.	Number of fast growing towns by % decadal growth rate of district, 71-81				Number of slow growing towns by % decadal growth rate of district, 71-81			
	Lower Below 20.0%	Moderate 20.0% - 46.24%	Higher Above 46.24%	Total	Lower Below 20.0%	Moderate 20.0% - 46.24%	Higher Above 46.24%	Total
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Andhra Pradesh	0	15	62	77	0	16	12	28
Arunachal Pradesh	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
Bihar	0	25	36	61	0	8	5	13
Gujarat	0	15	5	20	0	46	10	56
Goa	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	1
Haryana	0	3	12	15	0	7	5	12
Himachal Pradesh	0	4	1	5	6	9	1	16
Jammu & Kashmir	0	2	6	8	1	3	6	10
Karnataka	0	18	23	41	0	28	10	38
Kerala	4	1	8	13	14	0	7	21
Madhya Pradesh	0	15	46	61	0	11	10	21
Maharashtra	0	17	18	35	13	51	9	73
Manipur	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	0
Meghalaya	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mizoram	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Nagaland	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	1
Orissa	0	1	24	25	0	0	7	7
Punjab	0	11	13	24	0	17	6	23
Rajasthan	0	7	35	42	0	5	4	9
Sikkim	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	0

Contd...

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Tamil Nadu	0	9	3	12	0	108	6	114
Tripura	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Uttar Pradesh	0	16	56	72	0	7	13	20
West Bengal	0	12	18	30	2	13	5	20
Andaman & Nicobar	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Daman & Diu	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Delhi	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pondicherry	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	1
All India	4	171	393	568	38	331	118	48

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAST AND SLOW GROWING TOWNS
RESULTS OF A FIELD SURVEY

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAST AND SLOW GROWING TOWNS RESULTS OF A FIELD SURVEY

1. Scope of the Field Survey

Why certain towns achieve high population growth rates, and why the growth rates remain sluggish in the case of others? Are the characteristics of the fast growing different from those of the slow growing towns? Is the growth or decline of towns an isolated phenomenon or associated with other economic, administrative, and social and physical changes?

The National Insitutute of Urban Affairs undertook a field survey of 70 towns, 35 fast growing and an equal number of slow growing, to investigate into these questions, with a view of gain further understanding of the dynamics of the urban growth processes. The main purpose of the survey was to identify and isolate the factors which cause a higher growth in some towns and lower in others, so that these could help in determining the courses of actions, needed to be taken once the "towns for development" had been identified.

The towns selected for field surveys possess varying growth characteristics and profiles. Their basic data are shown in Tables 13 and 14. As would be noted from the tables, the sampled towns are of different population sizes, with five in the population range of 100,000; 28 with populations varying between 20-50,000, and the balance with populations of less than 20,000. The tables also show that 23 of the 35 fast growing towns have consistently grown at rates higher than the national averages for 1961-71 and 1971-81. Similarly, the growth rates of 13 slow growing towns, out of a sample of 35, were

Table - 13

Population and Growth Rate of the Sampled Fast Growing Towns

Name of the Town	Population 1981	Percentage Decadal Growth Rate	
		1961-71	1971-81
Durgapur	311798	395.58	50.89
Bhubaneshwar	219211	176.07	107.80
Bellary	201579	46.12	61.03
Modinagar	87665	76.46	101.63
Dewas	83465	50.00	60.92
Morena	69848	58.46	55.56
Giridih	65444	9.29	62.36
Brajrajnagar	54033	96.45	69.82
Tanuku	53618	38.69	56.79
Balaghat	53183	75.60	59.49
Yemmiganur	50701	43.77	67.52
Udgir	50564	62.89	64.99
Bellampalli	44721	4.09	47.64
Makrana	40663	34.59	74.95
Rayachoti	35257	43.85	46.58
Ararea	33363	61.05	48.78
Sangareddy	31360	76.47	82.04
Balatra	28070	45.29	59.53
Chitrakutdham	27464	17.00	54.34
Hosan	27119	42.01	63.45
Kathuaparamba	24690	0.00	139.59
Bharthana	24428	23.00	78.72
Sultanganj	22578	24.03	54.07
Rehli	16343	47.61	71.87
Pokhrayan	16000	91.24	60.00
Nalhati	15073	10.00	58.16
Talaja	14739	41.86	47.02
Mukhed	14006	40.05	51.30
Barughutu	12289	0.00	61.80
Keshoraipatan	11448	55.98	57.12
Bhavanigarh	9817	15.14	56.82
Kalanwali	9643	60.11	47.65
Banavar	6599	22.68	49.67
Adityapatnam	3044	0.00	93.02
Lakhenpur	1162	40.32	88.64

Source: Census of India, 1981,
State Level General Population Tables.

Table - 14

Population and Growth Rate of the Sampled Slow Growing Towns

Name of the Town	Population 1981	Percentage Decadal Growth Rate	
		1961-71	1971-81
Bardhman	167364	32.43	16.72
Rajapalayam	101640	22.12	16.89
Mayuram	67675	17.13	12.43
Attingal	29645	22.68	9.59
Coondapoor	28315	35.88	18.82
Irinjalakuda	26096	13.75	2.72
Wai	24661	18.03	17.21
Badnagar	23925	16.77	19.29
Karkal	20713	19.68	11.40
Talode	20055	16.29	17.79
Shalinghur	17396	28.04	18.35
Bhanvad	15451	14.30	14.38
Dharampur	14116	22.27	18.05
Khapa	12722	26.68	5.31
Kamuthi	12614	15.38	9.14
Virajpet	11676	20.20	19.36
Madhapar	11244	0.00	12.46
Deoli	11159	133.20	-9.27
Satararoad	10867	32.51	5.17
Rajam	10768	26.82	9.86
Aduthurai	10561	14.09	7.80
Sikka	9650	50.83	-27.11
Betul Bazar	8914	21.21	9.17
Talbehat	7681	0.00	2.17
Puvalur	7355	13.89	5.27
Kanapaka	6406	0.00	0.08
Vembadithalam	5667	0.00	14.90
Dhalavaipuram	5246	0.00	12.02
Malkapur	4845	14.15	6.88
Jakhalmandi	4609	24.86	17.61
Garhdiwala	4459	19.03	18.81
Kasauli	3872	8.41	3.06
Sangat	2859	22.86	-19.03
Chaitudih	2077	73.44	19.37
Chenani	1301	0.00	3.13

Source: Census of India, 1981
State Level General Population Tables.

consistently lower than the national aggregate of 20 per cent. The growth rates of many towns are noted to be irregular if these are examined in a longer time frame (Chart 8).

The NIUA's field surveys were designed in such a way that they would shed light on at least the following aspects of the economy of the sampled towns:

i) Population growth and components of growth

ii) Administrative status

iii) Location and centrality

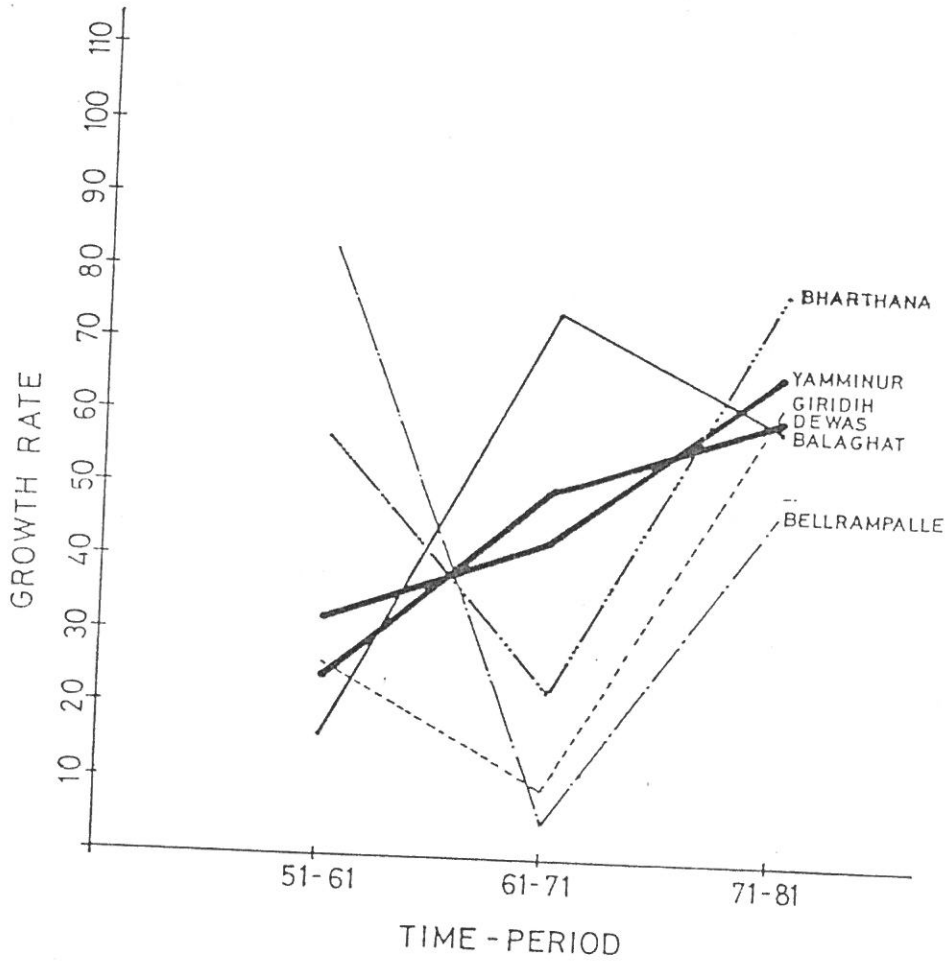
iv) Functional base and the nature of functions

v) The degree and nature of linkages between the towns and the regions of their location.

It was assumed that information on the above aspects would directly help in the understanding of the growth characteristics of the sampled towns, and address key questions such as -- was the population growth (or the lack of it) due to changes in the jurisdictions?; did the towns that enjoyed or acquired higher administrative or municipal status expand faster in terms of population?; to what extent was the location of towns on national and state highways, and trunk railways an important factor of growth?; did the proximity to metropolitan and large urban centres or on the periphery of irrigation projects influence in any way the growth rates?; did the fast growing towns have a larger manufacturing component?; and were the fast and slow growing towns characterised by high and low degree of spatial linkages?

CHART 8

IRREGULARITY IN THE URBAN POPULATION GROWTH RAT



It may be mentioned in the passing that a survey of the past research work showed virtually no unanimity on the characteristics of the growing or stagnating centres. Nor was there in literature any consensus on what criteria should be used to identify them. Fox, for instance, in his widely-quoted study had pointed out that a growing centre was one which was "an urban place of less than 250,000 population ", and which acted "as the vital heart of the development district". According to him, strong linkages with the national economy, the centre of a labour market, a major retail trade area, high level tertiary functions and good communications were important for purposes of identifying the growth centres. Allen and Hermansen considered it as "a main centre at the regional level which in addition to its function as a regional service centre also provided a prosperous and reasonably diversified industrial structure". The centre, according to them, "should either be growing or show potential for growth of economic activity, employment and income. Such a centre will ceteris paribus need to be above a certain level".

The NIUA has taken note of the past literature in determining the indicators for this study, and presented data on those indicators in this section of the report. The results are not conclusive but adequate to provide a broad understanding of the main characteristics of the fast and slow growing towns.

2. Results of the Field Survey

(a) Change in area and jurisdiction

During the period 1971-81, 27 of the total number of sampled towns registered changes in their jurisdictions. Area increased in the case of 15 towns; the balance experienced a decrease in area, as may be seen from the following table:

Table - 15

Distribution of the Sampled Towns by Changes in Area

Change in area	Number of		
	Fast growing towns	Slow growing towns	Total
Increase in area	9	6	15
Decrease in area	3	9	12
Total	12	15	27

It is to be noted from the table that 9 out of the 15 towns that registered an increase in area were "fast growing". At the same, the effect of these jurisdictional changes on the population levels is not significant; only in two towns, changes in the area contributed significantly to the fast population growth. Similarly, 9 of the 12 towns whose area decreased during 1971-81 were "slow growing". The effect of this decrease on the population base was again minimal, pointing to the overall conclusion that jurisdictional changes are not an important factor in either the fast growth or slow growth of towns.

(b) Administrative and Municipal Status

Administrative status of a town, that is, its being the headquarters of a district or subdistrict, is an important factor in the urban growth process. Of the 35 fast growing towns, 22 either enjoyed the status of the headquarters of their respective districts or acquired it between 1971-81. Only 13 towns did not have any administrative status. As against this, 24 slow growing towns had no administrative status of any kind. Out of the sampled fast growing towns, 26 enjoyed the status of a municipality - a symbol of the towns' increasing economic and social importance. Nine acquired the status between 1971-81. In comparison, 18 slow growing towns had no municipal status, and only one acquired it during 1971-81. Tables 16 and 17 may be seen for data on the administrative and municipal status.

Table - 16

Distribution of Sampled Towns by Administrative Status

Administrative Status	Number of		
	Fast growing towns	Slow growing towns	Total
Headquarters (1971)			
- District	5	-	5
- Sub-district	15	11	26
Acquired the headquarters status during 1971-81	2	-	2
No headquarters status	13	24	37
Lost the headquarters status during 1971-81	Nil	Nil	-
Total	35	35	70

Table - 17

Distribution of Sampled Towns by Municipal Status

Municipal Status	Number of towns		
	Fast growing	Slow growing	Total
Municipal status, 1971	17	16	33
Acquired municipal status during 1971-81	8	1	9
Acquired municipal status during 1981-87	1	-	1
No municipality	9	18	27
Lost the municipal status during 1971-81	nil	nil	-
Total	35	35	70

The tables show that a higher urban status - be it a headquarter of an administrative unit or a municipal one in the overall hierarchy is enjoyed in greater numbers by the fast growing towns. The slow growing towns have lower urban status, in comparative terms.

(c) Location and centrality

The location and centrality of a town is perhaps the most important facilitating factor of growth. It has often been identified as one of the preconditions of growth and development. In practice too, there are few examples of towns and other centres which have registered appreciable growth rates without being on the main transport and communication routes. The transport cost, i.e. the cost rof exchanging goods and services and various types of inputs and

outputs, determines the economic role of towns, as well as the extent to which they can compete in the regional and national markets.

The NIUA's field survey shows virtually no differences between the fast and slow growing towns as far as the accessibility is concerned. Highway links are available to most of the surveyed towns, as would be noted from the following table . The slow growing towns however, are poorly evdowed with rail links as compared to the fast growing towns. 20 of them had no rail links at the time of the survey.

Table - 18

Distribution of the Sampled Towns with Road and Rail Links

	Transport links	Number of towns		
		Fast growing	Slow growing	Total
	Road			
1.	National Highways	2	6	8
2.	State Highway	12	14	26
3.	National Highway and State Highway	11	8	19
4.	No National and State Highway	10	7	17
	Total	35	35	70
	Rail			
1.	Trunk Railway	6	6	12
2.	Other railway lines	10	4	14
3r.	Trunk and other railway lines	9	5	14
4.	No railway	10	20	30
	Total	35	35	70

(d) Functional base and the nature of funcions

The 1981 census data on the occupational and functional characteristies of urban centres are not available in any useable farm. Nor would these be available at any future date, making it impossible to analyse the changes in the functional and occupational base of the fast and slow growing towns. The NIUA's field survey, however, included data on indicators such as the levels of employment in manufacturing, and in trade and commerce. It also included data on whether the sampled towns had industrial estates, wholesale mandis etc. The underlying notion here was that the existence of industrial and trading infrastructure indicated the presence in the town of entrepreneurship, skills, labour supply, and a market, or if it did not exist, there was a potential of the same. Absence of these types of infrastructures indicated lack of potentials.

Table 19 gives the data on the industrial and trading infrastructure.

Table - 19

Distribution of the Sampled Towns with Industrial Estates and Wholesale Mandies

Indicators	Number of towns	
	Fast growing	Slow growing
Industrial Estate, 1987	13	4
Industrial Estates Established in 1971-81	13	1
Whole Sale Mandies 1987	26	17
Whole sale Mandies Established in 1971-81	12	4

The table shows that 13 of the fast growing towns had industrial estates, and 26 of them had wholesale mandis. What is interesting is r
that all industrial estates were set up during the 1971-81 period. Comparatively, the industrial infrastructure in the sampled slow growing towns was poor, with only four of them reported having industrial estates. Also, less than 50 per cent of them were reported to be performing mandi functions.

(e) The degree and nature of linkages

Earlier in the report a question was raised whether the population growth and stagnation of such a large number of towns was an isolation phenomenon, or the result of the growth processes in the districts or regions of their location. The basic postulate here was that growth or stagnation of a town independent of the district/region could be taken as no more than a transitory phase; growth of this nature would be at most an "oasis in the desert", and was not sustainable.

This study has looked at two sets of questions - whether the sampled towns are located in the fast growing or slow growing districts, and whether there is any relationship between the fast and slow growth of towns with agricultural productivity. Data are shown in Table 20 and 21.

Table - 20

Distribution of Sampled Towns by Districts having Higher/Lower than the National Average Growth Rate (46.24%)

Growth rate	Number of towns		
	Fast growing	Slow growing	Total
Districts having higher than the national urban average (46.24%)	22	9	31
Districts having lower than the national urban average (46.24%)	13	26	39
Total	35	35	70

Table - 21

Distribution of Sampled Urban Centres by Agricultural Productivity of Districts of their Location (measured by per hectare value of output of major crops), 1979-80

Productivity level	Number of towns		
	Fast growing	Slow growing*	Total
Above the national average Rs. 1468/-	15	14	29
Below the national average Rs.1468/- r	20	15	35
Total	35	29	64

* Information not available for 6 towns.

The table shows that 22 of the fast growing towns are located in districts which registered a growth rate of over 46.24 per cent during 1971-81 decade. On the other hand, 26 of the slow growing towns were located in districts whose population growth rate was less than the urban average for the decade. There is thus a fairly noticeable degree of interdependence between the growth rates of towns and of

disticts of their location. Table 21 is equally significant as it reavles no relationship between the growth rates of towns and agricultural productivity of disticts of their location. Of the 35 fast growing towns, 15 are located in those districts in which the agricultural productivity was assessed to be above the national average. The remaining were located in districts having productivity levels of below the national average. The locations of the slow growing towns follow the same pattern, confirming the widely-held notions that urban population growth (or the lack of it) is the result of both high agricultural productivity and agricultural stagnation.

In addition of gathering data on selected indicators, we also obtained during the course of the field surveys the views of selected officials (districts collectors and the chief executives of the municipal bodies) on how they perceived the growth (or the lack of it) of they were concerned with. Their perceptions and responses are contained in Table 22.

It is significant that a majority of the respondents attribute the fast growth of the sampled towns to their location, centrality, and existence of agricultural and industrial infrastructure. Twentyeight respondents considered the "strategic location" of towns as the most important factor of growth, followed by factors such as rail links, mandies and industrial infrastructures and similar facilities. To at least 11 of the respondents, proximity to large cities was an important factor. The slow growth of towns was attributed by respondents to the absence of any worth while development works in

Table - 22

Factors for Fast Growth/Decline of Sampled Towns - Perceptions

Fast Growing Towns (35)		Slow Growing Towns	
1. Strategic Location	: 28	1. Lack of any worth development	: 23
2. Rail Linkages	: 25	2. Poor Industrial Infrastructure	: 21
3. Wholesale Mandies (Savings Trade and Commerce centre for hinterland)	: 23	3. Shortage of water	: 17
4. Availability of Industrial Infrastructure and facility	: 13	4. Poor Communication Network	: 13
5. Change in Municipal Area	: 13	5. Lack of Higher Education/ Health Facilities	: 11/6
6. Proximity of Large City	: 11	6. Poor Trade and Coomercial Activities	: 11
7. Higher Education/ Health Facilities	: 10/7		
		7. Decrease in Area	: 9

the sampled slow growing towns. Equally, shortage of water, poor industrial infrastructure, and undeveloped communications were cited for stagnancy in their growth rates.

Even though the results of the field survey are not conclusive, the fact that the fast growing towns in comparison with the slow growing display a somewhat different set of characteristics can not be overlooked. It was evident, for instance, that a majority of the fast growing towns were centrally located, were more easily accessible, and that their infrastructural base was stronger. A larger number of those which registered slower growth rates during 1971-81 were poorly endowed in terms of transport and industrial infrastructure. A majority of them were located in low growth districts. Some of the

data, for instance, the absence of any relationship of population growth rates of towns with the levels of agricultural productivity, are confounding.

The fields surveys have resulted in a better appreciation of what these towns in effect are, and what characteristics distinguish one set of towns from the other.

Annnex 1 of Section 3

Urban Growth Rate and level of Urbanisation of Sampled Fast Growing Urban Centres and Districts

Sl. No.	Name of the State/Urban Centres	Name of the Districts	Growth Rate of the Urban Centres 71-81	Urban Growth Rate of the Districts 1971-81	Level of Urbanisatio of the Districts 1981
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	ANDHRA PRADESH				
1.	Bellampalli	Adilabad	47.64	54.56	19.34
2.	Rayachoti	Cuddapah	46.58	67.46	19.37
3.	Sangareddy	Medak	82.04	73.14	11.97
4.	Tanuku	West Godavari	56.79	41.98	20.77
5.	Yemmiganur	Kurnool	67.52	46.50	24.49
	BIHAR				
6.	Araria	Purnea	48.78	68.77	7.98
7.	Barughutu	Hazaribagh	61.80	59.60	15.11
8.	Giridih	Giridih	62.36	36.66	14.26
9.	Sultanganj	Bhagalpur	54.07	38.47	11.72
	GUJARAT				
10.	Talaja	Bhavnagar	47.02	39.14	33.29
	HARYANA				
11.	Kalanwali	Sirsa	47.65	89.48	20.44
	Jammu & Kashmir				
12.	Lakhenpur	Khatua	88.64	67.39	11.38
	KARNATAKA				
13.	Aditya Patnam	Tumkur	93.02	42.85	13.77
14.	Banavar	Hasan	49.67	32.84	14.63
15.	Bellary	Bellary	61.03	61.48	33.05
	KERALA				
16.	Kuthuparamba	Cannanore	139.59	101.84	23.39
	MADHYA PRADESH				
17.	Balaghat	Balaghat	59.49	46.87	8.69
18.	Dewas	Dewas	60.92	56.80	18.71
19.	Morena	Morena	55.56	73.06	13.68
20.	Rehli	Sagar	71.87	41.63	27.86
	MAHARASHTRA				
21.	Mukhed	Babded	51.30	43.68	18.74
22.	Udgir	Latur	64.99	44.83	15.39
	ORISSA				
23.	Bhubaneswar	Puri	107.80	88.56	14.79
24.	Brajrajnagar	Sambalpur	69.82	59.36	15.49
	PUNJAB				
25.	Bhavanigarh	Sarngrur	56.82	38.10	22.81
	RAJASTHAN				
26.	Balotwa	Barmer	59.53	74.71	8.78
27.	Keshoraipatan	Bundi	57.12	52.30	17.01
28.	Makrand	Nagaur	74.95	53.00	14.56

Contd....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	TAMIL NADU				
29.	Hosur	Dharmapuri	63.45	30.04	9.37
	UTTAR PRADESH				
30.	Bharthana	Etawah	78.72	81.84	14.79
31.	Chitrakootdam	Banda	54.34	84.86	11.80
32.	Modinagar	Ghaziabad	101.63	90.48	34.13
33.	Pukrayan	Kanur	60.80	35.18	46.32
	WEST BENGAL				
34.	Durgapur	Burdwan	50.89	59.33	29.39
35.	Nalhatri	Birbhum	58.16	39.08	8.28

Annex 2 of Section 3

Urban Growth Rate and Level of Urbanisation of Sampled Slow Growing Uurban Centres

Sl. No.	Name of the State/Urban Centres	Name of the Districts	Growth Rate of the Urban Centres 71-81	Urban Growth Rate of the Districts 1971-81	Level of Urbanisation of the Districts 1981
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	ANDHRA PRADESH				
1.	Kanapaka	Vizianagaram	0.08	30.59	15.94
2.	Rajam	Ssrikakulam	9.86	30.43	10.89
	BIHAR				
3.	Chaitudih	Dhanbad	19.37	67.81	50.62
	GUJARAT				
4.	Sikka	Jamnagar	-27.11	32.92	37.44
5.	Bharvad	Jamnagar	14.38	33.92	37.44
6.	Dharampur	Valsad	18.05	51.65	21.92
7.	Madhapar	Kuchch	12.46	27.94	26.13
	HARYANA				
8.	Jakhalmandi	Hissar	17.61	60.48	19.29
	HIMACHAL PRADESH				
9.	Kasauli	Solan	30.6	36.24	10.76
	JAMMU & KASHMIR				
10.	Chenani	Udhampur	3.13	32.37	9.53
	KARNATAKA				
11.	Coondapur	Dakshinkannad	18.82	47.93	24.47
12.	Karkal	Dakshinkannad	11.40	47.93	24.47
13.	Virapet	Kodagu	19.36	22.10	15.52
	KERALA				
14.	Attingal	Trivendram	9.59	14.73	25.26
15.	Irinjalakuda	Trichur	2.72	106.04	21.10
	MADHYA PRADESH				
16.	Badnagar	Ujjain	19.29	36.55	37.48
17.	Betul Bazar	Betul	9.17	109.45	15.32
	MAHARASHTRA				
18.	Khapa	Nagpur	5.31	39.22	56.75
19.	Malkapur	Kolhapur	6.88	41.29	24.82
20.	Satara Road	Satara	5.17	16.96	13.04
21.	Talode	Dhule	17.79	39.08	19.52
22.	Wai	Satara	17.21	16.96	13.04
	PUNJAB				
23.	Garhdiwala	Hoshiarpur	18.81	41.19	14.44
24.	Sangat	Bhatinda	-19.03	62.33	22.68

Contd....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	RAJASTHAN				
25.	Deoli	Tonk	-9.27	31.73	18.36
	TAMIL NADU				
26.	Aduthurai	Thanjavur	7.80	21.42	23.06
27.	Dhalavaipuram	Ramanathapuram	12.02	26.02	28.21
28.	Kamuthi	Ramanathapuram	9.14	26.02	28.21
29.	Mayuram	Thanjavur	12.43	21.42	23.06
30.	Puvalur	Tiruchirapalli	5.27	24.44	26.13
31.	Rajapalayam	Ramanathapuram	16.89	26.02	28.21
32.	Shalinghur	North Arcot	18.35	29.68	23.01
33.	Vemboditalam	Salem	14.90	25.18	28.93
	UTTAR PRADESH				
34.	Talbehat	Lalitpur	2.17	83.43	13.33
	WEST BENGAL				
35.	Burdhaman	Burdhaman	16.72	59.33	29.39

Annex 3 of Section 3

The Effect of Jurisdictional Change on Population Growth

Name of the Town	Net Population Change 1971-81	Net Area Change 1971-81 (sq.kms.)	Estimated Population Growth Due to Jurisdictional Change	
			Number	% of Net Population Increase
Fast Growing				
Rayachoti	11204	-12.02	-	-
Sangareddy	14133	3.11	578	4.09
Tanuku	19421	-3.16	-	-
Giridih	25136	1.99	499	1.98
Banavar	2190	4.15	826	37.72
Bellary	79396	38.19	5767	7.55
Kathuparamba	14385	10.88	6147	42.73
Baleghat	19387	11.02	1366	6.89
Dewas	31599	2.68	303	0.96
Bhubaneswar	113720	27.88	8002	7.04
Makrana	17420	-24.41	-	-
Bharthana	10760	4.91	1979	18.39
Slow Growing				
Rajam	966	-4.50	-	-
Sikka	-3590	-1.23	-	-
Jakhalmandi	690	0.54	-	-
Coondapoor	4484	0.02	-	-
Karkal	2120	0.27	-	-
Virajpet	1894	-2.35	-	-
Badnagar	3868	-0.05	-	-
Betul Bazar	749	-0.10	-	-
Talode	3029	-20.00	-	-
Sangat	-672	-2.64	-	-
Aduthurai	764	-0.01	-	-
Dhalavaipuram	563	5.00	-	-
Rajapalayam	14688	1.61	-	-
Talbehat	163	-0.03	-	-
Burdhman	24046	0.02	-	-

Annex 4 of Section 3

Sampled Fast Growing Towns
Physical, Economic and Social Factors, 1986

Name of the town	Physical			Economic				Social					Others	
	Increase in area	Nearest large city (<100 Kms)	Irrigation project 71-81	Wholesale mandies	Transport link: Rail	Transport link: N.H.	Transport link: S.H.	Univ/ P.G. coll.	Med. coll.	Tech. coll.	Gen. hosp.	Spe. hosp.	Admn. status	Mnc. status
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Durgapur			*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	–	–
Bhubaneshwar	*	*			*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*
Bellary	*	*		*	*		*	–	*	*	*	*	*	*
Modinagar		*		*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	–	*
Dewas	*		*	*	*	*	*			*	*		*	*
Morena				*	*	*				*	*		*	*
Giridih	*			*	*					*	*		*	*
Brajrajnagar					*			*		*	*		–	–
Tanuku				*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*	*
Balaghat	*		*	*	*		*			*	*		*	*
Yemmiganur			*	*			*				*		–	*
Udgir				*	*		*	*		*	*		*	*
Bellampalli			*	*	*		*				*		*	*
Makrana	*						*						*	*
Rayachoti			*	*		*	*				*		*	–

Contd...

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Ararea				*	*			*			*		*	*
Sangareddy	*		*	*		*	*			*	*		*	*
Balatra				*	*		*				*		*	*
Chitrakutdham	*			*	*		*				*	*	*	*
Hosan			*	*	*	*	*			*	*	*	*	*
Thuaparamba	*		*			*	*				*			
Bharthana			*	*	*	*	*				*		–	–
Sultanganj				*	*		*				*		*	*
Rehli			*	*							*		–	–
Pokhrayan				*	*	*	*				*	*	*	*
Nalhati				*	*		*				*		–	–
Talaja			*	*							*	*	–	
Mukhed					*		*				*		*	*
Barughutu	–			*							*	–	*	
Keshoraipatan				*	*						*	*	*	
Bhavanigarh				*									–	*
Kalanwali				*	*		*						–	*
Banavar	*				*			*					–	*
Adityapatnam					*	*			*				–	*
Lakhenpur													–	–

Annex 5 of Section 3

Sampled Slow Growing Towns
Physical, Economic and Social Factors in 1986

Name of the Town	Physical			Economic				Social					Others	
	Increase in area	Nearest large city (<100 Kms)	Irrigation project 71-81	Wholesale mandies	Transport link: Rail	Transport link: N.H.	Transport link: S.H.	Univ/ P.G. coll.	Med. coll.	Tech. coll.	Gen. hosp.	Spec. hosp.	Admn. status	Mnc. status
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Bardhman			*	*	*	*	*				*		*	*
Rajapalayam			*	*	–		*				*	*	*	*
Mayuram			*	*	*						*		*	*
Attingal			*	*		*	*				*		*	*
Coondapoor						*					*		*	*
Irinjalakuda			*	*	*		*							
Wai			*	*			*				*		*	*
Badnagar				*			*						*	*
Karkal				*			*				*		*	*
Talode							*				*		*	*
Shalinghur			*		*		*				*		*	*
Bhanvad					*						*			
Dharampur			*	*			*				*		–	
Khapa			*				*				*		*	
Kamuthi											*			*
											*		*	

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Virajpet														
Madhapur					*	*					*		*	*
Deoli				*	–	*	*				*		–	
Satararoad			*			*	–				*		*	*
Rajam				*			*				*			
											*		*	
Aduthurai			*	*	*		*				*			
Sikka							*						*	
Betul Bazar				*			*							*
Talbehat			*		*	*							–	
Puvalur			*		*	*	*							
Kanapaka				*	*	*	*							–
Vembadithalam			*			*	*				*			
Dhalavaipuram			*		–									*
Malkapur			*				*				*			*
Jakhalmandi				*	*						*		–	*
Garhdiwala											*		–	*
Kasauli				*										
											*		–	*
Sangat						*								
Chaitudih											*			*
Chenani											*		–	
													*	

RESHAPING URBAN GROWTH PATTERNS
SOME OPTIONS

RESHAPING FUTURE URBAN GROWTH PATTERNS
SOME OPTIONS

That there is need in India to reshape the future urban growth patterns is amply clear from the analysis contained in section 2 of this report. The entire pattern of urban population growth and distribution is marked with imbalances, and for reasons that are evident enough, the pattern seems to be perpetuating itself almost in a linear fashion. No discontinuity of any appreciable scale has been noticed in the pattern of population distribution, and it is in this light that the issue of reshaping the future growth has been analysed in this report.

It needs to be stated at the outset that the issue of reshaping or guiding the future urban population growth is linked with several normative considerations of primary importance. For instance : should the future urban policy contribute to the efficiency objectives of development, or be guided by equity considerations, lies at the centre of the issue. Under one set of objectives, towns, cities and areas of "high promise" have to be identified for priority and preferential treatment. In the latter case, priority has to be assigned to the lagging and stagnating towns and areas.

The issue is also linked with the goals of urban policy, that is, whether the goals are purely spatial and meant to correct the imbalances in the regional and size class distribution of urban

population, or meant to serve the larger socio-economic goals and objectives.[23] Before, however, we present the options under the two sets of normative conditions, we analyse below though briefly, the future prospects of urbanisation, and how the same has been perceived by different experts and task forces.

1. Prospects of Urbanisation

Studies on the future prospects of urbanisation in India are few in number.[24] Furthermore, the studies that are available do not shed much light on the likely effects of the alternative development scenarios on the growth of urban population. All of them, however, suggest with no trace of any ambiguity, that India's urban population will more than double itself in the 1981-2001 period. The Office of the Registrar General, for instance, has estimated India's urban population to reach 230 million in 1991, and 326 million in the year 2001 AD. The Task Forces on Housing and Urban Development have placed the number between 234-236 million for 1991, and between 315-320 million for 2001 AD. According to the United Nations, India's urban population will touch a high of 330 million in the first year of the twentyfirst century, which incidentally will be the largest for any

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23. The key goals of efficiency, equity and higher levels of living (among others) dominate spatial objetives so that the latter are subgoals, at best. Harry Richardson, "Defining Urban Population Distribution Goals in Development Planning", in United Nations, Population Distribution Policies in Development Planning, New York, 1981.

24. The Office of the Registrar General, Report of the Expert Committee on Population Projections, New Delhi (1971); Jaipal P. Ambannavar, Population: Second India Series (1975); Planning Commission, Reports of the Task Forces on Housing and Urban Development, New Delhi (1983).

country in the world. It will be in excess of even China's total urban population, which is estimated at 314.16 million in that year.[25]

These figures indicate that anywhere between 156-172 million persons will be added to the country's urban population base in a span of twenty years - a massive increase by any reckoning. What is more, there appears to be an inevitability about this growth, with about 40-41 per cent of it expected to be contributed by "natural increase", and another 18-20 per cent by "reclassification" of the existing rural settlements into urban.

Apart from these gross numbers, estimates have been made by the Task Forces of the likely distribution of urban population by size classes of urban centres as well as by regions (states), and it is useful to refer to and analyse them in the context of this study. Table 24 gives the estimates of future urban population by size classes.

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25. See, United Nations, The Prospects of World Urbanisation, Revised as of 1984, New York, 1987.

Table - 24

Estimates of Future Urban Population by Size class, 1991 and 2001 AD

Size class	1991		2001	
	Total	Percent	Total	Percent
More than 1 million	66.5	28.2	97.2	29.2
100,000 - 1 million	85.7	36.4	133.5	40.0
More than 100,000 (Large cities)	(152.2)	(64.6)	(230.7)	(69.2)
20 - 100,000 (Medium sized towns)	56.7	24.1	72.6	21.8
Less than 20,000 (Small towns)	26.7	11.3	30.1	9.0
Total	235.6	100.0	333.4	100.0
Annual average growth rate (%)	4.10 (1981-91)	3.81 (1981-2001)	3.53 (1991-2001)	

This table is significant on atleast two counts. Firstly, it shows that the growth rate of urban population will not only be maintained in the coming decade; it is, in fact, expected to accelerate in the 1981-91 period. The estimates place the rate at 4.1 per cent per annum compound. If this estimate fructifies, then it will set a new record of urban population growth in the country. Even the following decade will witness only a marginal slowing down of the growth rate.

A second feature of this table is that the position of large cities (+100,000 population size class) as a single size class is expected to further consolidate in the coming decades. In the year 2001 AD, this size class will account for 69.2 per cent of the country's projected urban population; in 1981, it was placed at 60.46

per cent. Evidently, this consolidation will take place at the cost of the small towns size class, whose share will drop down to a bare 9 per cent.

The National Institute of Urban Affairs have made tentative estimates on the expected number of settlements in different size classes, in the year 2001 AD. According to these estimates, India will have at the turn of the century, atleast three megalopolises (Calcutta, 16.53 million; Bombay,16.0 million; and Delhi, 13.52 million), 46 one-million cities (list annexed with this chapter), and over 453 cities in the population size class range of 100,000 and 1 million. Table 25 gives the distribution.

Table - 25

Projected Number of Urban Settlements by Size Classes, 2001 AD

Size class	Population size classes					
	More than 10 million	1 to 10 million	100,000 to 1 million	50,000 to 100,000	20,000 to 50,000	Less than 20,000*
Number of Urban settlements	3	46	453	431	855	-

* This table not take into account the number of new settlements likely to become urban during 1981-2001 through a process of reclassification. This, however, does not affect the number of settlements in the higher size classes, particularly in +100,000 size class.

The attached map shows the likely distribution of these cities.

The Office of the Registrar General has made separate estimates of the future urban population at the level of states. These are shown in Table 26.

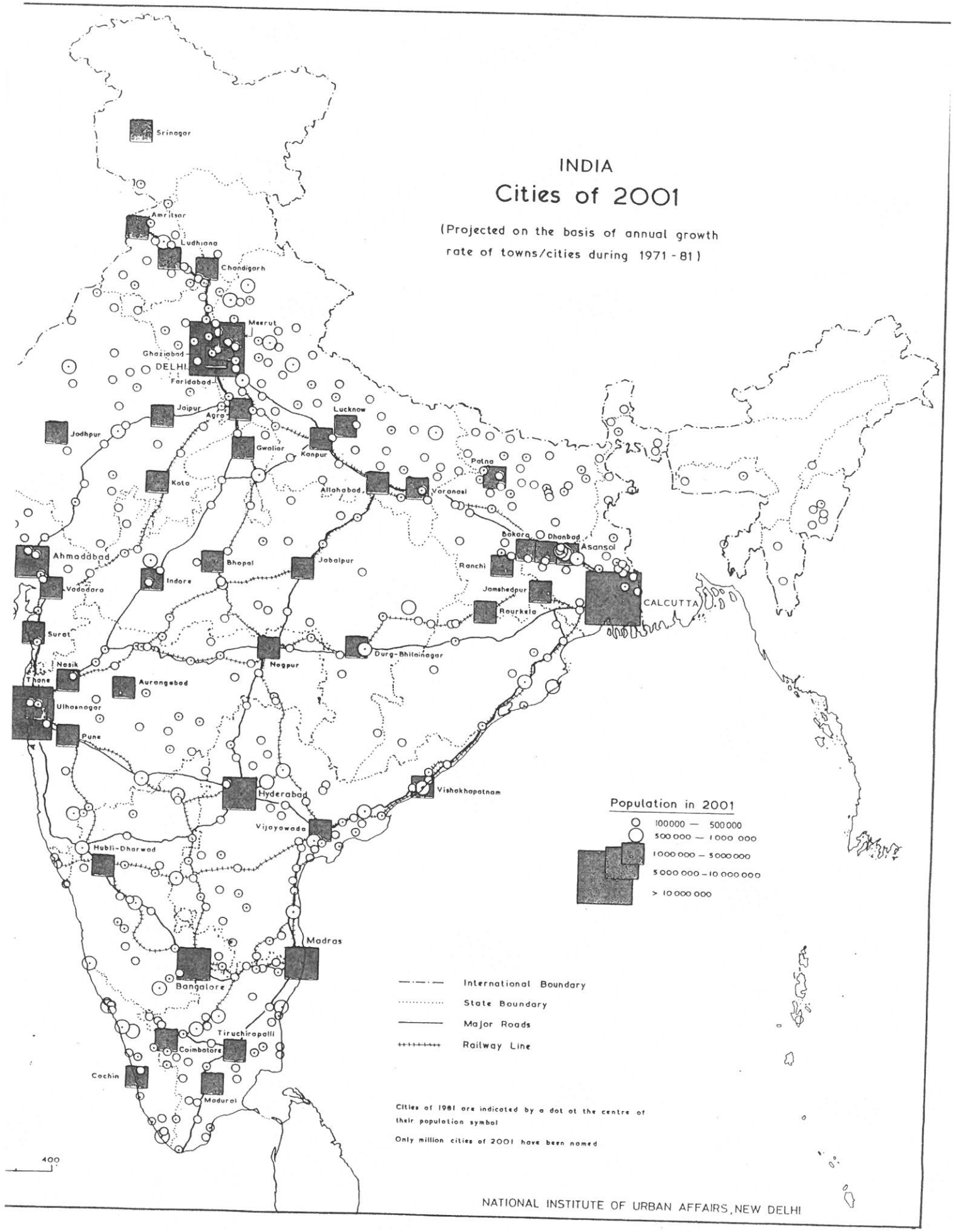
INDIA
Cities of 2001
(Projected on the basis of annual growth rate of towns/cities during 1971 - 81)
Srinagar
Amritsar
Ludhiana
Chandigarh
Meerut
Ghaziabad
DELHI
Faridabad
Jaipur
Agra
Lucknow
Jodhpur
Gwalior
Kanpur
Patna
Kota
Allahabad
Varanasi
Bokaro
Dhanbad
Asansol
Ahmadabad
Bhopal
Jabalpur
Ranchi
Vadodara
Indore
Jamshedpur
Rourkela
CALCUTTA
Surat
Durg-Bhilainagar
Nagpur
Nasik
Thane
Aurangabad
Ulhasnagar
Pune
Hyderabad
Vishakhapatnam
Vijayawada
Hubli-Dharwad
Madras
Bangalore
Tiruchirapalli
Coimbatore
Cochin
Madurai
Population in 2001
100000 — 500000
500 000 — 1 000 000
1 000 000 — 5 000 000
5 000 000 — 10 000 000
> 10 000 000
International Boundary
State Boundary
Major Roads
Railway Line
Cities of 1981 are indicated by a dot at the centre of their population symbol
Only million cities of 2001 have been named
400
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF URBAN AFFAIRS, NEW DELHI

Table - 26

Estimates of Future Urban Population by Regions, 1991 and 2001 AD

States	Estimated urban population million		Expected urbanisation level 2001	Expected Net Addition 1981-2001 AD	
	1991	2001		Total million	Percent change
Andhra Pradesh	17.90	24.21	32.93	11.73	93.94
Assam	2.96	4.07	13.34	2.03	99.51
Bihar	13.53	21.04	19.87	12.33	141.56
Gujarat	14.11	17.80	38.25	7.20	67.92
Haryana	4.57	7.06	37.33	4.25	150.35
Himachal Pradesh	0.42	0.51	8.78	0.19	59.38
Jammu & Kashmir	1.77	2.39	26.98	1.13	89.68
Karnataka	15.68	22.00	42.27	11.27	105.03
Kerala	6.58	8.96	26.21	4.19	87.84
Madhya Pradesh	16.34	24.51	32.64	13.93	131.66
Maharashtra	29.56	38.32	43.12	16.33	74.26
Manipur	0.54	0.73	34.10	0.36	97.30
Meghalaya	0.40	0.70	32.97	0.46	191.67
Nagaland	0.25	0.46	29.28	0.34	283.33
Orissa	5.19	8.43	23.22	5.32	171.06
Punjab	6.50	8.92	40.47	4.28	92.24
Rajasthan	11.34	17.75	31.71	10.55	146.53
Sikkim	0.10	0.18	30.41	0.13	260.00
Tamil Nadu	20.17	24.38	38.66	8.43	52.85
Tripura	0.29	0.37	12.08	0.15	68.18
Uttar Pradesh	32.01	53.16	32.10	33.28	167.40
West Bengal	18.85	23.99	31.63	9.58	66.48
Total	230.15	326.04	33.06	166.32	104.13

According to this table the six most-urbanised states (as assessed in 1981) will have in 2001 AD approximately 41 per cent of the country's total urban population as against about 50 per cent in 1981. Their positions are expected to undergo minor shifts with Haryana replacing West Bengal in the list of the six most-urbanised states. The two states expected to improve their position in the

overall urban hierarchy are Karnataka and Punjab. Bihar and Orissa will continue to be among the least urbanised states.

The prospects of urbanisation thus indicate continuation of the existing patterns rather than signalling any noticeable departures from them. These also suggest that the existing imbalances in the urban population growth and distribution will persist in the coming years, unless major changes and interventions are designed to narrow them down.

2. Reshaping Urban Growth Patterns: Some Options

The case for reshaping the future urban growth patterns stems essentially from two sources. The first one which has been stressed repeatedly in the earlier part of this study is the high degree of unevenness in the existing distribution of urban population in the country. Ample evidence has been presented to show that urban population is unevenly distributed in almost every conceivable fashion. For instance, the large cities as a single size group has strengthened its position at the cost of the other size class urban centres at an extraordinarily fast pace. From a stage when it had just about 26 per cent of the total urban population (1901), it now accounts for over 60 per cent of the same (1981). The population base of the small towns has shrunk most dramatically during this period.

Regionally too there are serious inequalities. Some parts of the country are more urbanised and urbanising faster. The process and rate of urbanisation in others is sluggish and even though the 1971-81 witnessed an acceleration in the urban population growth rates of

those parts, these are unlikely to change the overall distribution pattern.[26] Evidence was presented to show that over 55 per cent of the total number of districts had not been able to attain by 1981, even the 1951 level of urbanisation. Arranged in a descending order by the level of urbanisation, the first 100 or 25 per cent of the districts account for over 67 per cent of the country's total urban population, and the last 102 districts contain a mere 2.14 per cent of the same.[27]

Even when one analyses the distribution pattern of the fast growing and slow growing towns, one is struck by the fact that the consistently fast growing towns have remained a characteristic feature of the more urbanised and better-off states. The only redeeming feature is that the pattern of distribution of the slow growing towns is less than clear.

A second reason for reshaping the future urban growth emanates from the need to provide a more direct link and interface between the urban growth processes and economic development than has been the case so far. The past patterns have been a consequence of, and dependent on the economic development processes, and interactions between them

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26. It is interesting to note that a significant proportion of growth that occurred in the otherwise sluggish states of Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh during 1971-81 was due to the emergence of "new towns", by a process of "notification".

27. Arranged in a descending order the population composition at district levels works out as under: First 100 districts contain 67.78 per cent of the country's total urban population; second 100 districts have 20.01 per cent; Third 100 districts have 10.04 per cent; and the last 102 districts have 2.14 per cent.

have, at best, been marginal. This itself provides an adequate justification for reshaping urban growth patterns. It is in the light of these two reasons that certain options to reshape and guide future urban growth have been presented in this report.

The options are many. The first and foremost is aimed at reduction of spatial imbalances by acceleration of the development process of the small and medium towns and slowing down the growth of large cities. This option has been the mainstay of urban policies in most developing countries, and continues to enjoy the ideological appeal that it contains. For instance, the United Nations which undertakes biannual survey of the governmental policies on population distribution notes that[28]

i. a substantial number of less developed countries find the spatial distribution of population "unacceptable";

ii. concentration of population in a few metropolitan centres is the principal cause for "unacceptability";

iii. the countries where the problems of population distribution are more severe, have adopted policies of deceleration to a greater degree; and

iv. the LDC's consider deceleration of migration towards large urban centres as a possible solution to the problems of unsatisfactory spatial distribution of population.

The basic assumption under this option is that population distribution can be influenced by an appropriate mix of incentives and disincentives measures to achieve better spatial balance. Experiences, however, show that such options and policies have turned out to be short-sighted and difficult to accomplish,and the underlying

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28. See, United Nations, World Population Trends and Policies, New York, 1977 and 1979; and Om Prakash Mathur, Small Cities and National Development, United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, 1982.

assumptions "mistaken, misleading and at least debateable." The evidence from countries such as Indonesia, Thailand and others indicates that redistribution of population is a long drawn out process and requires massive investments. Similarly, regional distributions of populations remain stable over long periods and are not prone to easy changes. At subregional levels too, urban hierarchies do not undergo rapid changes.

A second option is to identify consistently fast growing and fast urbanising towns and areas for priority attention. This option underscores the need to most efficiently utilise the scarce resources by putting them in towns and areas that will yield the highest dividends.

Criteria such as the following can be utilised to draw up the list of towns for priority development.

i. towns which have shown moderate-to-high population growth rates consistently for 1961-71 and 1971-81 decades;

ii. towns which are located in high population growth rate districts or which have attained higher than national average growth rates; and

iii. which have rail/highway links.

An alternative to this which would fulfill the equity objectives would be to place priority on those towns which have experienced low population growth rate, and which are not responding to the general development stimuli . Those towns are also identifiable on the basis of criteria such as —

i. the population growth rates being lower than natural growth rates;

ii. the growth rates of districts of their location also being moderate to low.

Indicative lists of such towns are annexed with this section of the report. Both these options are, however, questionable on grounds that i) they are too simplistic for a country that have diverse patterns of urbanisation and a complex set of economic and social development objectives, and ii) they either allow the market forces to overtake other considerations, or prevent the market forces to operate.

A fourth option which we have elaborated in this report and which we consider relevant in India's context aims at establishing a more direct link and interface between the future urban growth patterns and newly emerging socio-economic needs and objectives. The main justification for this option springs from the fact that the process of urbanisation is vitally linked with the country's economic and social parameters, and consequently, the two should be looked at together rather than in isolation of each other.

The proposed option has five interconnected features.

1. Development of High Productivity Urban Corridors

The rationale of, and justification for, this component is based on the fact that there are several areas in the country that have attained over these years economies of scale, and of agglomeration and specialisation. These are centres of high technology research and development. Much of the country's GNP emanates from such centres.

They have begun to form clusters but do not yet enjoy the interindustry and spatial linkages. One of the proposed responses is to identify such corridors and develop them so that they can further maximise the scale and specialisation economies.

A number of such corridors have already emerged on the country's space. They are distinguished by, as may be seen from the list[29], by their centrality, proximity to metropolitan and large cities, a higher proportion of working force in manufacturing existence of an infrastructural base, and above all, a constellation of urban centres of varying sizes and growth rates. The list includes i Thane - Bombay Pune; ii Valsad - Surat - Bharuch; iii Ahmedabad - Vadodra - Surat; iv Bangalore - Hosur - Salem - Trichirapalli; v Delhi - Ghaziabad - Meerut; vi Delhi - Faridabad - Ballabahgarh; vii Indore - Dewas etc.

2. Development of a Network of Towns to Strengthen and Promote the Rural Economy

The primary focus of this component is on the identification and development of a large number of networks of small and medium-sized towns which would establish and foster better and sustainable rural urban relationships. Experiences have shown the vital interdependence of the rural and urban areas, and the fragility of one in the absence of the other. The development of networks will enable the rural areas to take full advantage of the urban infrastructure and services, and the urban areas of the vast production capacities and potentials of

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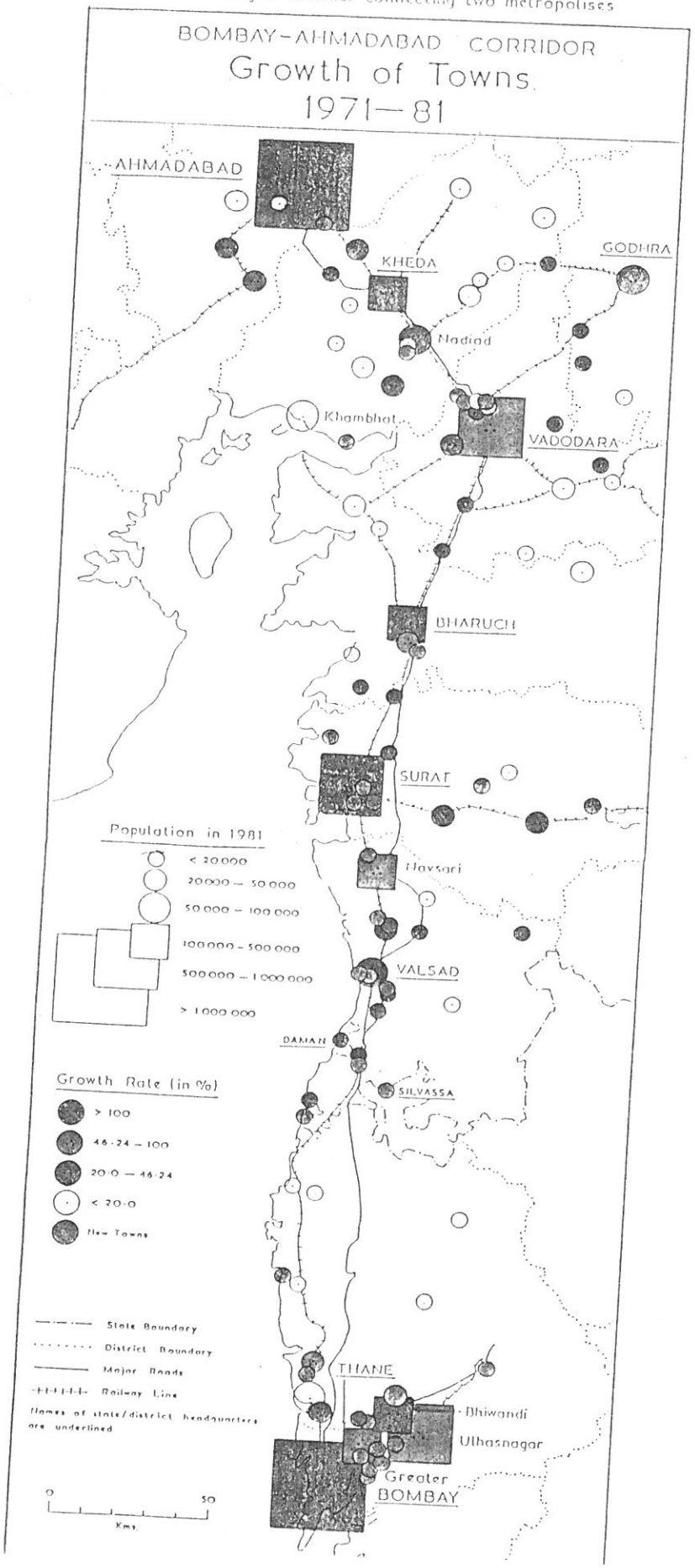
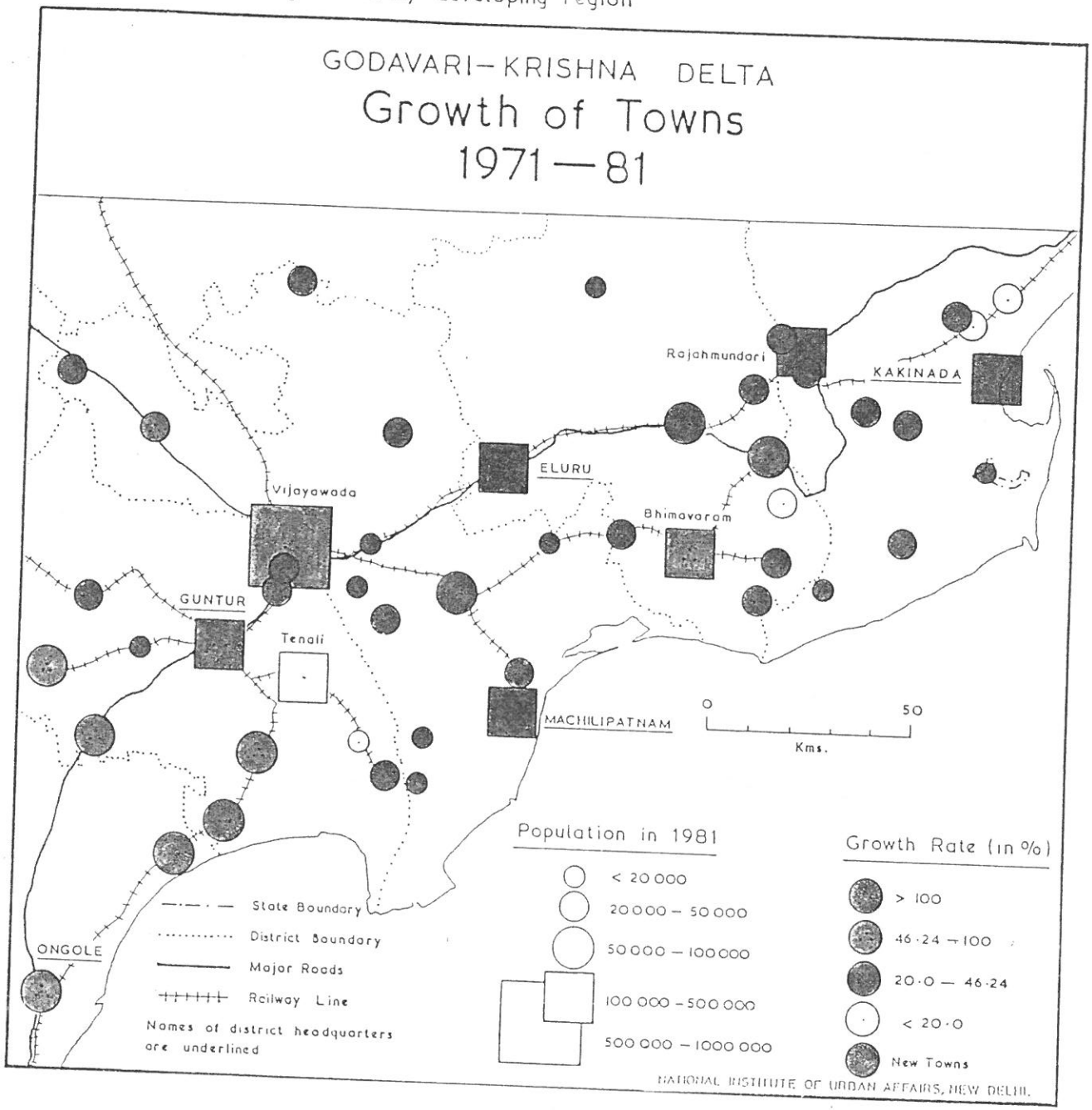
29. The list are indicative and not comprehensive.

Urbanisation along a corridor connecting two metropolises



Urbanisation in an agriculturaly developing region



rural areas. The emphasis here is not on the size or scale of urban centres but on their numbers (which have to be large), and distance between them (which has to be short).

There are several examples of such networks particularly in the agriculturally prosperous areas of Punjab, Haryana, Western parts of Uttar Pradesh, Western Rajasthan, coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh, and parts of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. These comprise of i Ludhiana - Khanna - Jullandhar; ii Rohtak -Panipat; iii Meerut - Muzzafarnagar; iv Mandaya - Mysore; v Sholapur - Sangli - Kolahpur; vi Guntur - Krishna - West Godawari; vii Thanjawar - Ramanathpuram etc., among others.

3. Development of An Interlinked Hierarchy of Urban Settlements

Such a strategy is necessary for regions where the size of urban settlements and consequently the levels of demand for services and infrastructures are small, and where because of the scale limitations, investments in infrastructure can neither be justified nor sustained. An interlinked hierarchy of settlements which can mutually support and reinforce each other is inevitable for such regions.

The region for which we recommend such a strategy is the Northeastern Region (Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh) where the number of towns is small and far between. The constitutent units of this region have extremely diverse patterns of urbanisation (see a sample of maps) and are

characterised by different problems, compulsions and perspectives.[30] We propose that this region be dealt with on a separate footing and be provided with stimulus and proper direction in order to promote economic growth, enhance the availability of urban services to the surrounding areas, and, above all, to strengthen the federating role of the towns of the region. We further propose that the urbanisation perspective of the region be tacked with at three spatial levels —

i. the regional level, in respect of the higher order services which would require partnership between the various constitutent states (e.g., Guwahati, Tezpur, Tinsukhia, Dibrugarh, Silchir, Jorhat, Dimapur, Shillong, Imphal, and Agartala.

ii. the state levels for schemes aimed at the development of selected growth centres and new growth centres in unserved area (e.g., Pasighat, Sibsagar, Jowai, Churachandpur, North Lakhimpur, Karimganj, Bongaigaon etc.

iii. the level of individual towns for town-specific problems of water supply, sanitation, housing and transport.

4. An Urban Revitalisation Strategy for Stagnating Towns and Areas

The basic objective underlying this component is to intervene in those regions which have a disproportionately high concentration of the slow growing and stagnating towns. The analysis of the demographic data has already indicated the surfacing of such centres, often in clusters, in several parts of the country in particular Tamil Nadu, the west coast belt, and several other states. These are indicated in the maps. Initially, the reasons of stagnation have to be identified and then special policies to revitalise the economy of

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30. See for details, National Insitute of Urban Affairs.

these areas have to be formulated. The areas needing priority attention are iniciated in the map showing the consistently slow growing towns.

5. Prevent Spurious Urban Growth

A detailed study of the components of urban population growth suggests that in states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, a significant proportion of the urban population increase during 1971-81 occurred as a result of the notification of the erstwhile rural settlements as municipal bodies, without any regard to the criteria used by census for classifying settlements as "urban". This can be seen from Table 27 below.

It is evident that this is, at best, an administrative decision to classify an area as urban. Such areas have virtually no urban character. Indeed, if such practices are continued in the future, the danger is that India's urban population may show at a much faster increase than envisioned at present. For instance, the 1981 census reported 9,036 rural settlements with populations exceeding 5,000. Their combined population was estimated at 78.3 million (see Annex 2) Any step to classify them as urban without the fulfilment of the criteria laid down by the census (density of 400 persons per sq.kms, and 75 per cent of male working force in non-agricultural occupations) can result in an extraordinarily large increase in urban population.

Table 27

Distribution of New Towns According to the Reasons for Inclusion

State	New towns added because of			
	Notification	Acquisition of demographic characteristics	Others	Total
Andhra Pradesh	–	32	–	32
Bihar	20	14	–	34
Gujarat	11	37	–	48
Haryana	14	4	1	19
Himachal Pradesh	11	–	–	11
Jammu & Kashmir	13	1	–	14
Karnataka	25	15	7	47
Kerala	2	48	–	50
Madhya Pradesh	65	16	–	81
Maharashtra	2	30	1	33
Manipur	23	–	1	24
Meghalaya	–	6	–	6
Nagaland	–	4	–	4
Orissa	17	7	4	28
Punjab	28	1	–	29
Rajasthan	38	6	–	44
Sikkim	–	–	1	1
Tamil Nadu	–	31	–	31
Tripura	4	–	–	4
Uttar Pradesh	373	10	–	383
West Bengal	1	72	1	80
All UTs	1	42	1	44
Total	648	376	23	1047*

* This number treats units within urban agglomerations as separate units, and that is why, it differs from the number given earlier in the report.

The basic proposal here is to make the procedures for classifying settlements as urban "stricter", and prevent what one might call spurious urban growth.

The National Institute of Urban Affairs believes that a strategy that aims at the simultaneous development of high productivity urban corridors, a network of centres to link urban and rural economies, revitalisation of stagnating towns, and prevention of spurious growth can reshape the future urban growth patterns in a way that it can meet the emerging needs of this nation. Any strategy that continues to look at urbanisation patterns in terms of size or spatial distribution is much too simple for a country which has diverse patterns, where problems and perspectives vary and which is on the anvil of a new economic order that favours high productivity and faster and balanced economic growth.

Annexure 1 of Section IV

One-Million cities of 2001 AD

Cities	Population		
	1971	1981	2001
HYDERABAD U.A.	1796339	2545836	5113457
VIJAYAWADA U.A.	344607	543008	1348250
VISHAKHAPATNAM U.A.	363467	603630	1664878
BOKARO STL CITY U.A.	107159	264480	1611095
DHANBAD U.A.	458625	678069	1482197
JAMSHEDPUR U.A.	456146	669580	1442778
PATNA U.A.	551210	918903	2553729
RANCHI U.A.	266545	502771	1788832
AHMADABAD U.A.	1752414	2548057	5387086
SURAT U.A.	493001	913806	3139542
VADODARA U.A.	467487	744881	1891130
FARIDABAD COMP.ADMN.	122817	330864	2401217
SRINAGAR U.A.	423253	606002	1242287
BANGALORE U.A.	1664208	2921751	9005636
HUBLI DHARWAD	379166	527108	1018685
COCHIN U.A.	505838	685836	1260775
BHOPAL	384859	671018	2039854
DURG-BHILAINAGAR UA	245124	490214	1960584
GWALIOR U.A.	406140	555862	1041236
INDORE	560936	829327	1812803
JABALPUR U.A.	534845	757303	1518284
AURANGABAD U.A.	165253	316421	1160104
GREATER BOMBAY CITY1	5970575	8243405	15714030
NAGPUR U.A.	930459	1302066	2549790
NASIK U.A.	271681	429034	1069933
PUNE U.A.	1135034	1686109	3720824
THANE U.A.	207352	389801	1377565
ULHASNAGAR U.A.	396384	648671	1737165
ROURKELA U.A.	172502	322610	1128353
AMRITSAR	458029	594844	1003282
LUDHIANA	401176	607052	1389977
JAIPUR U.A.	636768	1015160	2580126
JODHPUR U.A.	317612	506345	1286902
KOTA	212991	358241	1013452
COIMBATORE U.A.	736203	920355	1438371
MADRAS U.A.	3169930	4289347	7853698
MADURAI U.A.	711501	907732	1477481
TIRUCHIRAPALLI U.A.	464624	609548	1049108
AGRA U.A.	634622	747318	1036301
ALLAHABAD U.A.	513036	650070	1043721
GHAZIABAD U.A.	137033	287170	1261150
KANPUR U.A.	1275242	1639064	2707712
LUCKNOW U.A.	813982	1007604	1543974
MEERUT U.A.	383106	536615	1052811
VARANASI U.A.	635175	797162	1255604
CALCUTTA U.A.	7420300	9194018	14114747
ONDAL U.A.	32469	109209	1235484
CHANDIGARH U.A	232940	422841	1393295
DELHI U.A.	3647023	5729283	14139166

Annex 2 of Section IV

Number and Population of Villages above 5,000 pop, 1981

State/Uts/India	5,000 - 9,999		10,000 and above	
	Number	Population	Number	Population
Andhra Pradesh	1,058	6,929,323	163	2,141,496
Arunachal Pradesh	2	11,251	–	–
Bihar	1,054	6,922,509	192	2,565,593
Gujarat	418	2,700,933	49	607,061
Goa	31	195,638	1	11,663
Haryana	221	1,436,842	20	239,138
Himachal Pradesh	3	18,723	–	–
Jammu & Kashmir	20	114,136	1	11,780
Karnataka	401	2,640,776	35	409,634
Kerala	222	1,703,596	905	18,678,858
Madhya Pradesh	155	986,176	4	48,428
Maharashtra	579	3,837,056	116	1,505,789
Manipur	12	73,499	1	10,533
Meghalaya	–	–	–	–
Mizoram	–	–	–	–
Nagaland	1	6,355	–	–
Orissa	47	283,284	1	10,289
Punjab	120	768,014	1	12,256
Rajasthan	321	2,056,066	21	239,252
Sikkim	–	–	–	–
Tamil Nadu	1,000	6,624,271	182	2,771,095
Tripura	56	354,054	8	114,083
Uttar Pradesh	751	4,764,167	52	625,946
West Bengal	702	4,528,053	82	1,163,349
Andaman & Nicobar	–	–	–	–
Chandigarh	–	–	–	–
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3	19,962	–	–
Delhi	15	93,608	–	–
Daman & Diu	3	19,962	–	–
Lakshadweep	1	6,812	–	–
Pondicherry	6	43,547	–	–
India	7,202	47,140,246	1,834	31,166,643

Annexure 3 of Section IV

List of Towns for Priority Development
Under Efficiency Criterion

Towns	Population 1981	G.R. 71-81
1	2	3
ADILABAD	53482	76.11
MANCHERIYAL	32478	63.96
PALMANER	24038	76.08
TIRUPATI	115292	75.10
MADANAPALLE	54938	50.69
TIRUMALAI	20988	62.96
RAYACHOTI	35257	46.58
PRODDATUR	107070	51.18
NARASARAOPET	67032	54.21
VINUKONDA	24238	49.07
CHILAKALURIPET	61645	48.39
JAGTIAL	53213	72.21
SIRSILLA	34134	47.55
KARIMNAGAR	86125	76.06
KORATLA	30196	70.59
BHADRACHALAM	21354	99.38
YELLANDU	27292	62.77
KHAMMAM	98757	73.50
NANDIGAMA	23214	50.53
VIJAYAWADA U.A.	543008	57.57
YAMMIGANUR	50701	67.52
MAHBUBNAGAR	87503	69.07
BADEPALLE	18624	54.70
SIDDIPET	42755	62.59
SANGAREDDY	31360	82.04
ZAHIRABAD	28956	57.16
MIRYALGUDA	44129	129.09
KAVALI	48119	62.48
NIZAMABAD	183061	58.30
KAMAREDDY	33048	85.30
ONGOLE	85302	59.95
VICARABAD	20737	58.18
VISHAKHAPATNAM U.A.	603630	66.08
BHEEMUNIPATNAM	34619	142.24
JANGAON	25112	48.89
DHANBAD U.A.	678069	47.85
RAMGARH U.A.	65268	72.11
ARARIA	33363	48.78
KHELARI	13269	63.73
KHUNTI	18787	59.98
RANCHI U.A.	502771	88.63

Contd..

1	2	3
SAHARSA	57580	148.01
MUSABANI	29413	48.47
JAMSHEDPUR U.A.	669580	46.79
TALAJA	14739	47.02
TALALA	10967	62.67
KESHOD	32036	63.34
GANDHIDHAM U.A.	61489	58.04
RAJKOT	445076	48.06
SURAT U.A.	913806	85.36
THANGADH	18586	53.67
VADODARA U.A.	744881	59.34
MORMUGAO	69684	58.14
PONDA	15330	100.18
FARIDABAD COMP.ADMN.	330864	169.40
GURGAON U.A.	100877	76.51
HISAR U.A.	137369	53.59
JIND	56748	48.71
GOHANA	26188	56.31
PAONTA SAHIB	5800	57.10
BANDIPORE	14218	129.29
LAKHENPUR	1162	88.64
LEH	8718	57.96
RAJAURI	8690	46.32
VIJAYAPURA	17212	49.02
KANAKAPURA	30161	48.60
BELLARY	201579	61.03
BIDAR	78856	55.63
DAVANGERE	196621	62.35
HARIHAR	52334	54.43
CHALLAKERE	25043	48.07
CHITRADURGA	74580	48.41
GULBARGA	221325	52.02
SINDHNUR	25875	80.73
GANGAWATI	58735	69.52
MANVI	21345	53.46
SHIMOGA	151783	47.78
DANDELI	47625	87.32
TRICHUR U.A.	170122	66.46
VARKALA	34009	67.00
BALAGHAT U.A.	53183	59.49
JAGDALPUR U.A.	63632	72.30
BETUL	46293	50.00
BHIND	74515	62.72
BHOPAL	671018	74.35
KORBA	83387	155.37
CHHATARPUR	51959	61.01
CHIKHALI KLN. PRSIA.	83213	49.24
DEWAS	83465	60.92

Contd..

1	2	3
DURG-BHILAINAGAR UA*	490214	99.99
DABRA	33421	55.95
HOSHANGABAD U.A.	46300	57.30
ITARSI BHILAKHEDI UA	69619	48.55
INDORE	829327	47.85
SABALGARH U.A.	17188	57.47
AMBAH	17381	63.17
MORENA	69864	55.60
JOURA U.A.	15740	52.61
MAHASAMUND	27122	54.81
TILDA NEWARA	15089	49.78
RAIPUR	338245	64.21
BARAILY	13013	57.49
RAISEN	15914	74.15
REHLI	16343	71.87
SATNA U.A.	96667	55.51
BURHAR DHANPURI U.A.	62318	113.66
SHIVPURI	75738	48.92
SIDHI	19654	109.89
AMBIKAPUR U.A.	38291	61.29
KURASIA U.A.	53015	76.10
NAGDA	56602	73.79
KANNAD	16391	57.64
AURANGABAD U.A.	316421	91.48
PARLI	48946	57.49
GEORAI	15495	47.01
MANJLEGAON	22555	65.86
AMBEJOGAI	42362	52.84
BID	80287	60.69
BALLARPUR	61398	79.17
RAJURA	10569	48.40
CHANDRAPUR CITY	115777	54.09
ICHALKARANJI CITY	133751	52.46
PUNE U.A.	1686109	48.55
ALANDI	7523	57.12
THANE U.A.	389801	87.99
ULHASNAGAR U.A.	648671	63.65
BHAYANDAR	25646	141.99
IMPHAL	156622	56.05
TURA	35257	127.63
AIZAWL	74493	134.70
DIMAPUR	32878	164.59
BALANGIR	54943	53.70
BHADRAK	60600	49.68
JAJAPUR ROAD U.A.	20935	51.20
DHENKANAL	35653	81.76
KORAPUT	31665	47.24
BARIPADA U.A.	52989	84.47
BHUBNESWAR	219211	107.80
BRAJARAJNAGAR	54033	69.82

Contd...

1	2	3
SAMBALPUR U.A.	162214	54.36
BARGARH	35400	54.82
ROURKELA U.A.	322610	87.02
KHANNA	53761	54.40
LUDHIANA	607052	51.32
SIRHIND	30380	68.52
KISHANGARH	62032	65.84
VIJAYNAGAR	15191	78.68
KHERLI	8046	67.69
BANSWARA U.A.	48070	75.68
BALOTRA	28070	59.53
BHARATPUR	105274	50.60
BHILWARA	122625	49.26
NOKHA	24119	114.93
KESHORAIPATAN	11448	57.12
NIMBAHERA	27763	67.83
CHITTAURGARH U.A.	44990	73.59
SURATGARH	29815	67.10
ANUPGARH	12997	184.34
HANUMANGARH	60071	84.65
BHADRA	22568	60.28
JAIPUR U.A.	1015160	59.42
BHAWANI MANDI	16928	53.39
JODHPUR U.A.	506345	59.42
KOTA	358241	68.20
PALI	91568	83.75
GANGTOK	36747	176.13
TIRUTTANI	24496	49.72
PONNERI	16021	48.38
TENI ALLINAGARAM	53018	52.11
RAMESWARAM	27928	66.68
RISHIKESH	29145	65.16
CHHIBRAMAU	23263	47.93
FATEHPUR	84831	55.18
SRINAGAR	9171	64.77
KOTDWARA	17048	48.80
DADRI	19723	51.01
MODINAGAR U.A.	87665	101.67
GHAZIABAD U.A.	287170	109.56
MURADNAGAR	26047	86.25
PILKHUWA	37884	58.24
ORAI	66397	56.18
BAGHPAT	17157	47.07
BHOWALI	3212	46.47
HARDWAR U.A.	145946	59.73
NARENDRANAGAR	3596	50.46
UTTARKASHI	10043	66.83
RAJPUR U.A.	60734	76.59
BIRLAPUR U.A.	50831	216.78
RANIGANJ U.A.	119101	155.93

Contd...

1	2	3
KATWA U.A.	44430	54.10
DURGAPUR	311798	50.89
SILIGURI	154378	58.36
BAGULA	11739	72.66
GANGARAMPUR	22767	53.74
ISLAMPUR	26353	67.69
BALURGHAT U.A.	112621	67.87
PORT BLAIR	49634	89.31
CHANDIGARH U.A	422841	81.52
DELHI U.A.	5729283	57.09
PONDICHERRY U.A.	251420	62.26

Annexure 4 of Section IV

List of Towns for Priority Development
Under Equity Criterion

Cities	Population 1981	G.R. 71-81
1	2	3
URAVAKONDA	21754	10.12
MACHAVARAM	13662	16.13
PITHAPURAM	36607	16.62
SAMALKOT	41264	19.24
SOMPETA	12792	9.92
MANDASA	7307	10.24
SALUR	36006	16.42
BOBBILI	36239	18.24
SOJITRA	15229	18.01
PETLAD	47020	18.93
KAPADVANJ	35178	14.41
UMRETH	28299	16.82
VASO	11774	10.93
VADNAGAR	22079	14.23
CHANASMA	16053	11.49
SHIVIAJPUR	4872	2.27
REWARI	51562	17.49
BAWAL	7760	18.85
BERI	13490	9.35
MAHAM	11722	11.20
BILASPUR	8063	14.58
DALHOUSIE U.A.	4189	-18.23
BAKLOH	1664	-12.74
PALAMPUR	2834	11.62
KANGRA	7093	18.24
YOL	9214	15.29
JUTOGH	1396	8.13
THEOG	1528	15.06
KASAULI	3872	3.06
DAGSHAI	1769	-18.14
PUNCH	14171	18.28
SADALGI	13911	11.22
NIPANI	41783	18.99
NARASIMHARAJAPURA	6102	3.23
SRINGERI	4272	14.26
AJJAMPUR	7693	14.55
GURMATKAL	11616	10.65
ALUR	4177	12.28
BELAKAVADI	6396	15.51
MELUKOTE	2958	8.35

Contd..

1	2	3
ALLEPPEY	169940	6.10
TIRUVALLA	29225	9.53
SHERTALLAI	40492	10.18
KOTTAYAM	64431	7.90
CHANGANACHERRY	51955	7.02
VAIKOM	21097	5.41
CHITURTHATHAMANGALAM	30407	6.65
NEYYATTINKARA	27993	16.72
RAMPURA	14313	12.83
SITAMAU	9920	17.26
TUMSAR	34840	17.22
TALODE	20055	17.79
KUNDALWADI	11617	11.83
MURUD	11235	0.22
MATHERAN	3920	15.40
SHRIVARDHAN	13740	11.33
REVDANDA	7246	7.46
RAJAPUR	8884	-1.47
MALWAN	17328	-1.43
POPHALI	4817	-24.43
HARNAI	4703	-36.67
SAWANTWADI	18671	10.66
VENGURLA	12339	4.52
DABHOL	6363	17.79
RAHIMATPUR	11666	12.91
WAI	24661	17.21
FIROZPUR CANTT U.A.	44678	7.47
FIROZPUR	61162	8.95
DERA BABA NANAK	6212	16.37
GARHDIWALA	4459	18.81
HARIANA	5633	12.61
DHANAULA	13885	16.91
UNIARA	7198	19.43
KUZHITTURA	18427	13.76
PADMANABHAPURAM	18246	8.03
BHAVANI SAGAR	3650	13.32
ALAGAPURI	3055	-6.89
KADIAPATTI	4028	-5.22
PONNAMARAVATI	11467	6.53
PORTONOVO	20100	15.44
KHOWAI	10722	14.82
PATEASAER	8033	15.12
JALPAIGURI	61743	11.94
BALICHAK	8663	17.45
MAHE	9588	6.87

APPENDIX

DISTRICTWISE DISTRIBUTION OF FAST, MODERATELY, SLOW GROWING AND NEW TOWNS

APPENDIX

Districtwise Distribution of Fast, Moderately, Slow Growing and New Towns, 1971-81.

India/State/ Union Territories/ Districts	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
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
INDIA	3301	568	1365	487	881
Andhra Pradesh					
Adilabad	12	6	3	2	1
Aanantapur	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 Gogavari	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

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Nawada	3	1	2	0	0
Palamu	6	1	3	1	1
Pashchim Champ	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
Rrohtas	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

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Goa					
Goa	15	2	8	1	4
Total	15	2	8	1	4
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
Sonipat	3	3	0	0	0
Total	77	15	33	12	17

Contd...

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Baramula	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

Contd....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Kozhikode	2	0	1	1	0
Malappuram	4	1	3	0	0
Balghat	4	1	1	2	0
Quilon	6	1	1	0	4
Trichur	18	1	1	3	13
Trivandrum	5	2	1	2	0
Wayand					
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

Contd....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Sehore	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
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

Contd....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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					
Aizawal	4	1	0	0	3
Chhimtuipui	1	0	0	0	1
Lunglei	1	1	0	0	0
Total	6	2	0	0	4

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Orissa					
Balangir	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
Firozpur	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

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Bilwara	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
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					
Chengalputtu	15	3	8	3	1
Coimbatore	10	0	8	2	0
Dharmapuri	7	1	4	2	0
Kannyakumari	5	0	3	2	0
Madras	1	0	1	0	0

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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
Aaligarh	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
Bulandshahar	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

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Ghaziabad	13	6	3	0	4
Ghazipur	9	0	3	0	6
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
Barddhaman	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

Contd.....

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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					
Andamans & Nicobars	1	1	0	0	0
Total	1	1	0	0	0
Chandigarh					
Chandigarh	1	1	0	0	0
Total	1	1	0	0	0
Dadra & Nagar Haveli					
Dadra & Nagar Heveli	1	0	0	0	1
Total	1	0	0	0	1
Delhi					
Delhi U.T.	6	1	0	0	5
Total	6	1	0	0	5
Daman & Diu					
Daman	1	0	1	0	0
Diu	1	0	1	0	0
Total	2	0	2	0	0
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

Note: Excluding Assam
Source: Census of India, 1981.