

**TRENDS AND PATTERNS OF URBANIZATION IN
INDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN PRE AND
POST LIBERALIZATION PERIOD**

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Abstract

The present research work is concerned with the analysis of the trends and patterns of urbanization in India, using the data from 1971 to 2011. Urban disparity has widened up following economic liberalization in India. These reforms supported the market-based economy, which ultimately led to the regional imbalances. The paper has identified the increasing spatial inequalities in India's urbanization and underlines a sharp departure from the past pattern following the emerging trends in the post liberalization period. In view of increasing role of liberal economic policies, it becomes inevitable to examine the impacts of economic liberalization on the trends and pattern of urbanization and their implications. Unbalanced pattern of urbanization has always been a matter of great concern. This study could be helpful in understanding the urban diversities across states and for formulating suitable measures for a balanced urban development in the country.

Keywords:Urbanization, urban-disparity, economic liberalization, regional imbalances, urban development.

Introduction: "Urbanization" is the phenomenon of increasing concentration of the population in urban areas. The term 'urbanization' incorporates several aspects such as the level of urban population and the rate at which the urban proportion is increasing. The meaning of the trends and patterns of urbanization implies towards the regular way and a general direction in which urbanization is taking place. In order to understand the changing pattern of urbanization in India, it becomes important to examine the changes in the level and pace of urbanization across the different states. This study attempts to examine the trends and patterns of urbanization in India with reference to the pre and post-reforms period. Globalization is important for urbanization and urban economic growth because it affects spatial allocation of resources and creates spatial impacts. Factors which affect allocation of resources include overall population growth and population distribution, among large and small cities (Lim, 2005). Important studies have been carried out on globalization, urbanization and urban economic growth in India include M.R. Narayana (2010), Kundu (2006) and Mathur (2005). PrakasaRao (1986) emphasizes three major forces which boost up the level of urbanization in a region. These include industrialization, commercialization and diversification of agriculture in their order of importance. The regional variations in the distribution of urban population are significant. It has been noticed that, there is a large scale variations among the states of India in term of urban population.

(b) Database and Methodology. The present investigation is exclusively based on secondary information, so the data is mainly secondary in nature and obtained from the Census of India 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001 and 2011 (Provisional data). The tabulated data have been represented by cartographic methods such as maps and graphs.

(c) Objectives.

1. To examine the trends and patterns of urbanization between pre and post-liberalization period in India.
2. To assess the regional variations in the trends and patterns of urbanization across the different states.
3. To bring out the distribution and growth of towns and cities in different size classes and the respective population therein.
4. To study the impact of economic liberalization on the trends and patterns of urbanization at national level.

(d) Discussion

Historical background of Urbanization in India.

The Indian subcontinent shares with Mesopotamia and the Nile valley, a long history of urbanization. The first phase of urbanisation in the Indus Valley is associated with the Harappan civilization flourished over a period of more than 6000 years up to about 1700 BC (R.Ramachandran,1989).The urban history of India can be analysed by dividing it into five broad periods:-

1.The Pre-historic Period-2350 to 1800 B.C.

The Indus Valley civilization supports some cities and a large number of rural villages.Among them,two most important cities are Mohenjodaro and Harappa.The Indus valley plain had a superior situation like alluvial soils,conducive climate,rich mineral resources etc.Such cities had a number of facilities like great bath,state granary,citadel,grid-plan pattern etc.The

architecture and size of the private houses varied from single roomed barracks to multi-roomed houses and palatial structures. There were some small cities like Lothal, Kalibangan in Rajasthan, Baniwali in Haryana, Surkotada in Kachchh and Rangpur and Rojdi in the Kathiawar peninsula. Around 1700 B.C., there was a disappearance of Indus Valley civilization. But it was not clear whether this disappearance brought by natural disaster or human action.

2. The Early historical period-600 B.C. to A.D. 500.

The urban development in this phase may be divided into two broad sections-

The urban development of North India-The most important cities were Hastinapur, Indraprastha, Mathura, Ayodhya, Ujjain, Vaishali etc. The single most important factor that contributed to the urban prosperity of the ancient cities was the introduction of iron replacing Copper axes and other agricultural implements. Many places which started acting as market centres were gradually developed into towns or cities. The urban development of South India-Voluminous works in Tamil language in what is known as 'Sangam' literature depicts the story of urbanization in the south. Some important Tamil cities Puhar, Cholapur, Uraiyar, Korkai, Madurai, Musri, Kanchi etc.

3. The Medieval Period-A.D.600-1800.

In this period, there was a decline in the process of urbanization. This was brought about by many factors such as political instability, revival of Hinduism, which valued rural life more than urban development disintegration of many large empires Muslim Invasion, etc. The major urban centres during this period were Mathura, Thaneshwar, Allahabad, Varanasi, Patliputra, Gwalior, Ujjain, Dhar, Somnath, Meerut, Panipat, Srinagar, Baroda etc. The scenario of urban cities saw the building up of mosques, forts and palaces reflecting Arab and Persian art and values. Some names of the

cities the suffix 'abad'(meaning settlement),Agra renamed by Shah Jahan as Shahjahanabad,etc.During this time, India attained a high level of political stability, as well as economic prosperity,the Mughals revived many older establishment cities and many new cities.Trades,transport and communication were the main forces of urbanisation during this period.

4.Urbanisation in the British Period.

The Britishers developed many centres for trade and commercial purposes at different parts of the country.These centres with the passage of time became urban centres as they had all superior facilities.Forexample,Calcutta,Madras and Bombay transformed into Kolkata, Chennai and Mumbai,etc.Majority of the urban centres were located in south India while the North Indian Plains had only about one-third of the total urban centres.Major urban centres among them are as follow: Benaras, Surat,Patna,Lucknow, Hyderabad,Delhi,Nagpur, Poona,Ahmedabad,etc.The major contributions of British in the urban development was:

- 1.The Creation of Metropolitan cities.
- 2.Civil Lines and Cantonments.
- 3.Hill stations and plantation settlements.
- 4.Railways Development
- 5.Urban amenities and urban administration.
- 6.Urbanisation in the Princely states (from A.D. 1800 to 1947)
- 7.The New Urban Ethos.

5. Urban Development in Post-Independence Period.

After independence urban development in India entered a new phase of planned economy. The rate of urban growth was rapid in this period. The number of one-lakh and million cities increased and along with them increased the urban population. The proportion of urban population to total population increased from 17.3 percent in 1951 to 27.8 percent in 2001.

Table:1-Number of UAs/ Towns and OGs in India

Types of Urban Units	2001	2011
1. Towns:	5161	7935
Statutory Towns	3799	4041
Census Towns	1362	3894
2. Urban Agglomerations	384	475
3. Out Growths (OGs)	953	981

Source: Census of India (2011, Provisional data)

I. Trends and Patterns of Urbanization: An Interstate Analysis

The Urban scene of the country especially in the post-independence period has been characterized by **dualism**. On the one side, developed states attracted much more population in urban areas due to the industrialization and infrastructural investment. While on the otherside, in less developed states, the small and medium towns experienced rapid urban growth owing to government sponsored infrastructural investment and programmes of urban industrial dispersal or transfer of funds through a need based also known as 'a gap filling approach'. A large proportion of urban population is concentrated in the six states of India

namely Goa, Mizoram, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Maharashtra and Gujarat. According to 2011 census, Goa (62.17%), Mizoram (51.51%), Tamil Nadu (48.45%), Kerala (47.72%) and Maharashtra (45.23%) emerges as the five most urbanized states of India. While on the other hand, there are some states which have least urban population namely Himachal Pradesh (10.04%), Bihar (11.30%), Assam (14.08%), Odisha (16.08%) and Meghalaya (20.08%). Among union territories, Chandigarh (97.25%), Lakshadweep (78.08%) and Daman & Diu (75.16%) have shown high level of urbanization while, Andaman & Nicobar Islands (35.67%), Dadra & Nagar Haveli (46.62%), and Puducherry (68.31%) are least urbanized, according to 2011 census data (Provisional). For detail see (figure-1 and table-2, table-3).

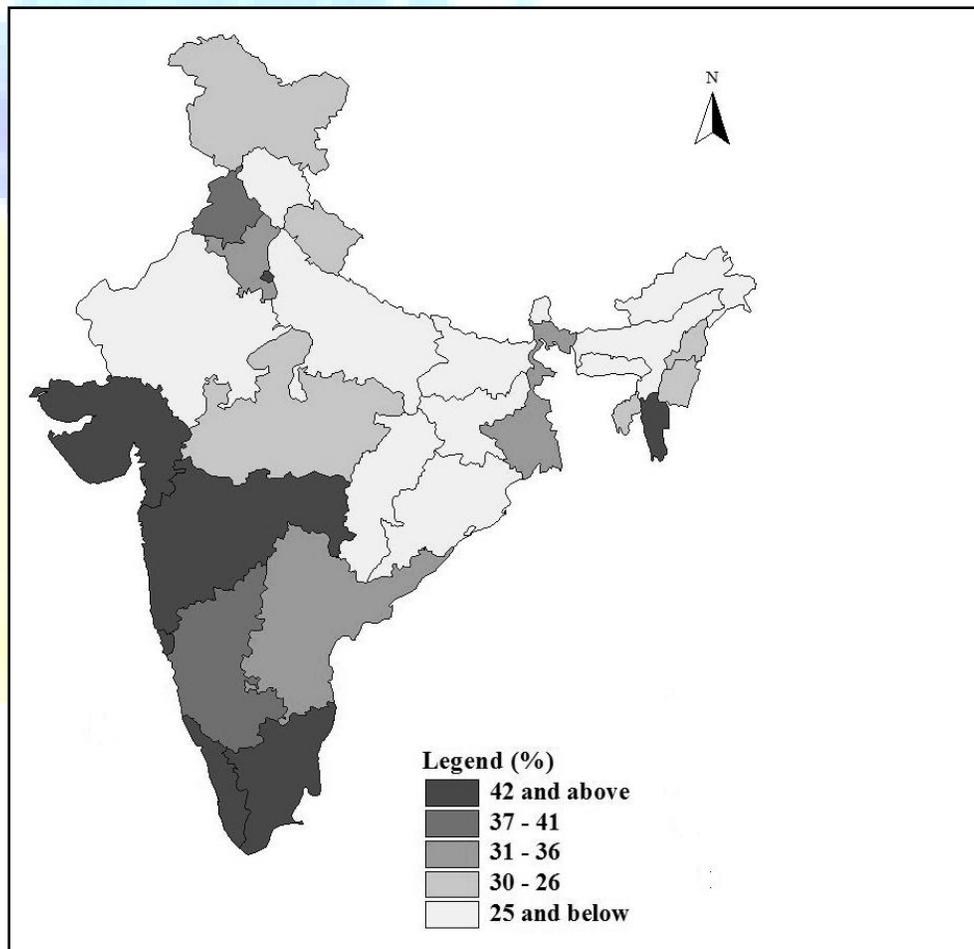


Figure:1- Level of Urbanization-India(2011,Provisional data)

Table: 2-Level of Urbanization across some selected states

States/UT	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Andhra Pradesh	19.31	23.25	26.84	27.08	33.49
Assam	-	9.88	11.08	12.72	14.08
Bihar	10.00	12.46	13.17	10.47	11.30
Chandigarh	90.55	93.6	89.69	89.78	97.25
Delhi	89.7	92.84	89.93	93.01	97.50
Goa	26.44	32.46	41.02	49.77	62.17
Gujarat	28.08	31.08	34.4	37.35	42.58
Himachal Pradesh	6.99	7.72	8.7	9.79	10.04
Karnataka	24.31	28.91	30.91	33.98	38.57
Maharashtra	31.17	35.03	38.73	42.4	45.23
Meghalaya	14.55	18.03	18.69	19.63	20.08
Odisha	8.41	11.82	13.43	14.97	16.68
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	22.77	26.36	26.80	32.67	35.67
Uttar Pradesh	14.02	18.01	19.89	20.78	22.28
West Bengal	24.75	26.49	27.39	28.03	31.89
Tamil Nadu	30.26	32.98	34.20	43.86	48.45
Nagaland	9.95	15.54	17.28	17.74	28.97
Lakshadweep	-	46.31	56.29	44.47	78.08
Puducherry	42.04	52.32	64.05	66.57	68.31
Daman & Diu	-	-	46.86	36.26	75.16
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	-	6.67	8.47	22.89	46.62
Haryana	17.66	21.96	24.79	29.00	24.25
All India	20.22	23.73	25.72	27.78	31.16

Source: Census of India (2011, Provisional data).

Table: 3- Trends in Urbanisation in India (1971-2011)

Census Years	Urban Population(in million)	Percent of urban population to total population	Annual exponential growth rate of urban population
1971	109.11	19.91	3.21
1981	159.46	23.34	3.83
1991	217.18	25.72	3.09
2001	286.12	27.78	2.73
2011	377.10	31.16	2.76

Note: As the 1981 Census was not conducted in Assam, and the 1991 Census was not held in Jammu and Kashmir, the population of India includes projected figures for these states in those periods.

Source: Census of India (2011, Provisional data)

II. Urbanization Patterns across Size Classes of Urban Centres

It has been recorded that the process of urbanization in India is mainly large-city oriented. There is a variation in the urban structure of the country as well. We find, that the shares of urban population in class I cities being much higher than that of the others. If we look into the census data, a clear picture comes out of it, in which class I cities continued to dominate the entire urban scene in the country. For example, the growth of urban population in the class I A (3.3%) and class I B (3.8%) cities, while in class IV+ (includes class IV, V and VI cities) the growth of urban population was only 1.6 percent during 2001-2011. There is not so much variations noted among medium class cities such as class II, class III, class IV cities. But class V and class VI cities accounted too low percent of urban population, during 1971-2011. There is not so much variations noted among medium class cities such as class II, class III, class IV cities. But class V and class VI cities accounted very low percent of urban population during 1971-2011.

Table:4-Growth of Urban Population by City Size (Percent Per annum)

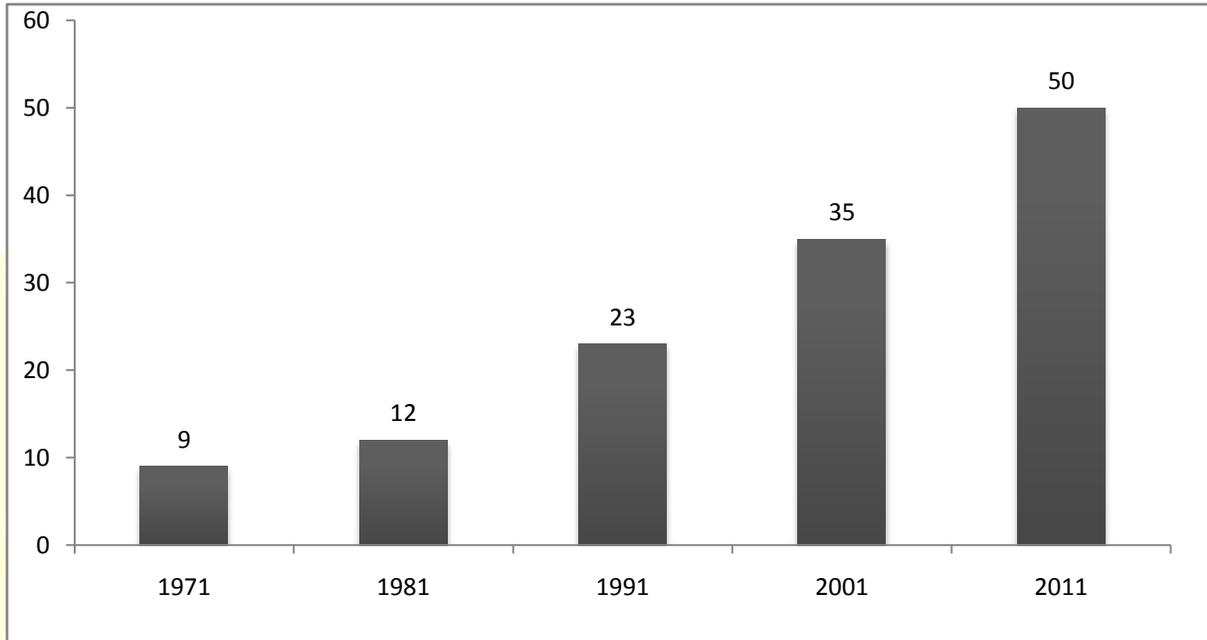
	Gross Increase			
	1971-1981	1981-1991	1991-2001	2001-2011
Cities	4.4	3.7	3.5	2.7
Metropolitan Cities	4.2	4.9	4.2	3.5
Class IA	5.5	4.3	4.8	3.3
Class IB	2.7	5.7	3.5	3.8
Other Cities (Class IC)	4.5	2.6	2.6	1.7
Towns	2.7	2.4	1.5	1.6
Class II	4.1	2.8	1.6	1.6
Class III	2.4	3.0	1.9	1.6
Class IV+	1.9	1.3	1.0	1.6
Memo:				
Urban Population	3.9	3.2	2.8	2.4
Rural Population	1.8	1.8	1.7	1.2
Total Population	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.5

Note: Class IV+ includes city size classes IV, V, and VI.

Source: Census of India (Provisional data, 2011).

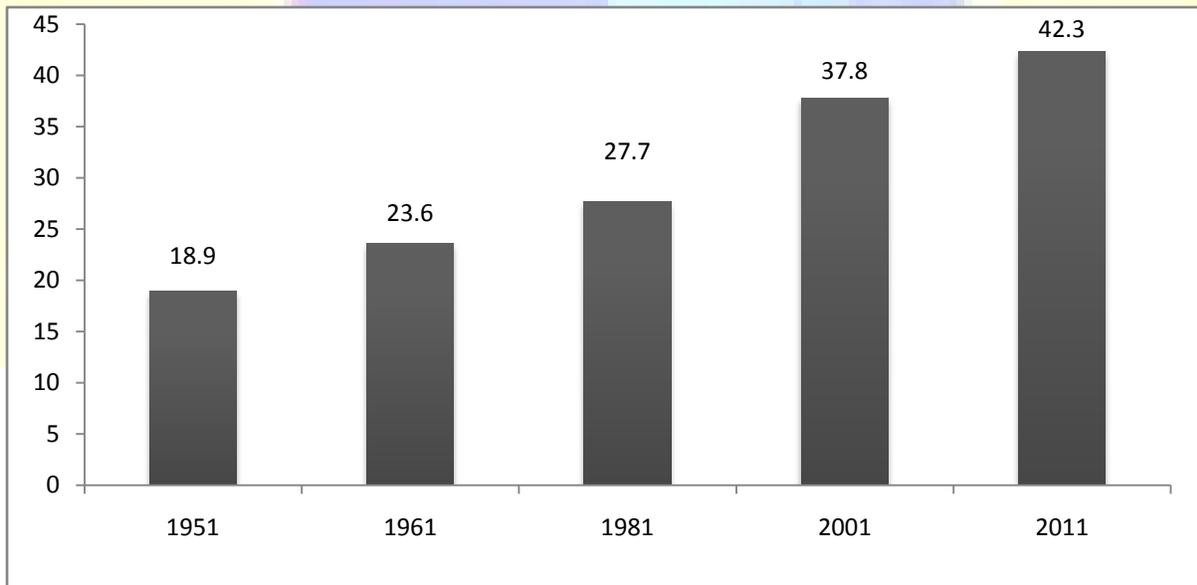
Overall scene of urban population in different class cities is declining and 2011 Census is evident of this trend. The number of million plus cities has also risen up from 9 to 50 during the period of 40 years (1971- 2011).In addition to this, the population in these metropolitan cities is unevenly distributed. Forinstance, Greater Mumbai accounts 22.7 million as follow by Kolkata(18.3) and Delhi(17.9) whereas, rest of the other metropolitan cities accounts only less than 10 million population figure. For detail see (Table:4 and Figure:2 and 3)

Figure: 2-Number of Million Plus Cities/UAs



Source: Census of India (Provisional data, 2011)

Figure: 3-Metroplitan Cities: Population (per cent of urban total)



Note: The data relates to urban agglomerations with population above 1 million.

Source: Census of India (Provisional data, 2011)

Table: 5-Population of the Eight Metropolitan Cities

Cities	Population (in million)			
	1981	1991	2001	2011
Greater Mumbai	9.4	12.6	16.4	22.7
Kolkata	9.2	11.0	13.2	18.3
Delhi	5.8	8.5	12.9	17.9
Chennai	4.2	5.3	6.6	9.1
Hyderabad	2.6	4.3	5.7	7.9
Bangalore	2.9	4.1	5.7	7.9
Ahmedabad	2.6	3.4	4.5	6.3
Pune	1.7	2.5	3.8	5.4

Note: The 'Big Eight' metropolitan cities have been defined as those with population above 5 million.

Source: Census of India (Provisional data, 2011)

III. Trends and Patterns of urban growth.

The growth rate of urban population was very high upto 1951 census. Some scholars has dismissed this high growth rate, attributing it to massive migration from across international borders owing to partition of the country as well as loose definition of urban centres in the first census conducted after independence. The adoption of a rigorous definition of urban places in the 1961 census resulted in declassification of as many as 803 towns with 4.4 million populations. As a result, the growth rate came down to 2.34 percent in 1961. The growth rate increased a little bit upto 3.21 percent during 1961-71. This increase was mainly to increase of

population in existing urban centres rather than emergence of new towns. The annual exponential growth rate during 1971-81, was 2.03 percent, which remains highest upto 2011 census.. This large part of increase can be attributed to emergence of new urban centres, for instance, census of 1981 recorded as many as 1054 new towns. As mentioned earlier, the definition of census towns have not been applied rigorously in a few states, resulting in mushrooming of such 'new' towns.

This high growth invited many demographers and urban planners to speculate over hyper urbanization, as similar to what happened just after the publication of Census 1951 results. Subsequently, the Census of 1991-2001 recorded a significant decline in urban growth.

The annual exponential growth rate came down to 1.06 percent, which was much below all official projections. This trend went against not only the popular perception of 'urban explosion' but also the projections made by expert groups set up by various government departments. During 2001-2011 census records a slight increase in urban growth rate, the annual rate records at 1.61 percent only. Therefore, a distinction has to be drawn between the pace and pattern of urban growth from the levels of urbanization. Since independence until 1991 the pace of growth has generally been high in relatively backward states. Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh figure at the top in the list of states arranged in a descending order. This puts a question mark on the relationship between urban growth and economic development. However, a few among the developed states, such as Maharashtra, Gujarat and Haryana, too, recorded high or medium growth, although others like West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, and Punjab experienced low urban growth. Likewise, there is significant differences in urban-rural population growth as may be noted from (table no.5).

Table: 5- Urban-Rural Population Growth Differentials (1971-2011)

Source: Census of India (Provisional data, 2011)

Decade	Rural	Urban	Annual Exponential Growth Rate (%)
1971-1981	1.76	3.79	2.03
1981-1991	1.80	3.09	1.29
1991-2001	1.69	2.75	1.06
2001-2011	1.15	2.76	1.61

Conclusion

It can be concluded that, an important feature of urbanization in India is dualism-urban growth at macro level is decelerating but in Class I cities it is increasing. In recent past, several national level programmes for urban development have been implemented in India viz., Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) and Urban Infrastructure Development Scheme for Small and Medium Towns (UIDSSMT). However, the benefits of economic liberalization could not reach to the small towns and cities, due to lack of formulation for any national level policy. Such policy could comprise infrastructure facilities for better living, economic growth and for making cities competitive in attracting national and global business and investment.

The protagonists of economic liberalization expected that, it would accelerate the pace of city-centred economic growth in India through linking India with global economy. Afterwards, urban centres and its adjoining areas received massive inflow of capital from foreign countries. India's urban growth in the globalization period is characterized by a decline in manufacturing GDP and an increase in tertiary or service sector GDP. Critically, it is underlined that, employment generation in formal urban economy may not be high due to the capital intensive nature of industrialization. A low rate of industrial and infrastructural investment in public sector would, slow down 'agricultural growth.' This would lead to the destabilization of agrarian economy, thus by causing high unemployment and exodus from rural areas. This, in turn, would provide an impetus to the process of urbanization since major share of foreign investment would take place either within or around the urban areas. There occurred a large scale migration from rural towards urban areas, so in this way urbanization take place in India. As a result, it would lead to rapid urban growth. However, the supporters as well as the critics of economic reforms unanimously agreed on that, urban growth in the post-liberalization period would be high. But the data from 2011 Census however proved them wrong.

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