

Trends and Patterns of India's Urbanisation: A Demographic Assessment

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Paper Presented in the Annual Meeting of Population Association of America, New Orleans, USA, 16-19th April 2008.

Introduction:

The twentieth century witnessed a rapid shift of population from rural to urban areas in most of the countries of the world. A merely 13 per cent of the global population lived in urban areas in 1900, which increased to 29 per cent in 1950 and to about 50 per cent by the close of twentieth century (U.N. 2006). However, the pattern of urbanization is to be seen very unequal between the developed and developing countries. Majority of the population of developed countries lives in urban areas compared to the majority living in rural areas in the developing countries. On the other hand, most of the urban population of developing countries is concentrated in Asian and African countries. In Asia, most of the south Asia are more rural with lower levels of per capita income than others. Not surprisingly, therefore, the pace of urban change in the south Asian region has been relatively modest, yet urbanisation presents enormous challenges due to extreme poverty and lack of urban services (Cohen 2004).

Historically, the process of urbanisation speeded up in the wake of industrial revolution in the western world leading to the expansion of infrastructure such as transport and communication, which propelled increased rural to urban migration. The agglomeration of population, predominance of non-agricultural activities and better provision of social amenities including health and educational infrastructure emerged as distinguishing features of settlements following the industrialisation of agrarian economies. In the contemporary times, however, the settlements have become increasingly complex. Thus, in the study of urbanisation it is pertinent to know how urban areas are defined because, from the demographic point of view, the level of urbanisation is measured in terms of percentage of population living in urban areas (Davis 1962). An area is classified as rural and urban depending upon various criteria such as population size, density, occupational composition and civic status. There is no thumb rule to divide rural and urban, and the practice is followed diversely across the countries of the world. Thus, in the study of urbanisation at the global level, one should not lose sight of the definition of urban followed in each country and the changes therein in order to understand the urban dynamics appropriately.

Definition of Urban in India and its Comparison with Some Neighbouring Countries

In India during British rule, urban area was defined as including every municipality of what ever size, every cantonment, all civil lines not included in municipal limits, and every other collection of houses permanently inhabited by not less than 5000 persons which is of an urban character though not under municipal government. This definition continued until 1961 census left the scope for state census superintendents to apply their judgments in declaring the settlements as urban. Since 1961 census, which defined urban on the basis of two important criteria

namely: i) statutory administration and ii) economic and demographic aspects. The first one includes civic status of towns and the second comprises criteria like population size, density of population and percentage of work force in non-agricultural sector. The towns identified on the basis of former criteria are known as statutory or municipal towns and the towns defined on the basis of latter criteria are termed as census or non-municipal towns. The non-municipal towns constitute nearly 27 per cent of all towns as per 2001 census (Bhagat 2005).

The more specifically the criteria of defining urban as mentioned in the recent census reports are as follows:

- i) All places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee etc.
- ii) All other places which satisfy the following criteria:
 - a) Minimum population of 5000
 - b) At least 75 % of male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits and
 - c) A density of population of at least 400 persons per square km.

Besides, the directors of census operations in states/ union territories were allowed to include in consultation with the concerned state Governments, union territory administration and the census commissioner of India, some places having distinct urban characteristics as urban even if such places did not strictly satisfy all the criteria. While the Census of India applies the demographic and economic criteria in identifying towns at every census, the state governments decide about the civic status of a settlement. The settlements, which are granted urban civic status, qualify for being towns in the census as per first criteria. In every census several new towns are added as well as declassified if they do not satisfy the above-mentioned criteria. However, India's urban definition is male biased as it considers only male workforce employed in non-agricultural sector. But given the very low level of participation of women in non-agricultural sector, this is done so (Bhagat 2002).

It is worthwhile to mention the urban definition followed in some of our neighboring countries in order to understand the nature of urbanisation in India in a proper perspective. For example, in Nepal only size of population (more than 9000 population) is taken to declare a settlement as urban. Geographically Nepal is situated on mountainous terrain and economically it has low level of industrialization and development. On the other hand, the neighbours like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan apply administrative criteria to declare a settlement urban. Any settlement with municipal corporation, municipality, town committee and urban councils etc. are declared as urban (United Nations, 2001). While Bangladesh has lower level of urbanization (23 per cent), Pakistan stands much higher (33 per cent) than India (27.7 per cent) around 2001. It would be interesting to mention how urban population is defined in the world's largest populous country-China with urban population of 36 per cent in 2000 (UN 2006). In China, urban population lives within the jurisdiction of cities and towns, and rural population lives in counties. Cities are established with the approval of the central government and towns are classified based on population size as well the size of non-agricultural population under the township government. The

non-agricultural population is ascertained based on household registration system (*Hukou*) maintained by local resident committees in towns and village committees in townships. There is no uniform rules followed by these committees in making distinction between non-agricultural and agricultural populations, nor the rules are transparent as nonagricultural residents enjoy significant privileges in terms of access to apartments, jobs and subsidised food. In fact, the size of urban population in China very much depends upon how non-agricultural population is defined (State Statistical Bureau of China 1998), and the rural-urban classification is associated with differential privilege (Zhu 2001).

While there are considerable differences in the way urban areas are defined, there is also a difficulty in deciding the population of a city or town. In India, one way of determining the population of city/town is to take into account the population residing within the jurisdictional boundaries of a city/town, but many times areas such as railway colonies, university campuses, industrial townships, and residential and commercial complexes do not have well defined administrative status and fall outside the jurisdiction of the city/town. In census parlance, these areas are termed, as outgrowths and it will be inappropriate, not to include such population within the definition of urban. Thus since 1971, census of India applied the concept of urban agglomeration (UA) which includes a city or town and its adjoining towns and outgrowths. It may be remembered that the city and town population in Indian censuses is determined on the basis of UA concept.

Trends and Patterns of Urbanisation:

The urban population in India at the beginning of 20th century was only 25.8 million constituting 10.8 per cent of total population in 1901, which increased to 286.1 million comprising 27.8 per cent of total population in 2001. The urban population like total population did not grow much until 1921 and the level of urbanization even showed decline in 1911 owing to devastating plague epidemic of 1911, which spread mainly in the urban areas and brought exodus of urban population to rural areas. After 1921, the level of urbanisation grew consistently and very fast during the decade 1941-51 when the decennial urban growth rate was recorded as high as 41.4 per cent due to partition of the country in 1947 (Census of India 1991). The decline in the growth rate during 1951-61 was an artifact of the change in definition of urban resorted in 1961 census. As a result about 800 towns has been declassified in 1961 census (Mohan and Pant 1982). It may be seen from Table 1 that the peak in urban growth was observed during 1971-81 when the decennial growth rate reached up to 46.1 per cent- the highest ever during the last century. After that it has slowed down but was never less than 30 per cent till 2001 census.

Table 1: Trends in Urbanisation, India, 1901 to 2001

Census Year	Number of UAs/Towns	Urban Population (in million)	Per cent Urban	Decennial Growth Rate (%)	Annual exponential growth rate (%)	Annual gain in percent urban
1901	1,827	25.85	10.84
1911	1,815	25.94	10.29	0.35	0.03	-0.06
1921	1,949	28.07	11.17	8.20	0.79	0.09
1931	2,072	33.46	11.99	19.20	1.76	0.08
1941	2,250	44.15	13.86	31.97	2.77	0.19
1951	2,843	62.44	17.29	41.42	3.47	0.34
1961	2,365	78.94	17.97	26.41	2.34	0.07
1971	2,590	109.11	19.91	38.23	3.24	0.19
1981	3,378	159.46	23.34	46.14	3.79	0.34
1991	3,768	217.18	25.72	36.19	3.09	0.24
2001	4,378	286.12	27.86	31.74	2.76	0.21

Notes. As the 1981 Census was not conducted in Assam, the 1981 population figures for India include interpolated figures for Assam. The 1991 Census was not been held in Jammu and Kashmir. The 1991 population figures for India include projected figures for Jammu and Kashmir as projected by the Standing Committee of Experts on Population Projections (October, 1989). 3.The total urban figures of 2001 include the estimated urban figures for Kachchh district, Morvi, Maliya-Miyana and Wankaner talukas of Rajkot district, Jodiya taluka of Jamnagar district of the Gujarat where the population enumeration of census 2001 could not be conducted due to natural calamity.

Source: Figures up to 1991 are taken from Census of India 1991, Paper 1 of 1993; Census of India 2001, Final Population Totals, Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India, New Delhi.

It may be further noted that from 1921 to 2001, when total population grew by 4 times, the urban population increased by 10 times. Compared to the change in urban population, the number of towns only got doubled during the same period. The net addition in urban population was 5 million during 1921-931, which rose to 18 million during 1941-51 and to a sharp increase of 50 million during 1971-81. The last census of 2001 shows that the net addition was 69 million during 1991-2001 (see Fig 1 also). In the study of urbanisation, absolute changes in urban population in the on hand, and the percentage urban population on the other, are two facets of urbanisation and urban problems in a country. While India is still a low urbanised country, the pace of urbanisation has slowed down during the last two decades. On the other hand, the absolute increase in urban population kept on rising due to sheer base of large urban population. Further, as it is mentioned above that the number of towns has not grown as fast as the urban population; also the number of towns/U.A. per 10-lakh rural inhabitants has declined from 9 towns in 1901 to 6.0 in 2001. This shows that a town serves much larger rural population in 2001 compared to the situation in 1901.

Table 2 shows the level of urbanisation at the state/UT level and the share of urban population in the respective territories in India's urban population. Goa tops the list among states with nearly 50 per cent level of urbanisation followed by Mizoram with 49 per cent, Tamil Nadu with 44 per cent and Maharashtra with 42 per cent in 2001. Although Maharashtra was the leading state with 35 per cent urbanization in 1981, but its position slipped to 4th rank by 2001 as Goa and Mizoram picked up

urbanisation during the 1980s and Tamil Nadu during the 1990s. However, the share of Maharashtra's in India's urban population kept on increasing and was 14.3 per cent in 2001 followed by Uttar Pradesh (12.8 per cent) and Tamil Nadu (9.6). The states like Himachal Pradesh, Assam, Orissa, Bihar

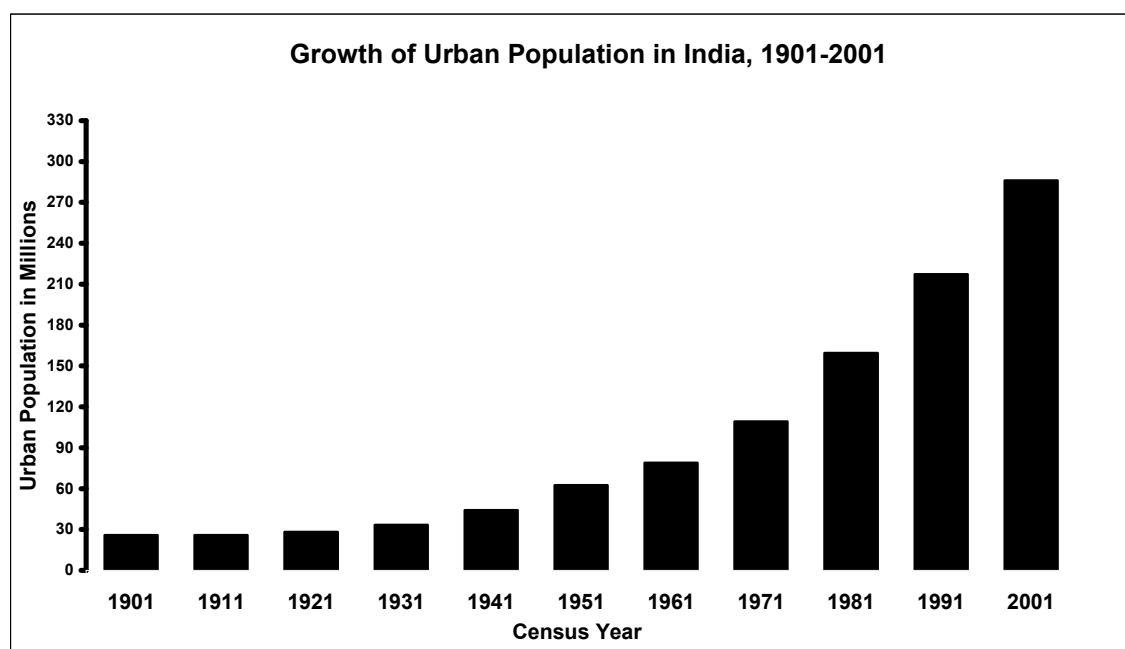


Fig 1

Level of Urbanisation in India, 2001

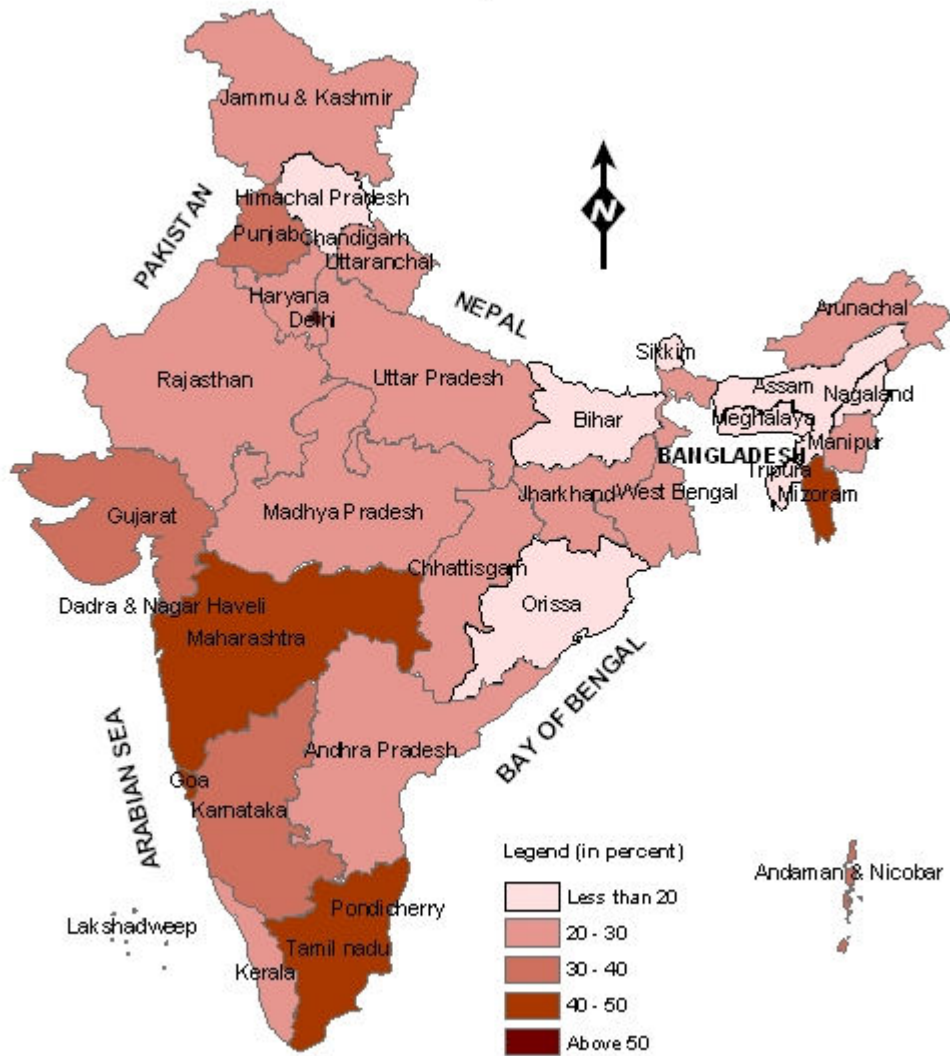


Fig 2

(including Jharkhand) and Uttar Pradesh (including Uttaranchal) are the least urbanized states with urbanization levels varying from 10 to 21 per cent i.e., much lower than the national average of 27.7 per cent in 2001. The relatively low urbanisation (26 per cent) in Kerala is an artifact of definitions in so far as the rural-urban distinction is difficult to make in a high density of population everywhere in the state (Visaria 1997), and the disinclination of the state government to grant municipal status to large villages. On the other hand, the levels of urbanisation among UTs are very high as some of them like Delhi, Chandigarh, Pondicherry have city dominance and their rural population are very small. Also, except Dadra Nagar Haveli (22.8 per cent) the other union territories of Lakshadweep (44.5 per cent), Daman Diu (36 per cent), and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (32.6 per cent) show higher level of urbanisation than the national average (see Fig 2).

Table 2: Level of Urbanisation and Share of States in India's Total Urban Population, 1981 to 2001

State/Union Territory	Level (Percentage of urban population to total population of the state)			Percentage share in India's urban population		
	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001
INDIA	23.34	25.72	27.78	100.00	100.00	100.00
Andhra Pradesh	23.32	26.84	27.48	7.83	8.20	7.27
Arunachal Pradesh	6.56	12.21	20.89	0.03	0.05	0.08
Assam	9.88	11.08	12.91	1.12	1.14	1.20
Bihar+Jharkhand	12.47	13.17	13.37	5.47	5.23	5.13
Goa	32.03	41.02	49.89	0.20	0.22	0.23
Gujarat	31.10	34.40	37.41	6.65	6.52	6.62
Haryana	21.88	24.79	29.01	1.77	1.86	2.14
Himachal Pradesh	7.61	8.70	9.80	0.20	0.20	0.21
Jammu & Kashmir	21.05	23.83	24.99	0.79	0.85	0.88
Karnataka	28.89	30.91	34.06	6.73	6.38	6.28
Kerala	18.74	26.44	25.97	2.99	3.53	2.89
Madhya Pradesh+Chhatisgarh	20.29	23.21	24.82	6.64	7.07	7.04
Maharashtra	35.03	38.73	42.48	13.79	14.04	14.36
Manipur	26.42	27.69	24.11	0.24	0.23	0.20
Meghalaya	18.07	18.69	19.69	0.15	0.15	0.16
Mizoram	27.70	46.20	49.49	0.08	0.15	0.15
Nagaland	15.52	17.28	17.24	0.08	0.10	0.12
Orissa	11.79	13.43	15.03	1.95	1.95	1.93
Punjab	27.68	29.72	34.02	2.91	2.76	2.89
Rajasthan	21.05	22.88	23.40	4.52	4.62	4.62
Sikkim	16.15	9.12	11.08	0.03	0.02	0.02
Tamil Nadu	32.95	34.20	44.25	10.0	8.76	9.60
Tripura	10.99	15.26	17.10	0.14	0.19	0.19
Uttar Pradesh+Uttaranchal	17.95	19.89	21.04	12.48	12.73	12.83
West Bengal	26.47	27.39	27.96	9.06	8.57	7.84
Chandigarh	93.63	89.69	89.74	0.27	0.26	0.28
Delhi	92.73	89.93	93.64	3.62	3.88	4.51
Daman & Diu	36.75	46.86	36.28	0.02	0.02	0.02
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	6.67	8.47	22.89	0.0	0.01	0.02
Lakshadweep	46.28	56.29	44.50	0.01	0.01	0.01
Pondicherry	52.28	64.05	66.61	0.20	0.24	0.23
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	26.30	26.80	32.62	0.03	0.03	0.04

Notes: 1. As the 1981 Census was not conducted in Assam, the 1981 urban population figures for India include interpolated figures for Assam.

2. The 1991 Census was not held in Jammu & Kashmir. The 1991 Population figures for India include projected figures for Jammu & Kashmir as projected by Standing Committee of Experts on Population Projections (October, 1989).

Source: Census of India 1981, General Population Tables, Part II-A(I), Series 1; Census of India 1991, Primary Census Abstract: General Population, Part II B(I), Series 1;
2. Census of India 2001, Final Population Totals, Registrar General and Census Commissioner, New Delhi

Table 3 presents urban and rural growth rates for the states and UTs for the decade 1981-91 and 1991-2001. Some of the better off states like Punjab, Haryana and Tamil Nadu have picked up urban growth in the 1990s compared to the 1980s. In many states, the growth rates have slowed down, but the decline in growth rate from 66.8 per cent in the decade 1981-91 to merely 7.6 per cent in the decade 1991-2001 in Kerala, and decline from 42.6 per cent to 16.8 per cent in Andhra Pradesh during the same period are most glaring. This decline has been contributed by a large number of declassification of towns, which could not satisfy the urban criteria in 2001 census. The numbers were 79 in Andhra Pradesh and 37 in Kerala. On the other hand, a very high growth rate in Tamil Nadu has resulted from about 400 settlements being granted municipal status (Town Panchayat), which qualified them for urban status in 2001. The states like Maharashtra and Gujarat have maintained the tempo of urban growth more or less

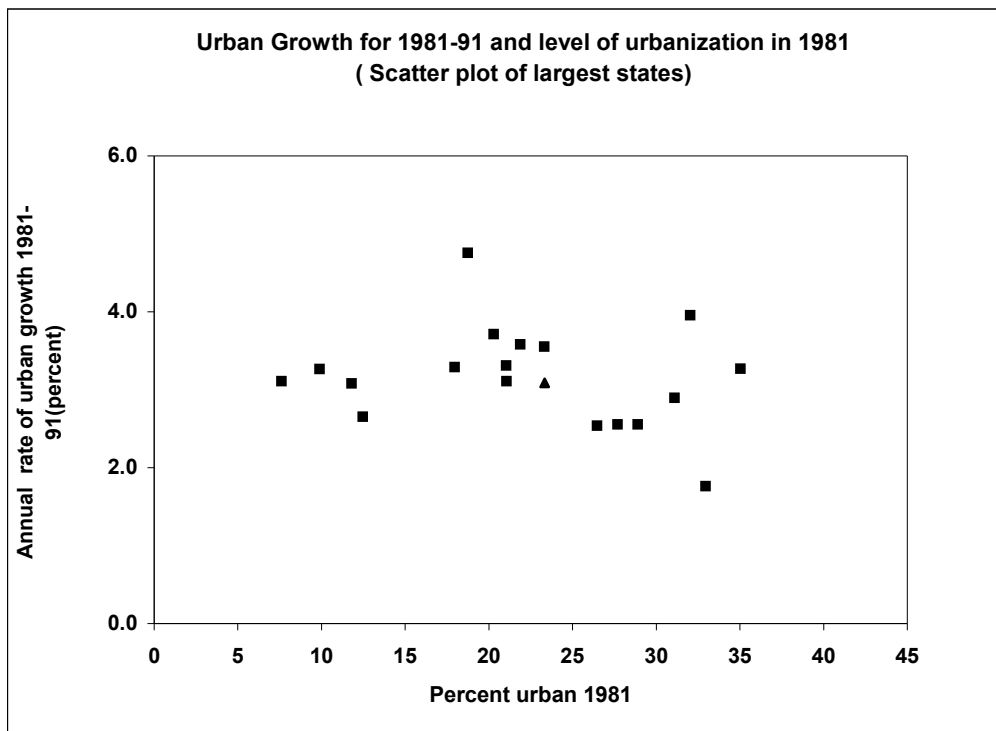


Fig 3

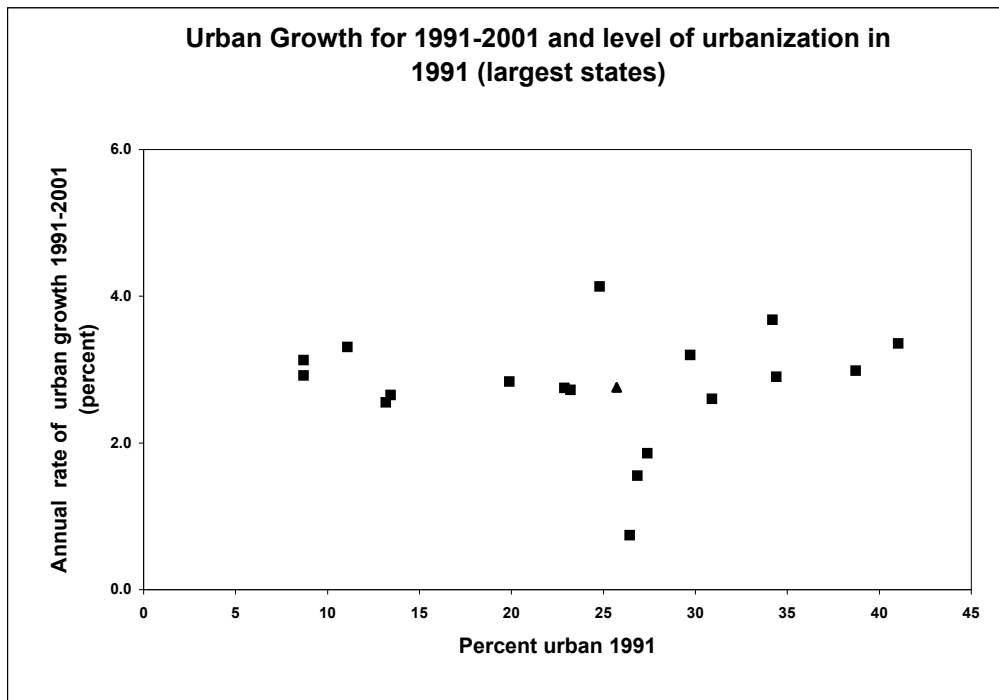


Fig 4

equally over the last two decades. On the other hand, the poorer states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa show a significant decline in urban growth rates after experiencing a very high urban growth in earlier decades. The situation of West Bengal has not been encouraging, as already low urban growth of 29 per cent observed during 1980s has further declined to 20 per cent during the 1990s. Urban growth rate of 1990s at all India level show that urbanisation has further slow down, but some of the states have reversed this pattern, and few of them even have been able to maintain their tempo as well. While urban growth at all India level has declined both during the 1980s and 1990s, the decline in the former decade was visible both in the better off as well as worse off states unlike the latter mostly confined to poorer states like Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Uttaranchal, and Rajasthan. This indicates about the structural transformation in the urban growth dynamics co-terminus with post-liberalisation period (Kundu 2003). Some of the poorer states like Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan have shown very high growth rates during 1971-81 (55 per cent and above), which declined to below 40 per cent during 1981-91 and further down to 32 per cent during 1991-2001. This led to the emergence of a very unequal pattern of urban growth during the 1990s with states like Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana and Delhi have clear advantages and the states of eastern India namely Bihar, Jharkhand, west Bengal and Assam are lagging behind showing an increased polarised urbanisation pattern in the country.

It may be observed from figures 3 and 4 that the urban growth rate is not related with level of urbanization either in the 1980s or in the 1990s. This shows that there are varying levels of urban growth in relation to the level of urbanisation observed at the state level. As almost all states have urbanization level below 50 per cent, the expected negative relationship with rising level of urbanisation is also not in the sight.

Table 3: Decadal Urban Growth Rates and Urban-Rural Growth Differentials (URGD), 1981-1991 & 1991-2001 (in per cent)

India/State/Union territory*	Urban		Rural		Urban-rural growth differential	
	1981-1991	1991-2001	1981-1991	1991-2001	1981-1991	1991-2001
INDIA	36.1	31.7	19.7	19.3	16.4	13.3
Andhra Pradesh	42.6	16.8	18.2	14.1	24.4	2.6
Arunachal Pradesh	153.0	117.3	27.6	15.4	125.3	102.0
Assam	38.6	39.1	21.9	17.1	16.7	22.0
Bihar+Jharkhand	30.3	29.0	22.5	27.0	7.8	2.0
Goa	48.5	39.8	0.6	-1.7	47.9	41.6
Gujarat	33.6	33.6	15.0	17.5	18.5	16.1
Haryana	43.0	51.1	21.5	22.4	21.5	28.7
Himachal Pradesh	36.4	33.8	17.9	17.4	18.4	16.4
Jammu & Kashmir	45.9	36.8	24.3	29.7	21.5	7.0
Karnataka	29.0	29.6	17.2	12.7	11.8	16.9
Kerala	60.8	7.6	3.2	10.3	57.6	-2.6
Madhya Pradesh+Chhatisgarh	44.9	31.3	22.1	20.1	22.8	11.1
Maharashtra	38.6	34.7	18.3	15.5	20.3	19.1
Manipur	34.7	13.8	26.3	20.4	8.3	-6.5
Meghalaya	36.3	37.9	30.8	30.2	5.5	7.7
Mizoram	160.3	39.1	16.1	21.2	144.2	17.8
Nagaland	74.7	63.1	53.5	63.8	21.1	-0.6
Orissa	36.0	30.3	17.2	14.6	18.8	15.6
Punjab	29.1	37.6	16.8	13.4	12.2	24.2
Rajasthan	39.2	31.6	25.1	27.9	14.1	3.6
Sikkim	-27.6	61.8	38.9	30.5	-66.5	31.3
Tamil Nadu	19.2	44.4	12.8	-4.6	6.4	49.0
Tripura	85.7	30.2	27.2	14.0	58.4	16.1
Uttar Pradesh+Uttaranchal	38.9	32.7	22.4	23.8	16.5	8.9
West Bengal	28.9	20.4	22.9	16.9	5.9	3.4
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	50.7	55.3	46.8	17.4	3.8	37.8
Chandigarh	35.9	40.6	129.7	39.4	-93.7	1.2
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	69.5	330.5	30.9	34.2	38.5	296.4
Daman & Diu	63.7	20.6	7.8	87.1	55.9	-66.4
Delhi	46.1	53.1	108.6	0.1	-62.5	53.0
Lakshadweep	56.1	-7.2	4.4	49.0	51.6	-56.3
Pondicherry	63.5	25.4	0.5	12.2	62.9	13.2

Source: Same as in Table 2

Size Class of Cities and Urban Growth:

The cities and towns in India are classified into six-fold classification. The first size class known as cities comprises places having 100 thousand and more, and the last category consists of tiny towns with population less than 5 thousand (see details in Table 4). For a meaningful comparison of the changes in population across size class of cities and towns, the three categories (IV to VI) comprising population less than 20 thousand are grouped together and termed as small towns (Census of India 1991). Further, the cities with a million and more population deserve special

Table 4: Percentage Distribution of Urban Population by Size-Class of Towns/Urban Agglomerations in India, 1901-2001

Census Year	Cities	Large Towns	Medium Towns	Small Towns			Total
	Class-I (100,000 or More)	Class-II (50,000-99,999)	Class-III (20,000-49,999)	Class IV (10,000-19,999)	Class V (5,000-9,999)	Class VI (Less than 5,000)	
1901	26.00	11.29	15.64	20.83	20.17	6.10	47.10
1911	27.48	10.51	16.40	19.73	19.13	6.57	45.43
1921	29.70	10.39	15.92	18.29	18.67	7.03	43.99
1931	31.20	11.65	16.80	18.00	17.14	5.21	40.35
1941	38.23	11.42	16.35	15.78	15.08	3.14	34.00
1951	44.63	9.96	15.72	13.63	12.97	3.09	29.69
1961	51.42	11.23	16.94	12.77	6.87	0.77	20.41
1971	57.24	10.92	16.01	10.94	4.45	0.44	15.83
1981	60.42	11.63	14.33	9.54	3.58	0.50	13.62
1991	65.20	10.95	13.19	7.77	2.60	0.29	10.66
2001	68.62	9.73	12.29	6.80	2.33	0.23	9.36

Source: 1. Census of India 1991, Series-1, Paper-2, Rural-Urban Distribution,.
2. Census of India 2001, Final Population Total,.
3. Data from Census website www.censusindia.net and Compact Discs.

category in India's urbanisation because of their large size and economic dominance in the countries. Such cities are called as million plus or metropolitan cities.

Table 4 presents the percentage distribution of urban population by size class of cities and towns in India for the last century from 1901 to 2001. Nearly one-fourth of urban population lived in cities with population 100 thousand and more in 1901, which went up to 45 per cent in 1951 and increased to 69 per cent in 2001. The number of such cities was only 396 out of the total 4378 UA and towns in India in 2001. The increasing concentration of population in cities that too in large cities has been the striking feature of India's urbanization during the last century (see also Figure 5). However, the increasing concentration of population in cities gives the impression

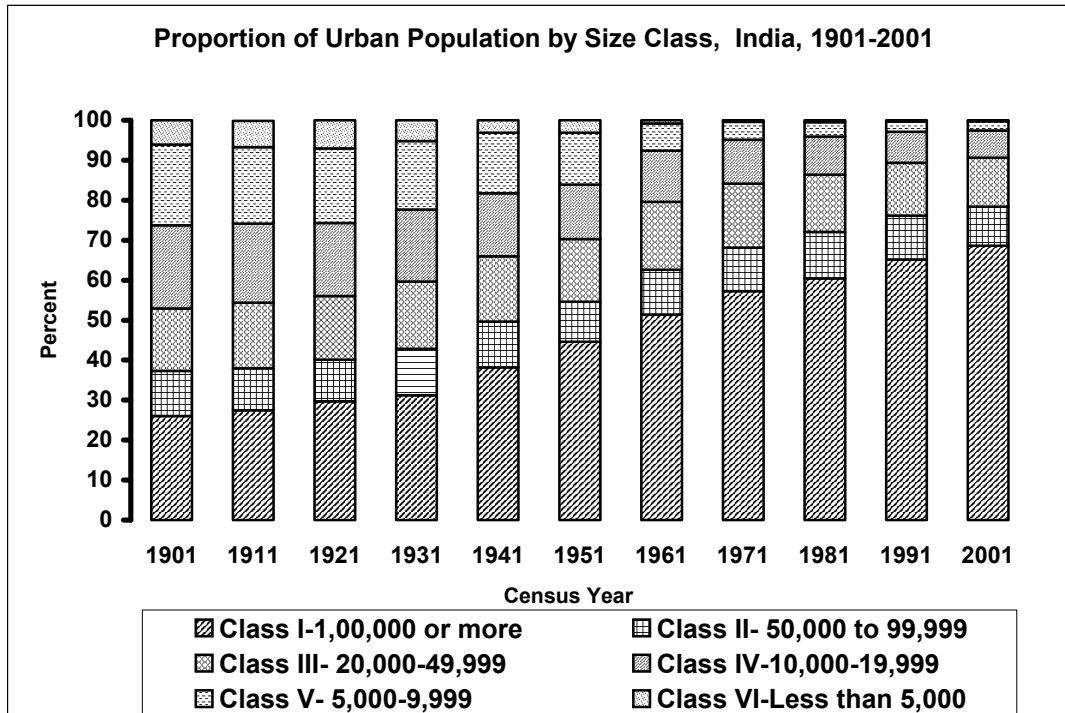


Fig 5

that cities are growing very fast compared to medium and small towns. But this is not true, when the growth rates of population across size class of cities and towns, of those, which continued between two censuses, were compared. In fact both cities and medium and small towns have been growing more or less at the same rate. This has been confirmed by number of studies using data from various censuses (Mohan and Pant 1982; Census of India 1991; Visaria 1997; Bhagat 2004). But the share of cities in total urban population is rising sheer because of addition of such cities from the lower size class over the decades. For example, from 1991 to 2001, nearly 100 towns acquired city status. The increasing concentration of population in cities goes as high as 83 per cent in West Bengal, 80 percent in Maharashtra and 76 per cent each in Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh. The distribution of cities and its share in total urban population of the state shows the nature of hierarchy of urban places, and the extent of dominance of cities in their economies. Punjab, Orissa and several other smaller states show either balanced distribution of population across size class of cities and towns or less dominance of cities in their regional economy.

It is not only the cities that dominate India's urban structure, but the metropolitan cities within them have far greater sway. According to census 2001, there are 35 million plus cities consisting of 107.9 million urban population and constitute nearly 39 per cent urban population in the country (see Table 5). Kolkata was the only million cities at the beginning of twentieth century. Mumbai joined the rank of million plus cities in 1911. Nearly for four decades, there were only two million cities until 1951 when Delhi, Chennai and Hyderabad joined the rank of million cities in 1951 increasing the total number of million cities to five. In the decade 1981-91, 11 new metropolises were added increasing the total number of metropolitan cities to 23 in 1991 from 12 in 1981. During the last decade (1991-2001), 12 more million plus cities have been added, increasing the total number of million plus cities to 35. As a result, the concentration of

urban population in million plus cities increased significantly in the last decade from nearly one-fifth in 1970s and 1980s to almost two-

Table 5: Number and Percentage of Population in Million plus Cities in India 1901-2001

Census Year	Number	Population (in million)	Population per Million Plus City (in million)	% to Total Urban Population
1901	1	1.51	1.51	5.84
1911	2	2.76	1.38	10.65
1921	2	3.13	1.56	11.14
1931	2	3.41	1.70	10.18
1941	2	5.31	2.65	12.23
1951	5	11.75	2.35	18.81
1961	7	18.10	2.58	22.93
1971	9	27.83	3.09	25.51
1981	12	42.12	3.51	26.41
1991	23	70.66	3.07	32.54
2001	35	107.88	3.08	38.60

Source: Census of India 1991 and Census of India 2001 (<http://www.censusindia.net>)

fifth in 1990s. Within the metropolitan cities again, six-mega cities (population more than 5 million) namely Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Delhi, Hyderabad and Bangalore constitute one-fifth of total urban population.

The average population per million cities has however not increased during the last two decades, after reaching a maximum population of 3.5 million per metropolis in 1981 as several new metropolises have joined the ranks of million plus cities after 1981 compared to earlier decades.

The decline in growth rate is also observed with respect to million plus cities. The overall decadal growth rate among million plus cities declined from 36 per cent during 1981-91 to 34 per cent during 1991-2001. It may be noted that while metropolitan cities have grown at par with the national urban growth rate during the 1980s, but had grown little higher during the 1990s. The decadal growth rates for all 35 million plus cities separately for UA and city proper (within the municipal corporation area) are presented in Table 6. It may be observed that among the six largest metros except Delhi all of them have shown decline in their growth rates as defined by UA concept. The city proper concept also shows greater decline in all of them except Bangalore, which is affected by changes in the municipal boundary during the last decade. The metros of Pune, Surat, Patna, Kanpur, Jaipur, Indore, Jabalpur and Rajkot have maintained the tempo of high urban growth during the last two decades. These metropolitan cities developing as secondary metro cities seem to have benefited by the economic forces unleashed during the last decade due to the increasing congestion

Table 6: Growth of Population in Million Plus Cities as Per 2001 Census, 1981-2001

U .A. /City Proper	Population In million	Urban Agglomeration (Growth Rate %)		City Proper (Growth Rate %)	
		1981-91	1991-2001	1981-91	1991-2001
1.Greater Mumbai	16.43	33.7	29.9	20.4	20.0
2.Kolkata	13.20	19.9	19.9	6.6	4.1
3.Delhi	12.87	46.9	51.9	43.2	36.2
4.Chennai	6.56	26.4	18.5	28.9	9.7
5.Banglore	5.70	41.3	37.8	7.4	61.3
6.Hyderabad	5.74	66.5	27.4	39.2	12.8
7.Ahmadabad	4.52	29.5	36.4	22.9	18.9
8.Pune	3.76	44.8	50.6	30.2	38.3
9.Surat	2.81	64.4	85.1	62.2	62.3
10.Kanpur	2.71	23.8	32.5	25.8	35.0
11.Jaipur	2.32	49.6	53.1	49.2	59.4
12.Lucknow	2.24	65.7	35.8	70.8	36.3
13.Nagpur	2.12	36.4	27.6	33.2	26.2
14.Patna	1.69	19.7	55.3	18.1	33.4
15.Indore	1.51	33.7	47.8	31.6	46.3
16.Vadodara	1.49	44.0	32.4	40.4	26.6
17.Bhopal	1.45	58.4	36.9	58.3	34.9
18.Coimbatore	1.46	19.6	31.4	15.9	13.1
19.Ludhiana	1.39	71.8	33.7	71.7	33.7
20.Kochi	1.35	38.3	18.8	13.5	2.4
21.Visakhapatnam	1.34	75.1	25.7	33.0	28.9
22.Agra	1.33	26.9	39.4	28.5	29.2
23.Varanasi	1.20	29.3	17.5	29.6	18.4
24.Madurai	1.20	19.7	10.0	14.6	-1.9
25.Meerut	1.16	56.5	37.4	67.9	42.5
26.Nasik	1.15	63.7	58.8	80.6	63.9
27.Jabalpur	1.09	17.4	25.7	20.8	22.0
28.Jamsedhpur	1.10	21.9	32.9	5.1	23.8
29.Asansol	1.06	52.0	42.7	42.9	85.4
30.Dhanbad	1.06	18.9	30.5	26.2	31.1
31.Faridabad	1.05	86.7	70.8	86.7	70.8
32.Allahabad	1.04	29.9	24.3	28.7	24.9
33.Amritsar	1.00	19.2	42.6	19.2	27.3
34.Vijayawada	1.03	37.8	19.6	32.9	17.6
35.Rajkot	1.00	47.1	53.1	25.7	72.8

Source: Census of India 2001; UA – consists of city proper as well as constituents units also; City proper refers to population within the municipal boundary only.

and crowding of the primary metro cities namely Mumbai, Chennai and Kolkata and Delhi. For example, a fast growing metro of Faridabad has emerged adjacent to Delhi along with Meerut in 2001. Surat and Pune are also growing faster being near to Mumbai. As a result, two clusters of metropolitan dominance are clearly emerging in the western and northern region of the country around the core of Mumbai and Delhi within the urban space of India.

The 2001 census reported a slum population of 42.6 million i.e. about 15 per cent of the total urban population in the country. The largest slum populations are found in the metropolitan cities of Mumbai (6.5 million), Delhi (1.9 million), Kolkata (1.5 million), Chennai (0.8 million), and Nagpur (0.7 million). The percentage of slum

population in Mumbai goes as high as 54 per cent, followed by Faridabad (46 per cent) and Meerut (44 per cent), both in the national capital region, and Kolkata with 32 per cent (Haub and Sharma 2006).

Trend and Pattern of Migration:

Urbanisation is crucially linked to migration. Whether migration is a strong or a weak force in urbanization, much depends upon the nature and pattern of migration. In India, migration occurs not only due to economic reasons, but host of social-cultural and other factors as well. Before the contribution of migration in urban growth is discussed, it would be worthwhile to throw some light on the recent trend and pattern of migration.

The Indian census collects data on migration using two questions asked to each individual namely place of birth and place of last residence. The place of last residence provides better situation of current migration as it captures the latest move in case a person has migrated more than once. It is also able to capture the return migrants. Therefore, number of migrants would be reported higher by using the concept of place of last residence. Based on this concept, a person is defined as migrant if the place in which he is enumerated during the census is other than his place of immediate last residence. As per 2001 census the total number of internal migrants were 309 million based on place of last residence compared to 301 million classified by place of birth concept. The percentage of total internal migrants to total population was nearly 31 per cent in 2001, which was almost same in earlier censuses also except 1991, when the share of migrants declined to 27 per cent. It may be recalled here that several researchers who have analysed the past census data as well as the present one have pointed out that India's population mobility right from 1950s has been stable (Davis 1962; Skeldon 1986; Kundu 2007).

However, it is worthwhile to note some of the distinguishing features of migration pattern as revealed by 2001 census. Table 7 presents the distribution of internal migrants by type of movement namely intra-district and inter-district- both are short distance movements and inter-state and international migrants- both long distance movements. The intra-district movement comprises the largest share of migration i.e. about 62 per cent of the total migrants followed by inter-district nearly 24 per cent. The long-distance move mainly account for inter-state migration comprising 13 per cent of the total migrants in the country. The international migrants number around 5 million constituting less than 2 per cent of the total migrants in 2001 and its growth rate has been declining due to depletion by death of those who migrated across the border during partition of the country in 1947. It may also be observed that the growth rates of migrants in all distance categories have declined in the decade 1981-91 compared to 1971-81, but accelerated during the decade 1991-2001. The growth rates for intra-district as well as inter-state were much higher than the national population growth rate of 21.4 during this decade. One of remarkable features of all types of internal migration is that it is dominated by females. This is because women move to their husband's place of residence after marriage. This is even true for inter-state migration as there were only 855 male migrants per 1000 female migrants reported in 2001.

Table 7: Migrants Classified Based on Place of Last Residence in 2001 and Their Growth Rates During 1991-2001, India, (All duration).

Migrants	2001(in million)	Percentage distribution 2001	Sex-ratio (Males per 1000 Females) 2001	Growth Rate %		
				1971-81*	1981-91*	1991-2001**
Intra-district	193.5	61.6	323	24.9	8.3	37.0
Inter-district	74.6	23.7	481	44.3	13.7	26.3
Inter-state	41.1	13.1	865	28.1	11.7	53.6
International Migrants	5.1	1.6	1085	-9.1	-6.1	-13.4
All Migrants	314.3	100.0	422	27.0	9.8	34.7
Total Population	1028.6	-	1072	24.7	23.7	21.4

* Excluding Assam and Jammu and Kashmir; ** Excluding Jammu and Kashmir; There were 633, 3, and 297 thousand in 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively who do not belong to any of the type of movement. In 2001, the unclassifiable migrants were only 418. Source: Census of India 1971, Migration Tables, Part II-D (i); Census of India 1981, Migration Tables, Part V-A and B (i); Census of India 1991, Migration Tables, Volume 2, Part 2; Census of India 2001, D2 Tables, Compact Disk; Census Commissioner and Registrar General, India, New Delhi.

Table 8: Size and Growth Rates of Migrants with 0-9 Years Duration by Streams of Migration Based on Place of Last Residence, India, 2001.

Migration Streams	2001(in million)	Percentage distribution	Sex-ratio (Males per 100 Females)	Growth Rate (%)		
				1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001
Intra-state						
Rural to Rural	48.8	60.6	257	14.8	0.2	12.2
Rural to Urban	14.2	17.6	842	47.8	6.7	7.3
Urban to Rural	5.2	6.5	651	29.4	-4.8	1.0
Urban to Urban	9.8	12.1	796	50.0	-11.2	23.6
Inter-state						
Rural to Rural	4.4	26.6	648	12.1	3.4	54.0
Rural to Urban	6.3	38.2	1480	22.8	20.1	76.5
Urban to Rural	1.0	6.0	984	14.1	9.6	11.2
Urban to Urban	4.4	26.7	970	18.0	6.0	24.3

Source: Same as in Table; Migrants unclassifiable by rural-urban streams are not excluded.

It is important that the types of movement be disaggregated into streams of migration in order to assess the role of migration in urban growth. The streams of migration are: from rural to rural, from rural to urban, from urban to rural and from urban to urban areas. From the viewpoint of urbanisation, it is rural to urban migration that adds to the urban population, whereas urban to rural depletes the urban population. The net balance of the two streams is the actual contribution to the process of urbanisation. Table 8 shows the above-mentioned streams of migration by intra-

state (intra-district and inter-district) and inter-state movements. The rural to rural streams of migration constitute 61 per cent of all intra-state migrants, whereas it comprises only 27 per cent in case of inter-state migrants. The females who change their residence after marriage dominate the rural to rural streams of migration as evident by the sex ratios of migrants. On the other hand, rural to urban migration forms 18 and 38 per cent of all migrants belonging to intra-state and inter-state migrants respectively. It may be seen from Table 8 that males are preponderant in inter-state rural to urban migration as number of male migrants goes as high as 1480 per 1000 female migrants. The growth rates by streams of migration show that there was a significant decline from the decade 1971-81 to 1981-91, but picked up during 1991-2001. The decade 1981-91 also experienced the slowing down of the rate of urbanisation, but acceleration in the growth of migration during the 1990s did not reverse the declining trend of urban growth. It may be observed from Table 8 that both urban and rural to rural migration during the 1990s show much higher rates, which do not contribute directly to the urban growth. On the other hand the intra-state rural to urban migration, which is twice as much as the inter-state rural to urban migration remained stagnant during the 1990s. On the other hand only inter-state rural to urban migration showed an accelerated growth, but its size was not enough in stalling the declining trend in urban growth during the 1990s. The precise contribution of migration in urban growth could be known only after assessing the other components of urban growth discussed in the section below.

Migration and Urban Growth:

In many developing countries, the lack of adequate data on rural to urban migration as well as reliable data on natural increase precludes the disaggregation of urban growth by its various components (Brockhoff, 1999). There are mainly four components of urban growth namely i) the natural increase, ii) net migration to urban areas, iii) reclassification of settlements as towns or its declassification as a result of changes in the nature of economic activities and acquisition of urban characteristics, and iv) the extension of boundaries of cities and towns within their jurisdiction.

In many developing countries including India, the natural increase remains very high and has not declined until recently. The trend in natural increase for the last three decades ending with year 2000 is presented in Table 9. The natural increase in urban areas remained 19 per 1000 during 1970-80 and 1980-90. On the other hand, rural natural increase in fact slightly increased during this period. The reason for the constant natural increase in urban areas until 1990 is that urban birth rate and death rates have declined in the same magnitude. On the other hand, urban birth rate declined faster during the 1990s compared to a small decline in urban death rate. As a result the urban natural increase declined to 15.8 per 1000 during the 1990s compared to 19.3 observed during the 1980s. This has certainly contributed to the slowing down of urban growth rate during the period 1991-2001. In future, urban growth is further likely to slow down because there is much scope for the urban birth rate of about 22 per 1000 observed during the decade 1990-2000 to further decline, whereas urban death rate observed on average 7 during the same period may not decline any more. But in case urban death increases due to epidemics or pandemics like AIDs, the intensification of the slowing down of urbanisation would be very evident.

Table 9: Birth and Death Rates and Rates of Natural Increase by Rural-Urban Residence, 1971-80 to 1991-2000, India

Years	Birth Rate (per 1000)	Death Rate (per 1000)	Rate of Natural Increase (per 1000)
1971-80			
Rural	35.8	15.8	20.0
Urban	28.5	9.2	19.3
1981-1990			
Rural	33.9	12.6	21.3
Urban	27.0	7.7	19.3
1991-2000			
Rural	29.4	9.9	19.5
Urban	22.3	6.5	15.8

Source: Sample Registration System Bulletins of various volumes published by the Office of the Registrar General, India.

Table 10 presents the estimated contribution of the four components of urban growth for the decades 1971-81 to 1991-2001. The natural increase in urban areas of the initial population as well as the inter-censal migrants continues to be the largest contributor to the urban growth (58 per cent) during 1991-2001, although its share has declined by about 5 per cent compared to the previous decade. The net migration to urban areas based on place of last residence data derived from Migration Tables of census shows that its share in urban growth remained stable around 20 per cent during the last three decades. Why it is that in spite of the decline in the growth of migration during the 1981-91, its share remained almost near to the share of the previous 1971-81? It is worth noting that while rural to urban migration had declined during the 1980s, the counter stream of urban to rural migration had also declined drastically. As a result the net migration to urban areas increased from 9.3 million in the decade 1971-81 to 10.6 million in the decade 1981-91. Thus, so far the contribution of migration is concerned, it remained unaffected in the 1980s and there remains stability in the contribution of migration in urban growth over the last three decades. On the other hand, the slowing down of urbanisation could more correctly be attributed to the reclassification of towns, and the little geographical expansion of the existing towns by jurisdictional changes during the 1980s. The share of net reclassification (population of new towns minus declassified towns compiled directly from census sources) has declined from nearly 19 per cent in the decade 1971-81 to 17 per cent in the decade 1981-91, on the other hand the contribution of jurisdictional changes (estimated here as residual) declined from 13 per cent in 1971-81 to nearly 2 per cent in the decade 1981-91. On the other hand, the slowing down of urbanisation during the 1990s could be attributed to the decline in the share of natural increase as well as to the reduction in the share of net reclassification of settlements. Although the number of new towns has gone up from 856 in 1991 to 1138 in 2001, but the number of declassified towns has also increased from just 93 in 1991

to 445 in 2001. Thus the net addition of new towns was 693 in 2001 i.e. lower than the net addition of 763 towns in 1991. This shows that the role of component of net reclassification of settlements in lowering the urban

Table 10: Contribution of the Components of Urban Growth, India, 1971-2001

Components	Population in Million			Percentage Distribution		
	1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001	1971-81	1981-91	1991-2001
Urban increment	49.9	56.8	68.2	100.0	100.0	100.0
Natural increase (of initial population plus inter-censal migrants)	24.9	35.4	39.3	50.0	62.3	57.6
Net reclassification from rural to urban	9.3	9.8	8.4	18.6	17.2	12.3
Net rural-urban migration	9.3	10.6	14.2	18.6	18.7	20.8*
Residual (jurisdictional changes)	6.4	1.0	6.3	12.8	1.8	9.2

Note: i) Census was not held in Assam in 1981 and in Jammu and Kashmir in 1991. The decade 1971-81 excludes Assam, the decade 1981-91-excludes Assam and Jammu and Kashmir, and the figures of 1991-2001 exclude Jammu and Kashmir.

ii) Net reclassification means population of new towns minus declassified towns. The figures up to 1991 are taken from Census of India 1991, Occasional Paper No 1 of 1993, Emerging Trends of Urbanisation in India, Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi, p. 37. The figures for 1991-2001 are derived by the same procedure using data on new and declassified towns based on Census of India 2001.

iii) Net rural to urban migration figures are derived from Migration Tables of the respective years based on place of last residence with duration 0-9 years. See Census of India 1981, Migration Tables, Series 1, Part- V A& B (i); Census of India 1991, Migration Tables Part V, Series; Census 2001 migration data are available in compact disk.

* There were 2.9 million migrants unclassifiable by rural and urban streams of migration with duration 0-9 years in 2001 census. Out of this, 1.8 and 1.1 million were located in rural and urban areas respectively. If you assume that 1.1 million enumerated in urban areas belong to rural to urban streams, the share of net rural to urban migration would increase to 15.3 million during 1991-2001 and contribution of migration will go up to 22.4 per cent. Consequently the residual showing jurisdictional changes in urban areas will decline from 9.2 per cent to 7.7 per cent for the decade 1991-2001.

iv) Natural increase is estimated by the author based on the natural increase given in Table 8.

growth deepened during the decade 1991-2001. On the other hand, the component of the jurisdictional changes declared by the respective state governments, or Census of India recasting them in urban agglomeration form gained importance in India's urbanisation as early as 1970s (also see Shaw 2005). Although its share has declined in the 1980s, it has reemerged as a significant factor in the 1990s. The 2001 census shows that as many as 221 towns were merged with the neighbouring towns and cities during the 1990s. The merger is a significant process of areal expansion of cities and towns, which often incorporates the rural areas in between them. It may not be incorrect to point out that India's future urbanisation would be much more contributed by this factor, given the fact that the emergence of new towns has been sluggish, increasing the share of migration is distant and there is a declining trend in the natural increase in urban areas.

The contribution of net migration in urban growth during the 1990s at the national level is estimated to be nearly 21 per cent. Out of this about 8 per cent was contributed by inter-state net migration, and the rest 13 per cent is added by the net intra-state migration in the urban areas. The share of migration in urban growth is observed much higher in some of smaller states and UTs. Among the major states, Gujarat tops the list with 36 per cent of urban growth contributed by migration closely followed by Maharashtra with 35 per cent, and Haryana and Orissa 34 percent each. Punjab stands at par with national average in contribution of migration in urban growth. Most of the northern and north-eastern states reveal much below contribution of migration than the national average. The inter-state migration is playing more important role in the states of Maharashtra, Punjab and Haryana among the major states. A higher contribution of migration in urban growth of Orissa is very revealing where most of the contribution comes from intra-state net in-migration. There is a net inter-state out-migration from the urban areas of the states like Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar (including Jharkhand), Uttar Pradesh (including Uttarnchal) and Tamil Nadu among the major states leading to its share in minus, but the contribution of net inter-state migration into urban areas of these states remains positive. The most important fact that is emerging from the analysis of the components of urban growth of major states is that the low urbanised states are growing mostly through natural increase, whereas the contribution of migration continues to be higher in more urbanised states but not more than one-third of the urban growth.

Urbanisation, Migration and Development:

Around 2001, the per capita income of Punjab and Maharashtra, very close to each other, was the highest followed by Haryana, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. On the other hand, states of Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan showed per capita income below the national level. In these low-income states, the low economic growth persisted in the 1990s, as a result inter-state disparity in income levels has widened. Further, except Punjab and Haryana, the low-income states derive larger share of their state's income from agriculture (EPW Research Foundation 2003). It would be interesting to know how urbanisation, urban growth and migration are related with per capita income and other development variables statistically. Table 11 presents correlation matrix between measures of urbanisation, urban growth and migration with that of the per capita

income, literacy rates, percentage of non-agricultural workforce, share of non-agricultural sector in gross state domestic product, proportion population below poverty line, and infant mortality rate. The per capita income is very strongly correlated with percent urban, but not with urban growth during 1991-2001. Same finding was observed during the 1980s also. It is also found that higher level of urbanisation is significantly associated with lower rural poverty, but it is not so in case of urban poverty. On the other hand, there is no indication either that higher level of urbanisation is associated with increasing levels of urban poverty. Sometimes, it is believed that there is a spill over of rural poverty into urban areas with growing levels of urbanisation brought by rural migrants. But this is not true statistically. As expected, lower IMR in both rural and urban areas is associated with higher level of urbanisation. Similarly, with increasing urbanisation the share of non-agricultural workforce and the share of non-agricultural sector in state gross domestic product are expected to increase. Both variables are strongly related with percent urban. Also, with higher level of urbanization, the literacy rate will be higher indisputably. But when literacy rate is disaggregated for rural and urban areas, the urban literacy is not associated with percent urban because of small variability of literacy rates across the urban areas of different states and UTs. On the other hand, rural literacy shows the expected relationship. More interestingly, urban growth is not significantly related with any of the variables presented in Table 11 except rural literacy. This shows that the rising rural literacy is significantly related to the increasing urbanization and urban growth in the country. Alternatively, one can think that more urbanized states can better provide educational infrastructure and services in the rural areas. Thus, both rising urbanisation and literacy rates are in fact artifacts of the same process of economic development.

When we look at migration particularly inter-state migration rates with duration 0-9 years, both in migration and out migration rates are significantly positively related with per capita income. It means that with higher level of income, the states not only show higher in migration but higher out migration rates as well. For example, it is generally believed that Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are two most out migrating states show out migration rates close to 30 per thousand as per 2001 census similar to the level of Haryana – an in migrating state. Similar patterns are also found in the states of Punjab, Goa and Karnataka. As such, the correlation coefficient between in and out migration rates of states and union territories was positive (0.646) and significant at 1 per cent significance level.

The push and pull factors have dominated much of the understanding of migration. Push factors like low income, low literacy, dependence on agriculture and high poverty are cited as some examples associated with place of origin. On the other hand, high income, high literacy, dominance of industries and services, and affluence are the pull factors associated with place of destination. While push factors are responsible for out migration, the pull factors attract in migration. However, this classical understanding of migration pattern and development levels is not corroborated by the recent data. It may be seen from Table 11 that both in and out migration rates have significant positive association with per capita income, percentage of workforce engaged in non-agricultural sector and share of GSDP

Table 11: Correlation Matrix Showing Relationship Between Urbanisation, Migration and Development Variables (N= 32), around 2001

Variables	Per cent urban	Urban growth rate	Inmigration rate (inter-state)	Outmigration rate (inter-state)	% Contribution of net migration in urban Areas
% Urban literacy rate	0.094	-0.115	.084	0.009	0.069
% Rural literacy rate	0.472**	-0.370*	0.257	0.237	0.092
Urban IMR	-0.289	-0.334	-0.287	-0.169	0.086
Rural IMR	-0.396*	0.054	-0.260	-0.304	0.056
Per capita income	0.855**	0.161	0.827**	0.589**	0.468*
% Share of non-agricultural sector to GSDP	0.778**	-0.031	0.690**	0.441**	0.399*
% Urban poverty	-0.123	-0.200	-0.274	-0.209	-0.129
% Rural poverty	-0.513**	0.077	-0.454**	-0.274	-0.453**
% of Non-agricultural workforce	0.726**	-0.140	0.640**	0.491**	0.376*

Note: IMR- infant mortality rate; GSDP- gross state domestic product.

*- Significant at 5 per cent level; **- significant at 1 per cent level.

arising from non-agricultural sector. This shows that the economically better off areas have higher levels of both in and out migration rates compared to the poor areas. When we look at poverty levels, rural poverty is not associated with out migration rates refuting the operation of push factors in explaining the inter-state migration rates emerging in recent times. Earlier studies also point out that it not the poor who move out from the rural areas but those with some education and capital (Oberai and Singh 1983; Skeldon 1985).

Similar to the association of developmental variables with in and out migration rates, the contribution of net migration into urban areas also shows the expected relationship. The states with higher per capita income and greater transformation of agrarian economy in terms of workforce and reduction of its share in state domestic product significantly show higher contribution of migration in urban growth during the 1990s. Conversely, higher poverty particularly rural poverty depresses the share of migration in urban growth and points towards the greater share of natural increase in the urban growth of poor states.

The Future Urbanisation:

It is very difficult to predict the future level of urbanisation for a country like India because urbanisation level not only depends upon demographic trends, but economic and political factors as well. As such, the earlier projections even for a short duration did not come true. The Planning Commission modified the projection of urban population based on 1991 census results as 30.5 per cent for the year 2001 (Planning Commission 1992). When 2001 census results came, it showed much lower figure of 27.8 per cent. As we know that the new economic policy was launched in 1991 and this accelerated the economic growth over 6 per cent during the 1990s. Seeing the growth performance of early years of 1990s, it was thought that higher economic growth would accelerate urbanisation. Further, as country was expected to exceed 1 billion by 2001, it was projected that there would be an addition of 90 million in the urban population during the 1990s (the observed was 69 million from 2001 census) as there would be extensive reclassification of locality or large villages as towns. Thus, it has been stressed that 'it would be a mistake to presume that urbanisation will continue to be slow during the 1990s and beyond' (Visaria 1997:269). However, as mentioned above, the 2001 census did not show massive reclassification of villages into towns, rather the net contribution of it even declined during the 1990s.

Further, the contribution of migration remained stable around one-fifth of the urban growth in the last several decades. It has been observed that the growth of migration has significantly accelerated during 1990s after a considerable deceleration in the previous decade. But the acceleration was more prominent in rural to rural and urban to urban streams, which do not directly contribute to the urban growth. On the other hand, growth in intra-state rural to urban migration was stagnant and inter-state rural to urban migration got accelerated but as it comprised only less than 10 per cent of all migrants, it did not have much impact in increasing the share of migration in urban growth during the 1990s. In future the urban to urban migration is likely to be far more important due to the changing demand of labour market as persons with skills and education would be more able to meet this demand (see also Dyson and Visaria 2004). This is also evident in the fact that poverty is not necessarily related with increased out migration at the macro level. Further, rural to rural migration is also likely to increase not due to any economic reason but purely sociological in view of the changing marriage field with increased information and reach to the bridegrooms as a result of better communication and transportation facility available in the rural areas. There are also indications that the age-old village endogamy practiced in many parts of south India is on decline (see Caldwell and Reddy 1983), and this might further accelerate the rural to rural migration. On the whole, it is likely that that the growth of migration may be speeded up in the future, but it is quite unlikely that the intra-state rural to urban migration will accelerate and inter-state rural to urban migration which is directed towards the handful metropolitan cities may not be able to significantly alter the contribution of migration in urban growth observed during the last few decades. Thus the given condition of stable contribution of migration and lack of in situ transformation of villages into towns, the future urban growth is most likely to decelerate further as natural increase in urban areas is on the path of accelerated decline. A recent projection by the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India

puts the urban population of 358 million by the year 2011. This would add about 72 million in the urban areas during the decade 2001-2011 very close to urban increment of 69 million recorded during 1991-2001 (Registrar General and Census Commissioner 2006). The projected percentage of urban population would be about 30 per cent of the total population by the year 2011, and the average annual urban growth would decline to 2.2 per cent from 2.7 per cent observed during 1991-2001. This projection also follows closely the urban population projection made the Population Division of United Nations (UN 2006), however awaits confirmation from 2011 census.

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