Urbanisation in India

Pranati Datta
Population Studies Unit
Indian Statistical Institute
203 B.T. Road
Kolkata 700108

pranatidatta@hotmail.com

Abstract
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Urbanization is an index of transformation from traditional rural economies to modern industrial one. It is a long term process. This paper endeavors to illuminate on the process of urbanization in India over a century with emphasis on level, tempo of urbanization and urban morphology using Indian Census data during 1901-2001. It will try to trace urban problems and related policy issues.

At the moment, India is among the countries of low level of urbanization. Number of urban agglomeration /town has grown from 1827 in 1901 to 5161 in 2001. Number of population residing in urban areas has increased from 2.58 crores in 1901 to 28.53 crores in 2001. Only 28% of population was living in urban areas as per 2001 census. Over the years there has been continuous concentration of population in class I towns. On the contrary the concentration of population in medium and small towns either fluctuated or declined. The graduation of number of urban centers from lower population size categories to class I cities has resulted top heavy structure of urban population in India. India's urbanization is often termed as overurbanisation, pseudo- urbanization. The big cities attained inordinately large population size leading to virtual collapse in the urban services and followed by basic problems in the field of housing, slum, water, infrastructure, quality of life etc. Urbanisation is a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural-urban migration. Urbanisation is occurring not due to urban pull but due to rural push. Globalisation, liberalization, privatization are addressing negative process for urbanization in India. Policy relates to proper urban planning where city planning will consist of operational, developmental and restorative planning. Redirection of investment is recommended to develop strong economic base for small and medium city neglected so far so that migration flows are redirected to small and medium cities.

Urbanisation in India Full Paper

Introduction

Urbanisation is an index of transformation from traditional rural economies to modern industrial one. It is progressive concentration (Davis, 1965) of population in urban unit. Quantification of urbanization is very difficult. It is a long term process. Kingsley Davis has explained urbanization as process(Davis,1962) of switch from spread out pattern of human settlements to one of concentration in urban centers. It is a finite process--- a cycle through which a nation pass as they evolve from agrarian to industrial society (Davis and Golden, 1954). He has mentioned three stages in the process of urbanization. Stage one is the initial stage characterized by rural traditional society with predominance in agriculture and dispersed pattern of settlements. Stage two refers to acceleration stage where basic restructuring of the economy and investments in social overhead capitals including transportation, communication take place. Proportion of urban population gradually increases from 25% to 40%, 50%, 60% and so on. Dependence on primary sector gradually dwindles. Third stage is known as terminal stage where urban population exceeds 70% or more. At this stage level of urbanization (Davis, 1965) remains more or less same or constant. Rate of growth of urban population and total population becomes same at this terminal stage.

The onset of modern and universal process of urbanization is relatively a recent phenomenon and is closely related with industrial revolution and associated economic development. As industrial revolution started in Western Europe, United Kingdom was the initiator of Industrial Revolution. Historical evidence suggests that urbanization process is inevitable and universal. Currently developed countries are characterized by high level of urbanization and some of them are in final stage of urbanization process and experiencing slowing down of urbanization due to host of factors (Brockerhoff, 1999; Brockerhoff and Brennam 1998)). A majority of the developing countries, on the other hand started experiencing urbanization only since the middle of 20th century

Study Objective

This paper endeavours to illuminate on the process of urbanization in India with emphasis on level, tempo of urbanization and urban morphology using Indian Census data during 1901-2001. It will try to trace pattern of urbanization, urban problems and related policy issues.

Indian Census Definition of Urban Area

In Census of India, 2001 two types of town were identified (R.G,2001):

- a) Statutory towns: All places with a municipality, corporation, Cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc. so declared by state law.
- b) Census towns: Places which satisfy following criteria:-
- i) a minimum population of 5000;
- ii) atleast 75% of male working population engaged in non agricultural pursuits; and
- iii) a density of population of atleast 400 persons per sq km

Urban Agglomeration: Urban agglomeration is a continuous urban spread constituting a town and its adjoining urban outgrowths (OGs) or two or more physical contiguous town together and any adjoining urban out growths of such towns. Examples of out growths are railway colonies, university campus, port area, military campus etc.that may come up near a statutory town or city. For census of India, 2001 it was decided that the core town or atleast one of the constituent towns of an urban agglomeration should necessarily be a statutory town and the total population of all the constituents should not be less than 20,000(as per 1991 Census). With these two basic criteria (R.G 2001) having been met the following are the possible different situations in which urban agglomerations could be constituted.

- i) a city or town with one or more contiguous outgrowths;
- ii) two or more adjoining towns with or without their outgrowths;
- iii) a city or one or more adjoining towns with their out growths all of which form a continuous spread

World Urbanisation

The urban population (UN, 1993) was estimated to be 2.96 billion (table 1) in 2000 and 3.77 in 2010. It was estimated that nearly 50 million people are added to the world's urban population and about 35 million to the rural population each year. The share of world's population living in urban centers has increased from 39% in 1980 to 48% in 2000. The developed countries have higher urbanization level (76% in 2000) compared with developing countries(40% in 2000) The urbanization level has almost stabilized in developed countries. Africa and Asian countries are in the process of urbanization.

Table 1: Percentage of world Population Residing in Urban Areas by Region

World/Re gion	1	980	1	985	1	990	2	000	2	2010
	%	in billion								
World	39.4	1.752	41.2	1.997	43.1	2.282	47.6	2.962	52.8	3.779
More	70.2	.797	71.5	.838	72.7	.880	75.8	968	79.1	1.060
develope										
d region										
Less	28.8	.954	31.5	1.159	34.3	1.401	40.3	1.993	46.8	2.717
Develope										
d region										
Africa	27.3	.130	29.6	.164	32.0	.205	37.6	.322	44.2	.493
Asia	26.2	.678	28.6	.813	31.2	.974	37.1	1.369	43.8	1.845
Latin	65.0	.233	68.4	.273	71.5	.315	76.6	.400	80.4	.482
America										

Source: World Urbanisation Prospects- The 1992 Revision, United Nations. New Work, 1993

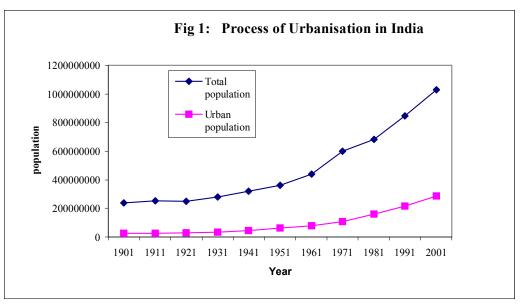
Volume and Trend of Urbanisation in India

India shares most characteristic features of urbanisation in the developing countries. Number of urban agglomeration /town has grown from 1827 in 1901 to 5161 in 2001. Number of total population has increased from 23.84 crores in 1901 to 102.7 crores in 2001 whereas number. of population residing in urban areas has increased from 2.58 crores in 1901 to 28.53 crore in 2001. (table 2) This process of urbanization in India is shown in Fig. 1. It reflects a gradual increasing trend of urbanization. India is at acceleration stage of the process of urbanization.

Table 2 : Population of India by Residence

		1901-2001		
Census	Number of	Total	Urban	Rural
years	Urban	population	population	
	agglomerat			
	ion/town			
1901	1827	238396327	25851873	212544454
1911	1825	252093390	25941633	226151757
1921	1949	251321213	28086167	223235046
1931	2072	278977238	33455989	245521249
1941	2250	318660580	44153297	274507283
1951	2843	361088090	62443709	298644381
1961	2363	439234771	78936603	360298168
1971	2590	598159652	109113977	489045675
1981	3378	683329097	159462547	523866550
1991	3768	844324222	217177625	627146597
2001	5161	1027015247	285354954	741660293

Sources: Various Census reports



According to 2001 census (Table 3), in India out of total population of 1027 million about 285 million live in urban areas and 742 million live in rural areas. Sex ratio, defined as number of female per 1000 male, for urban, rural and total India are 900, 945, 933 respectively.

Table 3: Population of India by sex and residence: 2001

India	Male	Female	Total Person	Sex
				ratio
Urban	150135894	135219060	285354954	900
Rural	381141184	360519109	741660293	945
Total	531277078	495738169	1027015247	933

Source: IND CEN01, Census 2001, Office of the Registrar General

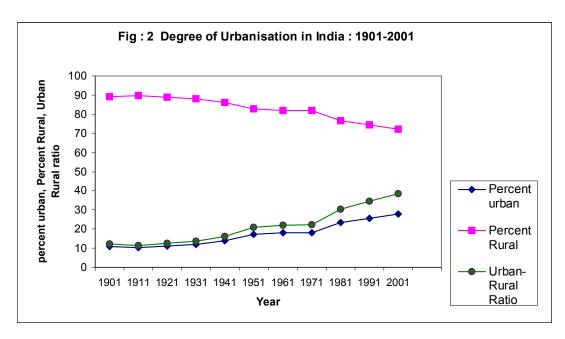
Degree of Urbanisation

The degree or level of urbanization is defined as relative number of people who live in urban areas. Percent urban [(U/P)*100] and percent rural [(R/P)*100] and urban-rural ratio [(U/R)*100] are used to measure degree of urbanisation These are most commonly used for measuring degree of urbanization. The ratio U/P has lower limit 0 and upper limit 1 ie. 0 < U/P < 1. The index is 0 for total population equal to rural population. When whole population is urban, this index is one. When 50 percent of the population is rural, it means that there is one urbanite for each rural person. The urban-rural ratio has a lower limit of zero and upper limit ∞ i.e $0 < U/R < \infty$. Theoretically upper limit will be infinite when there is no rural population (R=0) but this is impossible. From table 4 it is clear that percent urban has increased from 11% in 1901 to 28% in 2001, whereas percent rural has shown gradual decrease from 89% to 72% over a century. Urban rural ratio which is a simple index measuring number of urbanites for each rural person in an areal unit experiences an increasing trend during hundred years in the process of urbanization in India. The urban-rural ratio for India in 2001 turns out to be

around 38, meaning that against every 100 ruralites there are 38 urbanites in India in 2001. All these indices pin point that India is in the process of urbanization (Sovani, 1966) and it is at the acceleration stage of urbanization. These are presented graphically in the Fig 2

Table 4 Degree/Index of Urbanisation 1901-2001

Census	Percent	Percent	Urban- Rural
Census		Percent	
years	urban	Rural	Ratio(percent)
1901	10.84	89.15	12.16
1911	10.29	89.71	11.47
1921	11.18	88.82	12.58
1931	11.99	88.01	13.63
1941	13.86	86.14	16.08
1951	17.29	82.71	20.91
1961	17.97	82.03	21.91
1971	18.24	81.76	22.31
1981	23.33	76.66	30.44
1991	25.72	74.28	34.63
2001	27.78	72.22	38.47



Pace of Urbanisation

Urbanisation in India has been relatively slow compared to many developing countries. The percentage of annual exponential growth rate of urban population (table 5) reveals that in India it grew at faster pace from the decade 1921-31 to until 1951. Thereafter it registered a sharp drop during the decade 1951-61. The decades 1961-71 and 1971-81 showed a significant improvement in the growth which has thereafter steadily dropped to the present level 2.7. The sharp drop in urban rate during 1951-61 was mainly due to declassification of a very large number of towns during that period. Rural growth has been fluctuating since 1901. The

decline in rural population growth was within small range during 1981-91 and 1991-2001. During the process of urbanization it is natural that rgup > rgtp > rgrp, (table 5) where rgup = rate of growth of urban population, rgtp = rate of growth of total population, rgrp = rate of growth of rural population. This fact is supported in case of Indian urbanisation also since 1911.

Table 5 Annual Growth rate of Population by Residence

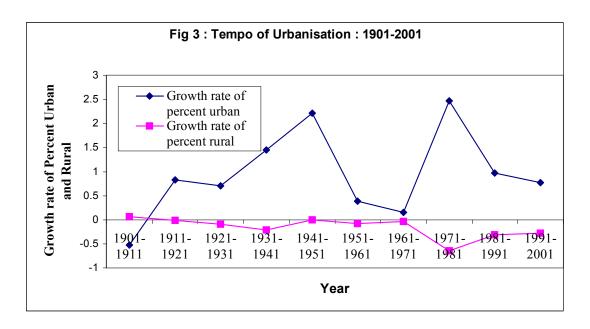
Vear	Annual growth	Annual growth	Annual growth
year	_	_	<u> </u>
	rate(%) of total	rate(%) of urban	rate(%) of rural
	population(rgtp)	population(rgup)	population(rgrp)
1901-1911	.51	.03	.62
1911-1921	-0.03	.79	-0.13
1921-1931	1.04	1.75	.95
1931-1941	1.33	2.77	1.12
1941-1951	1.25	3.47	.84
1951-1961	1.96	2.34	1.88
1961-1971	3.09	3.24	3.05
1971-1981	1.33	3.79	.69
1981-1991	2.12	3.09	1.80
1991-2001	1.96	2.73	1.68

Tempo of urbanization refers to speed of urbanization and is measured as change registered in the level or degree of urbanization over the years. From the following table 6 it is clear that tempo or speed of urbanization is not uniform over the years. It shows a fluctuating trend over the years 1901-1981 and a declining trend during 1981-91, 1991-2001. Again it is required to mention tempo of urbanization measured as a per cent will tend toward zero as the urban population reaches the 100 percent level, since the urban and total population growth would become the same.

Table 6: Tempo of Urbanisation 1901-2001

year	Growth rate of	Growth rate of
	percent	percent rural (PR)
	urban(PU)(tempo)	(tempo of PR)
1901-1911	-0.5240	.06184
1911-1921	0.8250	-0.0099
1921-1931	0.7054	-0.0924
1931-1941	1.4444	-0.2139
1941-1951	2.2160	0.4072
1951-1961	0.3846	-0.0823
1961-1971	0.1492	-0.0329
1971-1981	2.4629	-0.6434
1981-1991	0.9734	-0.3161
1991-2001	0.7714	-0.2815

Tempo of PU = $1/n [1_n (PU_{t+n}/PU_t)] * 100$, where $1_n = \text{natural log}$, PU_{t+n} and $PU_t = \text{percent urban in } t + n \text{ th census respectively}$, n = census interval = 10. *Tempo of PR = $1/n [1_n (PR_{t+n}/PR_t)] * 100$, where $1_n = \text{natural log}$, PR_{t+n} and $PR_t = \text{percent urban in } t + n \text{ th and } t \text{ th census respectively}$, n = census interval = 10



From Fig 3 fluctuating tempo of urbanization can be easily verified. Growth rate of percent rural being negative, the corresponding curve for it moves down the horizontal axis.

Growth rate in urban-rural ratio also shows a fluctuating trend over the years as is evident from the following table 7.

Table 7: Growth rate of urban -rural ratio

year	Growth rate of
	urban - rural ratio
1901-1911	.59
1911-1921	.92
1921-1931	.80
1931-1941	1.66
1941-1951	2.62
1951-1961	.47
1961-1971	.18
1971-1981	3.11
1981-1991	1.29
1991-2001	1.05

Exponential growth rate of U/R ratio = $1/n *[1_n (UR_{t+n}/UR_t)]* 100$ where 1_n = natural log, U/R $_{t+n}$ and UR $_t$ = urban-rural ratio in t+n th and t th census, t = census time, n = census interval=10

The major advantage of measuring tempo of urbanization is by taking urban-rural ratio is that it does not tend to zero when the country approaches the 100 percent level of urbanization; however it does regress toward the growth rate of the urban population.

Urban Morphology

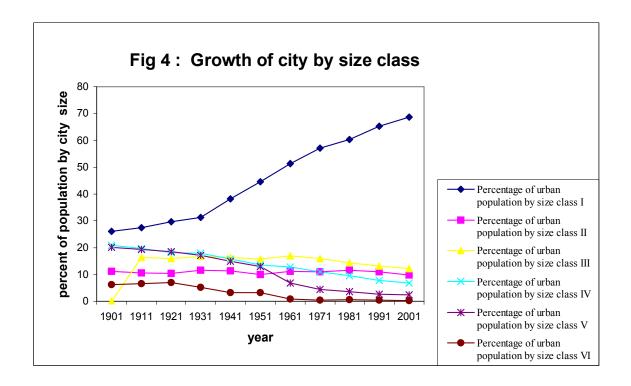
The following table 8 shows number of towns and percentage of urban population by size class of city during 1901-2001. The pattern of urbanization in India is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in large cities (Kundu, 1983). This is manifested in a high percentage of urban population being concentrated in class I cities and its population has systematically gone up over the decades in the last century. As per 1901 census percentage of population in class I, IV, V were 26%, 21%, and 20 percent respectively. According to 1991 Census, about two third (65%) of the countries urban population lived in Class -1 cities with more than 100, 000 population. In 2001 it has increased to 69%. Over the years there has been continuous concentration of population in class I towns. On the contrary the concentration of population in medium and small town (Kundu, 1994) either fluctuated or declined. Indeed basic reason for the increasing dominance of class I cities is graduation of lower order towns into class I categories. It may be observed that in 1901 there were only 24 class I cities that has gone up to 393 in 2001 which explains largely the increase in the share of population in this size category over the years. The graduation of number of urban centers from lower population size categories to class I cities has resulted top heavy structure of urban population in India. However in addition to factor of increase in number of large cities, the importance of a faster demographic growth, poverty induced (Mukherjee, 1995) migration to urban informal sector should be taken into account in making urban structure top heavy.

Table 8: Number of towns and percentage of Urban population by size class

Census		No	of Towns	by size	class		Percent	age of ur	ban popu	lation by	size clas	S
years	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1901	24	43	130	391	744	479	26.0	11.2	15 6	20.8	20.1	6.1
1911	23	40	135	364	707	485	27.4	10.5	16.4	19.7	19.3	6.5
1921	29	45	145	370	734	571	29.7	10.3	15.9	18.2	18.6	7.0
1931	35	56	183	434	800	509	31.2	11.6	16.8	18.0	17.1	5.2
1941	49	74	242	498	920	407	38.2	11.4	16.3	15.7	15.0	3.1
1951	76	91	327	608	1124	569	44.6	9.9	15.7	13.6	12.9	3.1
1961	102	129	437	719	711	172	51.4	11.2	16.9	12.7	6.8	0.7
1971	148	173	558	827	623	147	57.2	10.9	16.0	10.9	4.4	0.4
1981	218	270	743	1059	758	253	60.3	11.6	14.3	9.5	3.5	0.5
1991	300	345	947	1167	740	197	65.2	10.9	13.1	7.7	2.6	0.3
2001	393	401	1151	1344	888	191	68.6	9.67	12.2	6.8	2.3	0.2

Class I: Greater than 1,00,000 population Class II: 50,000--1,00,000 population Class III: 20,000---50,000 population Class IV: 10,000--- 20,000 population Class V: 5,000---10,000 population Class VI: less than 5000 population

Source: Various census reports



From the trend (Fig 4) in urban population by size class over the last century one can presume an increase in inequality in the urban structure, along with regional imbalance in the next decades. The distribution of population in different size class is likely to become more and more skewed. The share of class I towns or cities, with population size of 100,000 or more, has gone up significantly from 26 per cent in 1901 to 69% per cent in 2001. The percentage share of class IV, V and VI towns, having less than 20,000 people, on the other hand, has gone down drastically from 47 to 10 only. This is largely due to the fact that the towns in lower categories have grown in size and entered the next higher category.(Kundu,1994)

Million -Plus cities in India

Number of million plus cities(table: 8) have increased from 5 in 1951 to 23 in 1991 and to 35 in 2001. About 37% of the total urban population live in these million plus/ UA cities. As per 2001 census the newly added million plus cities are 12 in numbers, they are Agra, Meerut, Nashik, Jabalpur, Jamshedpur, Asansol, Dhanbad, Faridabad, Allahabad, Amritsar, Vijaywada, Rajkot.

Table 8: Million -Plus cities in India: 1951-2001

Rank	City	Population	(in million)		
		1951	1971	1991	2001
1	Bombay(Mumbai)	2.97	5.97	12.57	16.37
2	Calcutta	4.67	7.42	10.92	13.22
3	Delhi	1.44	3.65	8.38	12.79
4	Madras(Chennai)	1.54	3.17	5.36	6.42
5	Hyderabad	1.13	1.80	4.28	5.53
6	Bangalore	0.79	1.66	4.09	5.69
7	Ahmedabad	0.88	1.75	3.30	4.52
8	Pune	0.61	1.14	2.49	3.75
9	Kanpur	0.71	1.28	2.11	2.69
10	Nagpore	0.48	0.93	1.66	2.12
11	Lucknow	0.50	0.81	1.64	2.27
12	Surat	0.24	0.49	1.52	2.81
13	Jaipur	0.30	0.64	1.52	2.32
14	Kochi	0.18	0.51	1.14	1.35
15	Coimbatore	0.29	0.74	1.14	1.45
16	Vadodara	0.21	0.47	1.12	1.49
17	Indore	0.31	0.56	1.10	1.64
18	Patna	0.32	0.56	1.10	1.71
19	Madurai	0.37	0.71	1.09	1.19
20	Bhopal	0.10	0.38	1.06	1.45
21	Vishakapatnam	0.11	0.36	1.05	1.33
22	Vanarasi	0.37	0.64	1.03	1.21
23	Ludhiana	0.15	0.40	1.01	1.40

Component of Urban Growth

Urban growth (Bhagat, 1992) can be attributed to mainly three components 1) Natural increase, 2) Net migration, 3) Areal reclassification. These components have been estimated using residual method. Since separate information in wake of change in the area and population due to extension of municipal boundaries during the inter-censal period is not available either for total or for migrant population it is difficult to estimate decadal migration to urban areas. Besides migration data for new and declassified towns are not available separately and so there is a possibility error error in estimating contribution of migration in the share of urban growth. From table 9 it is evident that during 1971-81 about 41% of urban growth (estimated by Jain, RG 1991 Census) can be attributed to natural increase which reflects the role of demographic momentum, 36% due to net migration and municipal

boundary changes and 19% due to reclassification of area. But urban growth due to natural increase has increased from 42% in 1971-81 to about 60% during 1981-91. Urban growth due to migration and changes in municipal boundaries has reduced from 39% in 1971-81 to 22% in 1981-91. But estimates (figures in parenthesis) by Pathak and Mehta for these components of urban growth reflects slightly different results(Pathak and Mehta, 1995). It is clear that urbanization process in India is not mainly "migration lead" but a product of demographic explosion due to natural increase. People migrate to cities not due to urban pull but due to rural push. Poverty led migration (Sen and Ghosh, 1993) has induced very poor quality of urbanization followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, rapid growth of slum, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life.

Table 9: Components of Urban Growth

Percent share	1971-81	1981-91
Natural increase	41.7 (45.1)	59.9 (58.7)
Net Migration + Changes in	39.4(36.1)	22.6 (23.7)
municipal boundaries		
Areal reclassification	18.8 (18.8)	17.4(17.5)

Source: Census of India, 1991; Figures in parenthesis are from Pathak, and Mehta, (1995) Recent Trends in Urbanisation and Rural-Urban Migration in India: Some Explanations and Projections", Urban India, Vol.15, No, 1, pp.1-17.

Basic Feature and Pattern of India's Urbanisation

Basic feature of urbanization in India can be highlighted as:

- 1 Lopsided urbanization induces growth of class I cities
- 2 Urbanisation occurs without industrialization and strong economic base
- **3** Urbanisation is mainly a product of demographic explosion and poverty induced rural urban migration.
- 4 Rapid urbanization leads to massive growth of slum followed by misery, poverty, unemployment, exploitation, inequalities, degradation in the quality of urban life.
- 5 Urbanisation occurs not due to urban pull but due to rural push.
- 6 Poor quality of rural-urban migration leads to poor quality of urbanization(Bhagat,1992).
- 7 Distress migration initiates urban decay

The pattern of urbanization in India is characterized by continuous concentration of population and activities in large cities. Kingsley Davis used the term "over-urbanization (Kingsley Davis and Golden, 1954) "where in urban misery and and rural poverty exist side by side with the result that city can hardly be called dynamic" and where inefficient, unproductive informal

sector (Kundu and Basu, 1998) becomes increasingly apparent. Another scholar (Breese, 1969) depicts urbanization in India as pseudo urbanization where in people arrive in cities not due to urban pull but due to rural push.

Reza an Kundu (1978) talked of dysfunctional urbanization and urban accretion which results in a concentration of population in a few large cities without a corresponding increase in their economic base.

Urbanisation process is not mainly "migration lead" but a product of demographic explosion due to natural increase. Besides rural out migration (Premi, 1991) is directed towards class I cities. The big cities attained inordinately large population size leading to virtual collapse in the urban services and quality of life. Large cities are structurally weak and formal instead of being functional entities because of inadequate economic base.

Globalisation, liberalization (Kundu and Gupta, 2000), privatization addressing negative process for urbanization in India. Under globalisation survival and existence of the poor are affected adversely. Liberalisation permits cheap import of goods which ultimately negatively affects rural economy, handicrafts, household industry on which rural poor survives. The benefits of liberalization (Despande and Despande, 1998) generally accrue to only those who acquire new skills. It is unlikely that common man and the poor will benefit from the liberalization. Privatisation cause retrenchment of workers. All these negative syndrome forces poverty induced migration (Mukherjee, 1993) of rural poor to urban informal sectors (Kundu, Lalitha and Arora (2001). Hence migration which is one of the components of urban growth occurs not due to urban pull but due to rural push.

Problem of Urbanisation:

Problem of urbanization is manifestation of lopsided urbanization, faulty urban planning, urbanization with poor economic base and without having functional categories.

Hence India's urbanization is followed by some basic problems in the field of: 1) housing, 2) slums, 3) transport 4) water supply and sanitation, 5) water pollution and air pollution, 6) inadequate provision for social infrastructure (school, hospital, etc.). Class I cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras etc have reached saturation level of employment generating capacity (Kundu,1997). Since these cities are suffering from of urban poverty, unemployment, housing shortage, crisis in urban infra-structural services these large cities can not absorb these distressed rural migrants i.e poor landless illiterate and unskilled agricultural labourers. Hence this migration to urban class I cities causes urban crisis more acute.

- 2 Most of these cities using capital intensive technologies can not generate employment for these distress rural poor. So there is transfer of rural poverty to urban poverty. Poverty induced migration of illiterate and unskilled labourer occurs in class I cities addressing urban involution and urban decay.
- 3 Indian urbanization is involuted not evoluted (Mukherji, 1995). Poverty induced migration occurs due to rural push. Megacities grow in urban population (Nayak, 1962) not in urban prosperity, and culture. Hence it is urbanization without urban functional characteristics. These mega cities are subject to extreme filthy slum and very cruel mega city denying shelter,

drinking water, electricity, sanitation (Kundu,,Bagchi and Kundu, 1999) to the extreme poor and rural migrants.

4 Urbanisation is degenerating social and economic inequalities (Kundu and Gupta, 1996) which warrants social conflicts, crimes and anti-social activities. Lopsided and uncontrolled urbanization led to environmental degradation and degradation in the quality of urban life----pollution in sound, air, water, created by disposal of hazardous waste. Illiterate, low- skill or no-skill migrants from rural areas are absorbed in poor low grade urban informal sector at a very low wage rate and urban informal sector becomes in-efficient and unproductive.

Policy Implication:

Redirection of investment is recommended to develop strong economic base for small and medium city neglected so far.

Redirection of migration flows is required. Since the mega cities have reached saturation level for employment generation and to avoid over-crowding into the over congested slums of mega cities i.e Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras etc it is required to build strong economic sector (Kundu and Basu,1998) in the urban economy, growth efforts and investments should be directed towards small cities which have been neglected so far so that functional base of urban economy is strengthened. Then redirection of migration to these desirable destination will be possible.

Policy should also relate to proper urban planning where city planning will consist of operational, developmental and restorative planning. Operational planning should take care of improvement of urban infrastructure, e.g roads, traffic, transport etc. Developmental planning should emphasize on development of newly annexed urban areas. Various urban renewal process can be used. Restorative planning should aim to restore original status of old building monuments which have historic value.

In general urban planning must aim at:

- a)Balanced regional and urban planning (Mukherji, 2001)
- b)Development of strong economic base for urban economy
- c)Integration of rural and urban (Kundu, Sarangi and Dash, 2003) economy-- emphasis on agro-based industry. Raw material should be processed in rural economy and then transferred to urban economy.
- d)Urban planning and housing for slum people with human face.

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