Identifying the Economic Potential of Indian Districts

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1. Introduction

A key question confronting policymakers around the world is that of how best to target limited fiscal resources to ensure the largest overall developmental impact – be it at a national, state or a local level – whilst managing the potential trade-offs which exist between spatial efficiency and equity. This is a question which is of particular importance to India where, despite an average growth rate that has exceeded 5.5 percent per annum since the turn of the century, GDP per capita remains at a relatively low level by international standards, and where there exist large variations both across and within states in levels of well-being.[1] It is, furthermore, a question which has taken on special significance in the country over the last nine months following the Government's announcement of its intention to develop a program aimed at transforming one hundred cities into "smart cities", thereby explicitly raising the issue of spatial targeting of resources for the maximization of development impact.

Against the above backdrop, this note presents the results of an analysis of underlying variations in economic potential across Indian districts, where, in this context, economic potential is defined as the ***extent to which a district possesses factors which are important determinants of the ability to experience high productivity and rapid local economic growth***. The analysis is based on a composite Economic Potential Index (EPI), which can be regarded as a simple diagnostic tool which can help to improve understanding of a country's spatial landscape of potential for rapid economic development at a granular level. More specifically, the index captures the extent to which a district possesses five key ingredients which have the potential to contribute to high levels of productivity and rapid local economic growth: namely, market access, economic density, urbanization, skills, and local transport connectivity. The index helps to provide preliminary insights into important policy questions such as: Which districts have the greatest economic potential? How are districts possessing different levels of potential geographically distributed across the country? What are the strengths and weaknesses of particular districts with respect to the factors that enter into the calculation of the EPI?

The EPI analysis presented is likely to be beneficial to all levels of government in India. The analysis categorizes districts as being of 'very high', 'high', 'low' and 'very low' potential in terms of their ability to experience high productivity and/or rapid local economic growth. Policy and strategy leaders can use the results to help inform both the targeting and prioritization of their respective urban development programs. This can be done both from the perspective of tapping long-term economic benefits through planned urban investments in high potential districts and from the perspective of directing investments to urban areas in low potential districts so that these can transition to higher levels of potential over time. The analysis can also provide states and cities with initial insights into specific areas of weakness which can help to inform the prioritization of investments and/or reforms aimed at improving economic potential.

The structure of the remainder of this note is as follows. Section 2 outlines the underlying methodology used to identify the economic potential of each district, describing in detail each of the five potential determinants of local productivity and economic growth that enter into the

[1] Real GDP per capita, expressed in 2011 constant international dollars, grew from $2,600 to $5,238 between 2000 and 2011. Meanwhile, according to official data, per capita income in the most prosperous state (Delhi) in 2011/12 was almost 7.6 times that in the least prosperous state (Bihar).

calculation of the EPI and the overall method of construction of the index. Section 3 then presents the results of the analysis. Amongst other things, it identifies the existence of strong spatial patterns whereby, rather than being randomly scattered, districts which exhibit similar levels of potential tend to neighbor one another. The analysis identifies several important spatially contiguous clusters of high potential districts, not to mention also several low potential clusters. Following this, Section 4 examines the relationship between a district's economic potential as measured using the EPI and its actual observed performance. This allows for the identification of, in particular, high potential districts which possess significant "untapped" potential. Finally, Section 5 concludes the note by summarizing and discussing implications for policy.

2. Methodology

2.1. Factors Influencing District Economic Potential

There are numerous factors that can potentially influence productivity and economic growth at the sub-national level thereby making the task of assessing underlying variations in economic potential across India's districts seem like a daunting task. Over the last two decades, however, a large academic literature has developed which has sought to statistically test and, in some cases, establish the causal importance of a wide variety of potential determinants of local levels of productivity and rates of economic growth. A review of this literature shows that relatively few of these factors are consistently robust across both different countries and time-periods. The simple Economic Potential Index (EPI) on which the analysis of this note is based, therefore, draws on this literature for its construction. In particular, the EPI is a simple composite index which assesses a district's potential to experience rapid local economic growth and develop a high level of productivity based on the extent to which it possesses the following five factors:

- ***Market access:*** captures proximity of firms to large domestic consumer markets, which facilitates lower costs of trade and increases profits; also captures better access of firms to suppliers of intermediate inputs;

- ***Economic density:*** measures the potential which exists for both firms and workers to benefit from the various sources of agglomeration economies associated with such density;

- ***Rate of urbanization:*** complementary measure of density and, therefore, of a district's potential to benefit from agglomeration economies; urbanization also tends to be associated with the production of modern, as opposed to traditional, goods and services which have the potential to drive productivity and growth through trade with both other districts and the rest of the world; modern goods and services include, for example, modern manufacturing and tradable service activities such as financial services;

- ***Availability of human capital:*** human capital has a direct positive impact on the productive potential of a district's firms and the earnings potential of its workers; an abundant availability of human capital can also bring important indirect benefits for

productivity and growth through facilitating spillovers of knowledge between workers and improving adaptability to long-term structural shifts in the wider macro-economy;

- ***Local transport connectivity:*** captures the ability of urban markets to service their hinterlands through reduced costs of transportation of goods outwards and reduced cost of transportation of skills inwards towards urban areas.

There exists adequate empirical evidence, covering a variety of countries and time-periods, on the importance of each of the above factors to warrant their inclusion in the construction of the EPI. This is especially the case for the first four factors. The international evidence on the importance of the fifth factor – local transport connectivity – is a little more mixed. Nevertheless, there is strong suggestive evidence of the importance of this factor in the Indian context which merits its inclusion. As such, there is a firm basis for believing that if an Indian district is well-positioned with respect to the above five factors, it possesses some of the most essential pre-conditions for rapid growth and the achievement of high levels of productivity, even if other policy and/or non-policy factors – which may be somewhat unique to the district and/or the state in which it is located – currently constrain the full realization of that potential. Table 1 expands on the rationale for the selection of the five above-mentioned factors, the indicators that are used to measure these factors and the sources of data. Annex 1 presents a more detailed technical discussion, which includes references to the relevant academic literature, of the rationale underlying the selection of the factors. Annex 5, meanwhile, examines the robustness of the EPI results to the choice of indicators for, in particular, the market access and human capital components of the index.

Table 1: The Five Components of the Economic Potential Index (EPI)

Component	Rationale	Indicator	Source of data
Market access	Better access to areas of buoyant economic activity: *(i)* stimulates demand for locally produced tradable products; *(ii)* provides better access to intermediate inputs; and *(iii)* stimulates beneficial spillovers from those areas	Measure of market access constructed using district GDP levels and travel times through the Indian road network	Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis of the Indian road network Most recently available (2005) district GDP data from the Planning Commission, GoI
Economic density	Provides for greater potential agglomeration economies emanating from the existence of: *(i)* a large local pool of workers; *(ii)* a wide variety of local supplier firms and intermediate inputs; and *(iii)* spillovers of knowledge between firms and workers which are facilitated by geographic proximity	GDP per km^2 of land area	Most recently available (2005) district GDP data – Planning Commission, GoI Night-time light intensity data used to help generate missing values: satellite data accessed from National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association (NOAA) - http://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/dmsp.html
Level of urbanization	Together with economic density, affects a district's potential ability to benefit from agglomeration economies; and the potential propensity to engage in the production of	% of population living in urban areas, 2011	Census of India, 2011

Component	Rationale	Indicator	Source of data
	modern tradable goods and services		
Human capital	Has a direct positive impact on production, as well as potential indirect impacts through facilitating knowledge spillovers and improving adaptability to long-term underlying structural changes in the macro-economy	% of population which is literate, 2011	Census of India, 2011
Local transport connectivity	Better internal connectivity reduces costs of transporting goods within the district and contributes to reduced potential commute times	Density of primary and secondary roads – i.e. length of roads per 100 km^2 of land area	Based on GIS data used for the construction of the Market Access indicator as above

2.2. Construction and Interpretation of the Economic Potential Index

The EPI was constructed by first converting each district's indicator level for each of the five factors into units which are comparable across the indicators. The simple average of the scores across the five indicators was then taken. This average was then re-scaled so as to give an easy to interpret final index (Annex 1 provides a more detailed methodological discussion).[2] On the final index, a district will achieve an EPI score of 50 if its indicator levels on each of the five key determinants of potential are all exactly equal to the district average. Meanwhile, an EPI score greater than 50 reflects an above average level of potential, whilst a score of less than 50 indicates a level of potential which is below average. Based on their EPI scores, districts can also be categorized into different bands of potential, which range from 'very high' to 'very low' potential (see Table 2).[3]

Table 2: Categorization of district potential

Category	Basis of Categorization	Number of Districts (*% of Districts*)
Very high	EPI ≥ 68.8	50 (*8.5*)
High	EPI ≥ 59.4	84 (*14.2*)
Medium	59.4 > EPI > 40.6	328 (*55.5*)
Low	EPI ≤ 40.6	91 (*15.4*
Very low	EPI ≤ 31.2	38 (*6.4*)
	Total	**591**

[2] Given a lack of compelling evidence on the appropriate weights to attach to each of the five indicators, it was felt best to adopt the assumption of equal weights by taking the simple average.

[3] These bands of potential are based on the average number of standard deviations across the five EPI indicators by which a district's score deviates from the mean. The 'very high' ('very low') band of potential, therefore, corresponds to districts which, on average across the five indicators, have scores which exceed (falls short of) the mean by one standard deviation or more, whilst the 'high' ('low') bands correspond to scores which, on average, exceed (fall short of) the mean by 0.5 standard deviations or more. Finally, the 'medium' potential category corresponds to scores which, on average, fall within 0.5 standard deviations of the mean.

As Table 2 indicates, although, based on current administrative boundaries, India has 676 districts, the EPI results are only reported for a total of 591 districts. This is primarily because limitations with the data, particularly the GDP data which relates to the year 2005, made it difficult to construct the index based on current administrative boundaries. Rather, the index had to be constructed based on the matching of data to *circa* 2007/8 district boundaries. The only districts, as defined according to these boundaries, for which results are not reported, are the Andman Islands, Nicobar Islands and Kavaratti.[4]

When interpreting the detailed results of the index in the following section, it is important to keep the following points in mind:

- ***A district's exact EPI score is less important than the band of potential to which it belongs:*** given inherent difficulties in measuring economic potential and the fact that the indicators used for each of the five components of the EPI may be subject to some degree of measurement error, it is preferable to assess districts according to the broad categories of potential (i.e. "very high", "high", "medium", "low" and "very low") rather than their detailed EPI scores.

- ***Avoid over-interpretation:*** although reported in this note, over-interpretation of detailed rankings within the bands of potential should, as a general rule, be avoided. This is for the same reasons that a district's exact EPI score is less important than the band of potential to which it belongs. Districts falling within the same band should be interpreted as possessing roughly similar levels of potential.

- ***EPI levels capture potential and not performance of districts:*** the EPI aims to capture potential rather than actual performance. As such, although, in general, we expect performance as measured by, say, GDP per capita, to be positively correlated with potential, it is possible for similar EPI scores to translate into different levels of performance. Thus, for example, two districts which share similar EPI scores may, nevertheless, exhibit very different levels of GDP per capita depending on how successful they are in leveraging their potential. Differences across districts in how potential translates into performance are analyzed in greater detail in Section 4.

- ***EPIs are a relative measure of economic potential, not an absolute measure:*** the EPI assesses a district's underlying economic potential compared to the average for all other districts within the country. Thus, the EPI provides a relative measure of a district's potential as opposed to an absolute measure.

[4] As islands, these three districts lack connectivity in the GIS road network file. It was not, therefore, possible to calculate the market access indicator for them.

3. EPI Results

3.1. Overall Results

Figure 1 shows the distribution of EPI scores across districts, whilst Table 3 provides information on the shares of India's total and urban populations, as well as the share of national GDP, accounted for by districts belonging to each of the different bands of potential. Based on these, it can be seen that around 8 percent of districts demonstrate 'very high' potential, and that, together, these account for more than 16 percent of national population. These districts, moreover, are, on the whole, much more urban than the districts that belong to the other bands of potential and generate a disproportionate share – almost 40 percent – of national GDP. A further 14 percent of districts exhibit 'high' potential. Although less markedly so than the 'very high' potential districts, these districts, on the whole, are also both more urban and generate a larger share of national GDP than would be expected based on their share of the national population alone. The 'medium' band of potential, meanwhile, accounts for just over 55 percent of all districts and a very similar share of the national population. These districts, however, are less urban and generate less GDP than would be expected based on their share of India's overall population. Finally, around 22 percent of districts belong to the 'low' and 'very low' potential categories. These districts are comparatively sparsely populated, however, and account for a fraction of India's overall urban population. Together, they also generate less than 7 percent of national GDP.

Figure 1: Distribution of EPI Scores across Districts

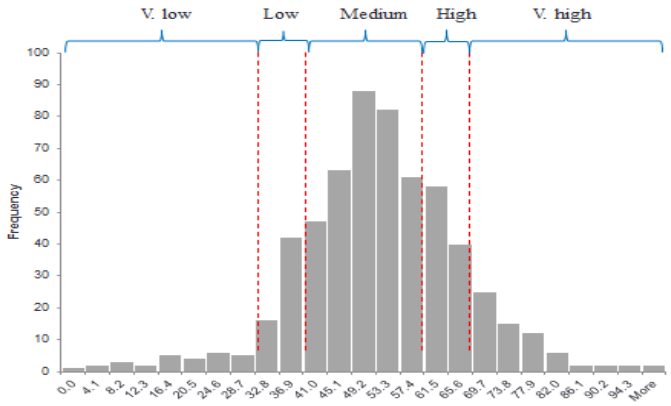


Table 3: Shares of overall national population, urban population and GDP

Category	Population		GDP
	Overall	Urban	
Very high	16.5	38.2	28.2
High	16.9	22.2	21.7
Medium	54.9	36.2	43.5
Low	10.3	2.9	5.6
Very low	1.4	0.4	1.0

Notes: shares of both overall population and urban population are for 2011, whilst GDP shares are sample shares based on 2005 data

Focusing in on the results for districts which demonstrate 'very high' levels of potential, which are likely to be of particular interest to policymakers, Table 4 provides a full list of districts which belong to this category.[5] The table, furthermore, lists both the percentile score rankings of these districts and district rankings for each of the indicators used to capture the five components of the index. The inclusion of the percentile score rankings emphasizes the fact, stated earlier, that the EPI provides a relative, rather than absolute, measure of potential.

Table 4: Districts with 'Very High' Economic Potential

District	EPI			Sub-indicator rank (out of 591)				
	Rank	Score	Percentile	Market access	Economic density	Percent urban	Human capital	Local connectivity
Greater Bombay	1	98.4	100.00	1	3	1	22	5
Kolkata	2	96.4	99.83	9	1	1	48	3
Hyderabad	3	92.4	99.66	18	4	1	95	2
Chennai	4	92.1	99.49	27	2	1	19	6
Delhi	5	88.4	99.32	4	6	8	47	9
Bangalore Urban	6	86.7	99.15	5	5	11	37	46
Ernakulam	7	83.5	98.98	22	9	26	7	10
Chandigarh	8	83.3	98.82	14	7	9	53	73
Thane	9	81.4	98.65	3	16	19	74	65
Thrissur	10	81.0	98.48	19	22	28	10	16
Alappuzha	11	80.1	98.31	58	14	55	8	8
Thiruvananthapuram	12	79.0	98.14	52	12	57	15	19
Daman	13	78.8	97.97	95	8	13	34	98
Haora	14	78.3	97.80	8	11	36	94	57
Gurgaon	15	77.6	97.63	11	18	24	68	40
Kanniyakumari	16	77.0	97.46	131	19	14	17	27
Kozhikode	17	77.0	97.29	72	17	29	10	133
Pune	18	76.6	97.12	7	39	39	51	72
Mahe	19	76.6	96.95	87	77	1	3	79
Puducherry	20	76.6	96.79	173	13	23	59	4
Kollam	21	76.3	96.62	54	25	81	12	26
Kottayam	22	76.2	96.45	50	21	184	4	15
Faridabad	23	75.7	96.28	6	23	17	120	341
Kanpur	24	75.6	96.11	90	10	31	153	7
Kannur	25	74.5	95.94	110	33	33	9	194
Rangareddi	26	73.8	95.77	23	78	22	22	150
Malappuram	27	73.4	95.60	70	36	86	13	84
Ghaziabad	28	73.4	95.43	12	30	27	178	76
Madurai	29	71.6	95.26	39	42	40	91	125
Ludhiana	30	71.4	95.09	32	34	45	111	158
Ahmadabad	31	71.2	94.92	91	89	12	60	58
Kancheepuram	32	71.1	94.75	34	43	35	75	305
Nagpur	33	71.1	94.59	67	85	25	31	147
Hugli	34	70.8	94.42	24	26	114	118	132
Surat	35	70.7	94.25	81	92	16	57	97
Panipat	36	70.7	94.08	16	32	78	218	37
Lucknow	37	70.6	93.91	59	31	30	193	41
Rohtak	38	70.5	93.74	13	101	94	139	14
Ambala	39	70.1	93.57	43	60	85	119	21

[5] Annex 7 presents a full list of all urban settlements, including Census Towns, which fall within the 'very high' potential districts. Annex 6 presents a complete listing of EPI scores for all 591 districts.

District	EPI			Sub-indicator rank (out of 591)				
	Rank	Score	Percentile	Market access	Economic density	Percent urban	Human capital	Local connectivity
North 24 Parganas	40	70.0	93.40	29	27	49	80	497
North Goa	41	69.9	93.23	297	65	42	24	17
Thiruvallur	42	69.4	93.06	56	29	32	82	493
Jalandhar	43	69.3	92.89	49	50	58	108	175
Dakshin Kannad	44	69.3	92.72	142	63	75	30	81
East Imphal	45	69.2	92.55	157	141	100	116	1
West Imphal	46	69.1	92.39	335	35	38	52	24
Panchkula	47	69.0	92.22	20	52	54	117	416
Coimbatore	48	68.9	92.05	30	38	20	311	135
Rewari	49	68.9	91.88	28	49	208	129	11
Nashik	50	68.8	91.71	17	110	93	109	94

Based on the above table, several key trends amongst the 'very high' potential districts emerge, including:

- ***The six highest potential districts correspond to the six most populous Indian agglomerations:*** reflecting the fact that districts containing very large agglomerations have, by virtue of their economic density and high levels of urbanization, the most potential to benefit from strong productivity and growth enhancing agglomeration economies. These districts also have greater potential to benefit from market access given that, by definition, they actually constitute a large share of India's domestic consumer market.[6]

- ***Economic potential and performance do not necessarily go hand-in-hand:*** Kanpur is one such example. Kanpur's level of district GDP per capita ranks as only the 218th highest in India (2005). The district, however, has a "very high" level of potential. As will be seen in Section 5, Malappuram in Kerala, Ghaziabad in Uttar Pradesh and Hyderabad in Telangana provide further examples of districts with "very high" levels of potential which are not being fully tapped.

- ***While rankings across the five key determinants of potential are positively correlated, there are important variations that exist:*** For instance, whilst Hyderabad ranks very highly in terms of its economic density and levels of both urbanization and local transport connectivity, its ranking in terms of human capital is out-of-keeping with its overall EPI score. These variations across the five determinants reveal important areas on which districts might want to focus policy if they wish to improve their economic potential. Annex 2 provides further details on the contributions of the five determinants to a district's overall potential, which can be used to help identify the relative strengths and weaknesses of each district.[7]

[6] The district that corresponds to the sixth most populous agglomeration – Ahmedabad – is also categorized as having "Very high" potential.

[7] Table A1.2 in Annex 1 also reports correlations between the indicators used to capture the five components of the EPI. This formally demonstrates the strong correlation between the different indicators. However, at the same time, it is clear that the correlation is far from perfect. This is important because it shows that the indicators, and, by extension, the components of the EPI, are capturing different information with respect to economic potential.

3.2. Breakdown of Results by State/Union Territory and Potential Category

Figure 2 provides a breakdown of EPI results by both state / union territory and category of potential, whilst Table 5 presents the same information in a tabular format. Based on these, the following can be synthesized:

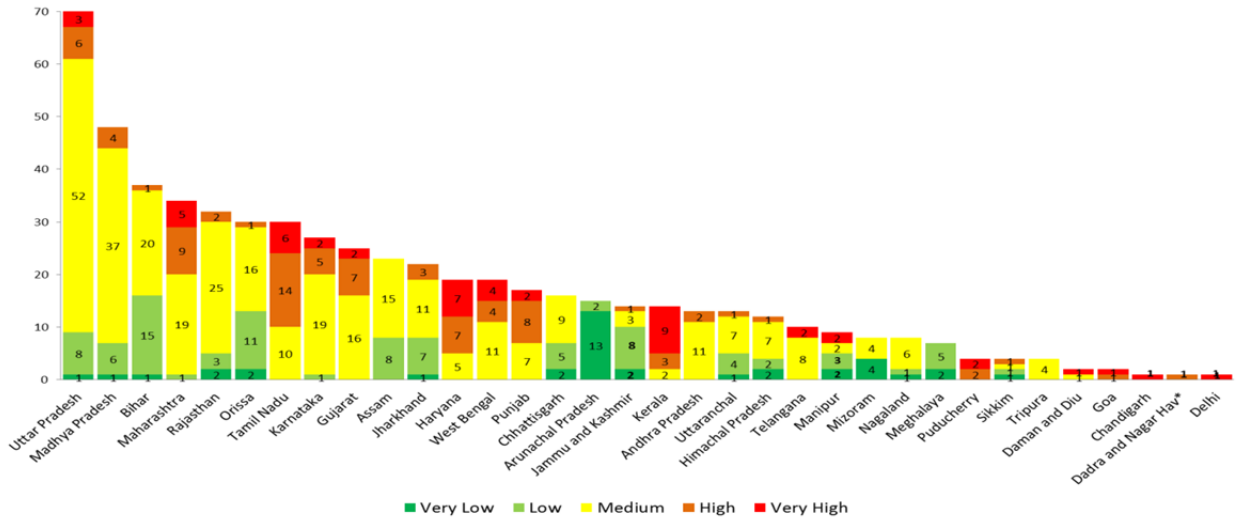
- Kerala stands-out – both in absolute and proportional terms – as having the greatest number of 'very high' potential districts. In particular, 9 of its 14 districts (i.e. 64 percent) are classified as having 'very high' potential. Kerala is followed by Haryana (7 'very high' potential districts), Tamil Nadu (6 districts), Maharashtra (5 districts), West Bengal (4 districts) and Uttar Pradesh (3 districts). In the case of Uttar Pradesh, however, the share of its districts which are of 'very high' potential is only 4 percent.

- Taken together, these six states are home to 68 percent – i.e. 34 out of 50 – of all 'very high' potential districts. Hence, there is a strong concentration of 'very high' potential districts in a relatively small number of states.

- The remaining 32 percent of 'very high' potential districts are spread across a further 11 states, whilst 17 states do not feature any 'very high' potential districts at all.

- The bulk of 'very high' and 'high' potential districts are concentrated in highly urbanized states including Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Haryana, Punjab, etc. As a corollary, states, such as Odisha, Bihar, Assam and Jharkhand, which are characterized by low levels of urbanization tend to have a concentration of 'low' and 'very low' potential districts.[8]

Figure 2: Breakdown of Results by State and Category of Potential



[8] This is, in part, true by construction (the rate of urbanization is one of the five factors on which the EPI is based). However, low levels of urbanization are also correlated with weak performance on the other four factors included in the index.

Table 5: Breakdown of District EPI scores by State/Union Territory

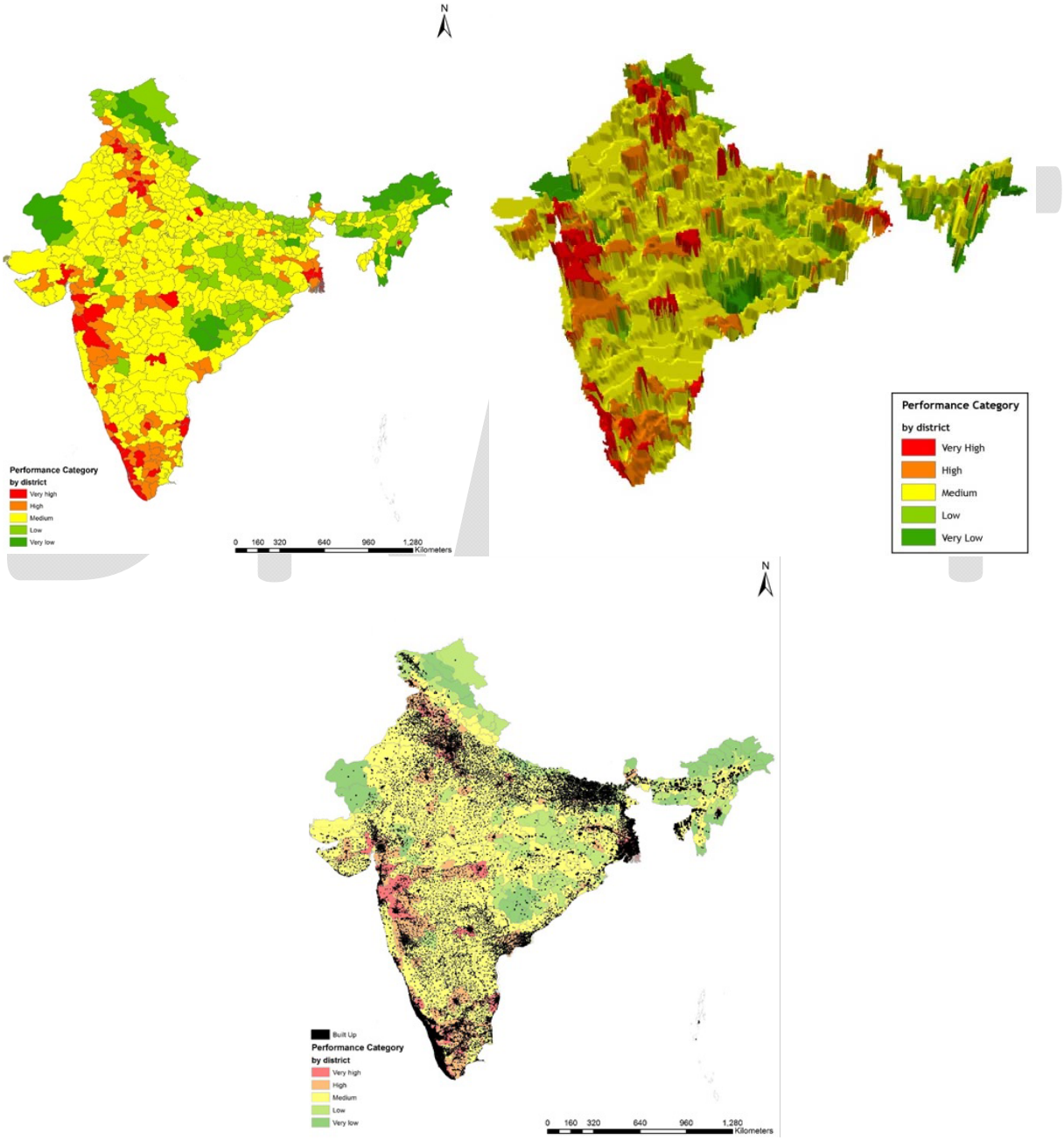
State	Total # districts	Very High	High	Medium	Low	Very Low
1. Andhra Pradesh	14	1	2	11	0	0
2. Arunachal Pradesh	15	0	0	0	2	13
3. Assam	23	0	0	15	8	0
4. Bihar	37	0	1	20	15	1
5. Chandigarh	1	1	0	0	0	0
6. Chhattisgarh	16	0	0	9	5	2
7. Dadra and Nagar Haveli	1	0	1	0	0	0
8. Daman and Diu	2	1	0	1	0	0
9. Delhi	1	1	0	0	0	0
10. Goa	2	1	1	0	0	0
11. Gujarat	25	2	7	16	0	0
12. Haryana	19	7	7	5	0	0
13. Himachal Pradesh	12	0	1	7	2	2
14. Jammu and Kashmir	14	0	1	3	8	2
15. Jharkhand	22	0	3	11	7	1
16. Karnataka	27	2	5	19	1	0
17. Kerala	14	9	3	2	0	0
18. Madhya Pradesh	48	0	4	37	6	1
19. Maharashtra	34	5	9	19	1	0
20. Manipur	9	2	0	2	3	2
21. Meghalaya	7	0	0	0	5	2
22. Mizoram	8	0	0	4	0	4
23. Nagaland	8	0	0	6	1	1
24. Orissa	30	0	1	16	11	2
25. Puducherry	4	2	2	0	0	0
26. Punjab	17	2	8	7	0	0
27. Rajasthan	32	0	2	25	3	2
28. Sikkim	4	0	1	1	1	1
29. Tamil Nadu	30	6	14	10	0	0
30. Telangana	10	2	0	8	0	0
31. Tripura	4	0	0	4	0	0
32. Uttar Pradesh	70	3	6	52	8	1
33. Uttaranchal	13	0	1	7	4	1
34. West Bengal	19	4	4	11	0	0
TOTAL	**591**	**50**	**84**	**328**	**91**	**38**

3.3. Clustering of High and Low Potential Districts

Consistent with the above results, Figure 3(a), which provides a spatial representation of the EPI results, indicates that economic potential is not randomly geographically distributed across districts. Rather, there is a strong tendency for districts with similar levels of potential to form spatially contiguous clusters. There, therefore, exist spatial clusters of both high and low potential districts. As shown by Figure 3(b), this gives rise to a spatial landscape characterized

by “mountain ranges” of high potential and “valleys” of low potential. The locations of the “mountain ranges”, furthermore, tend to mirror the spatial distribution of built-up area (Figure 3(c)). The notable exception to this is in the North-East of India near the border with Nepal where there exists a significant amount of built-up area in districts classified as being of low potential.

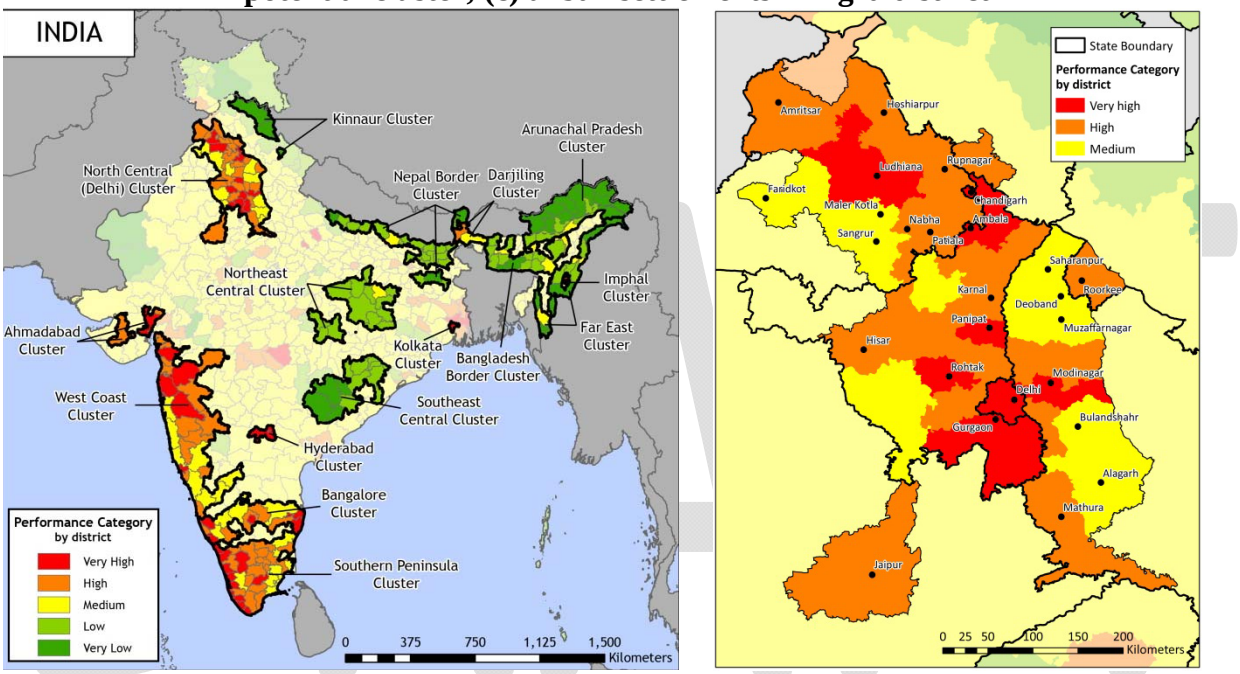
Figure 3: (a) Spatial distribution of potential across districts; (b) Peaks and valleys of potential; (c) Spatial distribution of potential tends to mirror the spatial distribution of built-up area with the exception of North-East India



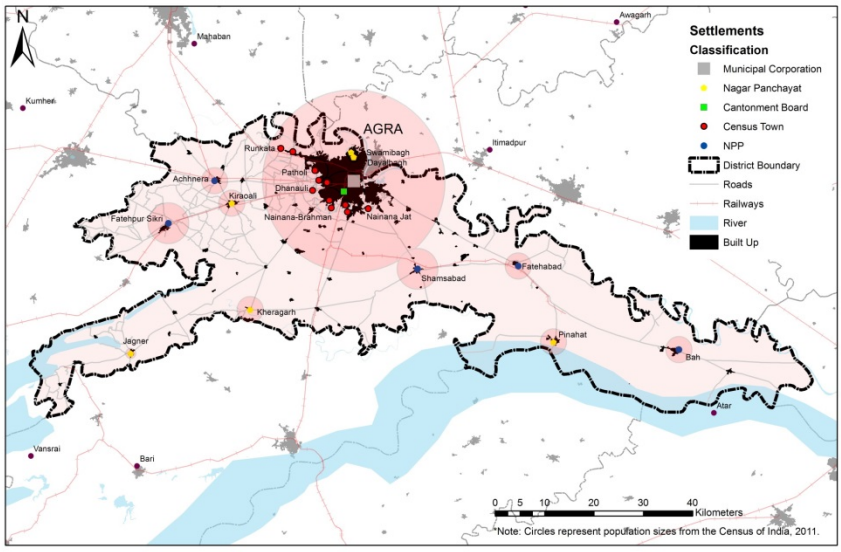
Note: the built-up area depicted in part (b) of the figure is for 2001 (data source: e-Geopolis India)

There still remains the question, however, of how important the spatial clustering of potential is from a statistical viewpoint. In this sense, Figure 4(a) provides for a more rigorous identification of both high and low potential clusters. In particular, the map identifies clusters based on the statistical significance of the underlying spatial patterns observed in Figure 3.[9] From the map, it can be seen that, overall, there exist 16 clusters, of which nine are high potential clusters (Annex 3 provides a full list of districts belonging to each of the 16 clusters).

Figure 4: (a) Clusters of high and low potential districts; (b) the North Central (Delhi) high potential cluster; (c) urban settlements in Agra district



[9] Statistical significance is assessed on the basis of local Moran's I statistics. From a technical viewpoint, these statistics allow for the identification of different patterns of local spatial autocorrelation at the district level. Figure 4(a) shows spatially contiguous groups of districts which exhibit statistically significant local Moran's I values. It excludes single district "clusters" – i.e. districts which have statistically significant local Moran's I values, but which are surrounded by districts with statistically insignificant values. For more details on the methodology which underlies the construction of local Moran's I statistics see Anselin (1995).



Note: the built-up area depicted in part (c) of the figure is for 2001
(data source: e-Geopolis India)

Taken together, the nine high potential clusters are home to 30 percent of India's total population and just over 51 percent of its urban population.[10] They, furthermore, generate approximately 45 percent of national GDP.[11]

The high potential clusters include extended groups of districts which are centered on the major agglomerations of Delhi, Kolkata, Ahmadabad, Hyderabad, and Bangalore - Chennai. There is also a Western coast corridor of high potential districts which comprises mainly districts from the states of Maharashtra (including Greater Bombay), Karnataka and Gujarat, as well as a Southern Peninsula cluster that covers districts in Kerala, Puducherry and Tamil Nadu. Finally, there are the Darjiling and Imphal Clusters, which stand-out from the other high potential clusters by virtue of being surrounded by low potential districts. Figure 4(b) provides a more detailed mapping of the North Central high potential cluster which is centered on Delhi and which accounts for 8.5 percent of India's overall population and almost 14 percent of its urban population. The cluster also generates approximately 11.5 percent of national GDP. Meanwhile, Figure 4(c) maps the urban settlements which exist in one of the districts, Agra, which belongs to this cluster.

In contrast to the high potential clusters, the low potential clusters are centered on peripheral and/or lagging regions of the country, often on the borders of other countries in the region. This is the case, for example, for the Bangladesh Border, Kinnaur, Arunachal Pradesh and Far East clusters. There is also a significant low potential cluster – the Nepal Border Cluster – which is located in the Northeast and covers parts of the states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Sikkim and Uttar Pradesh. This cluster is notable amongst the low potential clusters for being characterized by both a high density of population and built-up area (see Figure 3(b)), thereby suggesting that it might be deserving of special policy attention. Finally, the Southeast Central low potential

[10] These figures are based on 2011 Census data.
[11] More precisely, the nine high potential clusters possess a 44.9 percent sample share of GDP, where the GDP data relates to 2005 (the most recent year for which comprehensive district GDP data is available).

cluster is mainly comprised of districts in Orissa, whilst the Northeast Central cluster includes districts from Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

4. Performance versus Potential

As mentioned above, the EPI aims to capture economic potential rather than actual performance, and there exist examples of districts with 'very high' or 'high' EPI scores which exhibit relatively weak performance. This section, therefore, seeks to analyze the relationship between potential and performance in more depth by taking GDP per capita as the metric for a district's performance level. An important point to note, however, is that the analysis relies on GDP per capita data for the year 2005, which is the most recent year for which relatively comprehensive data is available, and there may, therefore, have been important changes in performance since then. The analysis is also restricted to 520 of the 591 districts for which EPI results were reported in the previous section.[12] This is because the analysis is limited to those districts for which GDP per capita data is available from official sources without having to generate missing values.

With the above caveats in mind, Figure 5 shows the relationship across districts between GDP per capita levels and EPI scores. As might be expected, this relationship is positive and the slope of the fitted line in the figure indicates that, on average, a one-point increase in a district's EPI score is associated with a 1.9 percent increase in its level of GDP per capita. This fitted line shows how we would predict a district to perform in terms of its GDP per capita level given its EPI score. Districts which fall below the line can, therefore, be interpreted as possessing "untapped" potential with districts which fall further below the line having greater "untapped" potential than those which are closer to the line.

Based on this, Table 6 shows the "very high" / "high" potential districts which have the greatest levels of untapped potential. As can be seen, Varanasi is the district which is most strongly under-performing relative to potential. In particular, if Varanasi were able to improve its performance to the level that is predicted based on its EPI score, it would be able to achieve an approximate increase of 62 percent in its level of GDP per capita. Kanpur, Agra, Mathura, Ghaziabad and Meerut also join Varanasi as districts within Uttar Pradesh that have high apparent levels of "untapped" potential. The predominance of districts from Uttar Pradesh suggests that many of the factors that are constraining their performance below predicted levels are at the state, rather than the local, level (Annex 4 presents more formal analysis of this issue). Outside of Uttar Pradesh, East Imphal (Manipur), Malappuram (Kerala), Haora (West Bengal), Kolar (Karnataka), Bokaro (Jharkhand), Hyderabad (Telangana) and South 24 Parganas (West Bengal) complete the list of "very high" / "high" potential districts that could achieve a GDP per capita increase of 10 percent or more if they were able to increase performance to predicted levels by addressing constraints at the state and local levels.

[12] The majority of missing districts belong to ten states / Union Territories – Chandigarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu, Delhi, Gao, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland, Puducherry and Tripura. The district of Lahul and Spiti (Himachal Pradesh) was also excluded from the analysis on account of being an extreme outlier.

Figure 5: GDP per capita performance versus Economic Potential

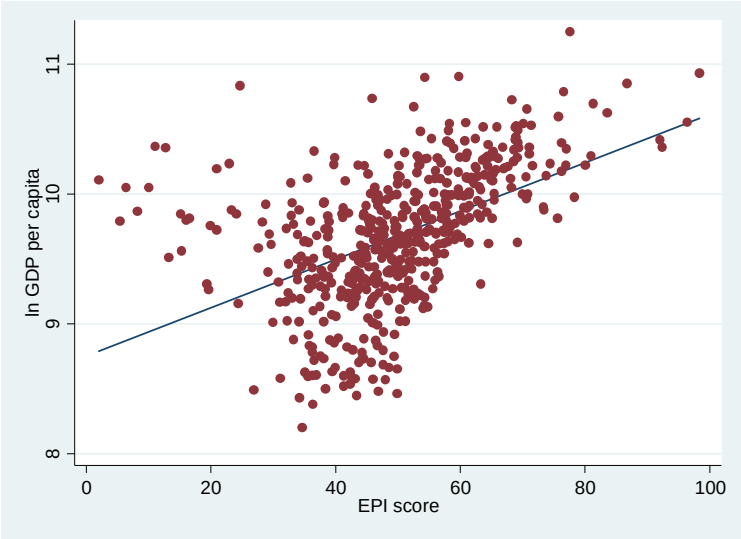


Table 6: High potential districts with greatest estimated untapped potential

District	State	GDP per capita (INR, constant prices)	EPI	Category	% GDP per capita increase
Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh	10989	63.28	High	62.39
East Imphal	Manipur	15165	69.21	Very high	41.23
Kanpur	Uttar Pradesh	18279	75.62	Very high	34.49
Agra	Uttar Pradesh	15021	64.53	High	33.45
Mathura	Uttar Pradesh	15131	61.37	High	26.85
Malappuram	Kerala	19473	73.41	Very high	24.04
Haora	West Bengal	21443	78.29	Very high	23.50
Ghaziabad	Uttar Pradesh	19890	73.35	Very high	21.82
Kolar	Karnataka	15771	60.17	High	20.46
Bokaro	Jharkhand	16142	59.57	High	17.02
Meerut	Uttar Pradesh	18273	65.10	High	14.92
Hyderabad	Telangana	31473	92.38	Very high	11.37
South 24 Parganas	West Bengal	18335	63.20	High	11.05

Note: table lists 'very high' and 'high' potential districts in which the estimated increase in GDP per capita that could be achieved through improving performance to the predicted level is greater than 10 percent.

5. Conclusion

This note has presented a diagnostic analysis of the underlying economic potential of Indian districts based on the construction of a simple composite index – the Economic Potential Index or EPI. The EPI captures the extent to which each Indian district possesses five key attributes – namely, a good level of market access; high levels of economic density and urbanization; a workforce which embodies good levels of human capital; and strong local transport connectivity – which have been shown by a wide body of empirical evidence to be important to the achievement of high local levels of productivity and economic growth. The main findings of the analysis may be summarized as follows:

- Of the 591 districts included in the analysis, 50 have been classified as having 'very high' economic potential and a further 84 as having 'high' economic potential. Compared to lower potential districts, these districts are, on the whole, more urbanized. They also generate a disproportionate share of national GDP. This is especially the case for the 'very high' potential districts.

- Districts which exhibit the highest levels of potential tend either to be the locations of India's largest cities and/or districts that are located in relatively close geographic proximity to those cities.

- While 'very high' potential districts tend to exhibit superior levels of performance on all five determinants of potential, there, nevertheless, exist important variations which carry implications for policy.

- 'Very high' potential districts are mainly concentrated in six states with Kerala, Haryana, and Tamil Nadu leading the way; around 70 percent of all 'very high' potential districts are located in these three states plus the states of Maharashtra, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. By contrast, there are 17 states with no 'very high' potential districts.

- There exist nine significant spatially contiguous clusters of 'very high'/'high' potential districts. Five of these clusters are extended groups of districts centered on the major agglomerations of Delhi, Kolkata, Ahmadabad, Hyderabad, and Bangalore - Chennai. There also exists a Western coast corridor of high potential districts that incorporates, in particular, a large number of districts from the states of Maharashtra (including Greater Bombay) and Karnataka, as well as a Southern Peninsula cluster that covers districts in Kerala, Puducherry and Tamil Nadu. Finally, there are the Darjiling and Imphal Clusters, which stand-out from the other high potential clusters by virtue of being surrounded by low potential districts. Taken together, these nine clusters account for 30 percent of India's overall population, just over 51 percent of its urban population and generate approximately 45 percent of national GDP.

- There are 38 districts identified as having 'very low' potential and 91 districts identified as having 'low' potential. As with high potential districts, there is significant spatial clustering of low potential districts. In particular, seven low potential clusters of contiguous districts have been identified.

- There exist a number of "very high" and "high" potential districts whose levels of performance, as measured by their levels of GDP per capita, fall short of what one would expect based on their EPI scores, thereby indicating the existence of significant "untapped" potential. Several of these districts – Varanasi, Kanpur, Agra, Mathuri, Ghaziabad and Meerut – are located in Uttar Pradesh. This indicates that, for these districts, many of the constraints that undermine the fulfillment of potential lie at the state level.

In terms of policy, districts identified as having 'very high' potential are the ones likely to yield the highest returns for investments and policy reforms aimed at bolstering national economic

growth. In particular, these districts possess many of the key factors associated with heightened local levels of productivity and rapid regional and local economic growth. Policy for these districts, or primary cities in these districts, should be aimed at addressing the constraints that inhibit the ability of these cities and/or districts to fully leverage their potential, the identification of which will require more detailed case study analysis of each specific district. Such investments and policy reforms are, however, likely to further widen the already deep spatial disparities which characterize the country. In this sense, policy also needs to address the causes of lagging potential in the low potential clusters of districts. This can likely be most 'easily' achieved by bolstering policies aimed at improving both the human capital endowments of these clusters of districts and their levels of market access through improved connectivity to the high potential clusters.

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Annexes

Annex 1: Detailed Methodology and Note on Rationale for Factors used for EPI Analysis

Detailed rationale for selection of EPI factors

The theoretical rationale for the first determinant – market access – follows from the so-called "New Economic Geography" literature that was first pioneered by Krugman (1991a, 1991b), which shows that sub-national economies which are better connected through transportation networks to high-income markets can be expected to enjoy higher levels of local productivity. This is because firms located in sub-national economies with better access to markets benefit from greater demand for their products, which, in turn, allows them to more easily cover their fixed costs of production (e.g. the cost of setting-up a new plant). They also benefit from better access to suppliers of intermediate inputs. As a result, theory predicts that both productivity and wages should be higher in these areas than in comparable local areas with lower levels of market access. Empirical evidence in support of this prediction has been found for not only developed countries, but also for developing countries, including India.[13]

Meanwhile, the theoretical rationale for both the second and third determinants – namely, economic density and the level of urbanization – is to be found in the idea that sub-national economies which are economically more dense and urbanized have a greater propensity to benefit from agglomeration economies. Agglomeration economies refer to the positive externalities – or "accidental" benefits – that individual firms and workers enjoy as a result of locating or working in close geographic proximity to other firms and workers in economically dense and/or highly urbanized areas. These include benefits which stem from, for example, the fact that the existence of a dense concentration of firms in a particular industry helps to stimulate both the growth of a diverse range of local intermediate input suppliers and a local pool of labor which has the skills and talent to meet the needs of the industry. They also include the dynamic benefits that result from the spillover of, for example, best practice knowledge of how to do things, something that is facilitated by close geographic proximity, especially when the knowledge in question is complex and, therefore, more easily passed on through face-to-face communication than through alternative, including electronic, means of interaction.[14] As with market access, empirical evidence on the importance of economic density and the level of urbanization as determinants of local levels of productivity and economic growth has been found for developed and developing countries alike.[15]

The inclusion of human capital, which is the fourth potential determinant captured by the EPI, can be rationalized by the fact that higher levels of such capital are thought to have both

[13] For supportive evidence for India see, in particular, Schramm (2013). Evidence for China is, meanwhile, provided by, for example, Bosker *et al.* (2012), Hering and Poncet (2010a, 2010b), Moreno- Monroy (2008) and Roberts *et al*. (2012).

[14] The seminal references on the sources of agglomeration economies are Marshall (1890), Jacobs (1969) and Duranton and Puga (2004).

[15] See, for example, Ciccone and Hall (1996), Ciccone (2002) and Roberts and Goh (2011) who present evidence on the importance of economic density as a determinant of local levels of productivity for the US, Europe and China respectively. Empirical evidence on the importance of urbanization can be found in the strong cross-country relationship that exists between levels of GDP per capita and urbanization (see, for example, World Bank, 2008).

important direct and indirect effects on local levels of productivity and economic growth.[16] The direct effects follow from the fact that firms located in sub-national economies with more skilled, trained and educated workforces are likely to be more effective in combining other inputs to produce output. Meanwhile, the indirect effects stem from two main sources: ***(i)*** the ability of local economies with higher levels of human capital to better absorb ideas and knowledge emanating from outside the locality; and ***(ii)*** the fact that higher levels of human capital can help to stimulate better spillovers of knowledge between local firms, thereby further facilitating the exploitation of agglomeration economies. A high level of human capital has also been shown to improve the ability of sub-national economies to adapt to long-term underlying structural shifts in the macro-economy through facilitating their ability to re-invent themselves in response to such shifts.[17] Of all the potential determinants of local productivity and economic growth captured by the EPI, human capital is probably the one which commands the widest empirical support.[18]

Finally, local transport connectivity, as measured by the density of primary and secondary roads within a district, is included in the EPI based on the fact that better internal connectivity is likely to promote both reduced costs of transporting goods for firms (both for goods that are transported solely within the district and for goods that are transported to and from other districts) and reduced costs of commuting for workers. Although the empirical evidence on internal connectivity as a determinant of local levels of productivity and economic growth is not perhaps as internationally robust as for the other four factors captured by the EPI, there is suggestive evidence of its particular importance for India. In particular, it has been strongly argued that high internal costs of transport within the core areas of India's major metropolitan areas have been an important contributory factor behind the "premature" outward movement of formal manufacturing activity from these areas, with consequent negative effects on both local levels of productivity and growth.[19] Further emerging empirical evidence on the importance of local transport connectivity – in particular, the importance of local roads – exists for Indonesia and Colombia.[20]

Detailed methodology for construction of the EPI

The methodology for the construction of the EPI consists of the following four basic steps:

1. **Measure raw performance on each of the five components of the index –** i.e. on market access; economic density; level of urbanization; human capital and local transport connectivity. All indicators with the exception of the human capital indicator are measured in natural logs on the basis that their distributions are approximately log-normal.

2. **Transform measures of raw performance into units that are comparable across the five components –** achieved by converting the values on each of the associated indicators into

[16] The seminal references here are Mankiw, Romer and Weil (1992) and Lucas (1988).
[17] For evidence on this see, *inter alia*, Glaeser (2005) and Roberts (2004).
[18] See, for example, Roberts and Setterfield (2010) on this point.
[19] World Bank (2013).
[20] See Gertler *et al*. (2014) and Duranton (2014) respectively.

"Z-scores" by (for each indicator) subtracting the mean and dividing through by the standard deviation.

3. **Combine the transformed scores across the five components –** by taking the simple average (i.e. mean) of the "Z-scores" across the associated indicators.

4. **Re-scale the combined scores to arrive at the final index of performance –** this is achieved by applying the formula $EPI_i = 50 + [50/\text{Max}(|Z_i|)]*Z_i$ where EPI_i is the final EPI score for district i and Z_i is the average Z-score for district i from step (4).

Table A1.1 provides more detail on the precise indicators used to capture each component of the index and also on the sources of data. Meanwhile, Table A1.2 provides a matrix of Spearman rank correlation co-efficients for the indicators. This matrix shows that, in general, the five indicators are, as might be expected. positively correlated with each other. However, at the same time, the correlations are far from being perfect, thereby indicating that each provides independent information on a district's economic potential.

Table A1.1: Construction of indicators and data sources

Component	Indicator	Data source
Market access	Calculated as $MA_i = \sum_i[GDP_j/(time_{i,j}\text{^}2)$ where $time_i$ is the estimated travel time by road (in hours) between the centroids of districts i and j from taking the optimal route between those districts.[21]	GIS shapefile of the Indian road network corresponding to that used by Ghani *et al.* (2013); GDP data is the most recently available (2005) from the Planning Commission, GoI
Economic density	GDP per km^2. Missing GDP values were predicted using data on night-time light intensity, exploiting the strong documented relationship between light intensity and GDP[22]	Most recently available (2005) district GDP data – Planning Commission, GoI; night-time light intensity: National Oceanic and Atmospheric Association (http://ngdc.noaa.gov/eog/dmsp.html)
Level of urbanization	% of population living in urban areas, 2011. Where a district was missing data, the % living in urban areas was assumed to be equal to the average across all other districts in the same state	Census of India, 2011
Human capital	% of population which is literate, 2011. Where a district was missing data, the literacy rate was assumed to be equal to the average across all other districts in the same state	Census of India, 2011
Local transport connectivity	Density of primary and secondary roads – i.e. length of roads (in km) per 100 km^2 of land area	Based on same GIS shapefile used for the construction of the Market Access indicator

[21] This is a classic Harris (1965) style measure of market potential.

[22] GDP per capita data was missing for 74 out of the 591 districts. GDP values for these districts were estimated by, first, running, for all non-missing observations, a regression of ln(GDP) on ln(DN), where DN stands for digital number and is a measure of night-time light intensity. The fitted regression was then used to predict the levels of GDP for the districts with missing data. Full regression results are available on request.

Table A1.2: Spearman rank correlation for EPI indicators

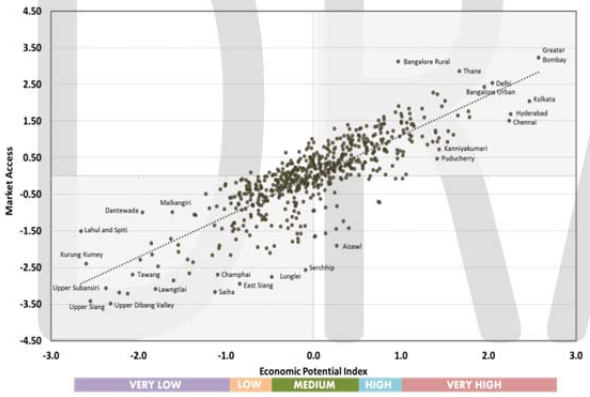
	Market access	Economic density	Percent urban	Human capital	Internal connectivity
Market access	1.000				
Economic density	0.785	1.000			
Percent urban	0.498	0.518	1.000		
Human capital	0.294	0.414	0.473	1.000	
Internal connectivity	0.52	0.508	0.389	0.255	1.000

Annex 2: Contributions of Key Determinants to a District's EPI Score

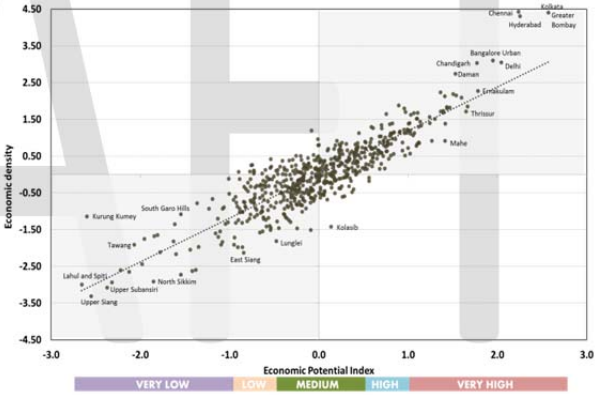
Figures A2.1(a) – A2.1(e) demonstrate the contributions which each of the five different factors – market access, economic density, level of urbanization, human capital and local transport connectivity – make to a district's overall potential. As one would expect based simply on the definition of the overall index, better performance on any one component of the index is strongly associated with a higher level of overall potential. This aside, however, the extent to which a district deviates from the best fit line reveals interesting information on the relative importance of the five components in determining a district's aggregate EPI score. For example, Greater Bombay's "very high" potential is, in part, attributable to its better than expected (given its overall EPI score) level of market access, while its local transport connectivity and, to a lesser extent, level of human capital are lower than expected. Conversely, Lahul and Spiti's very low level of potential is largely driven by its low levels of urbanization and local connectivity, whilst its level of human capital is higher than would be expected given its overall EPI score.

Figure A2.1: Contribution of different components to the overall EPI

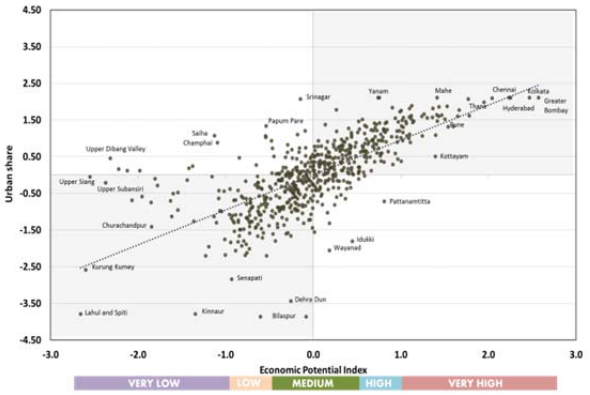
(a) Market access



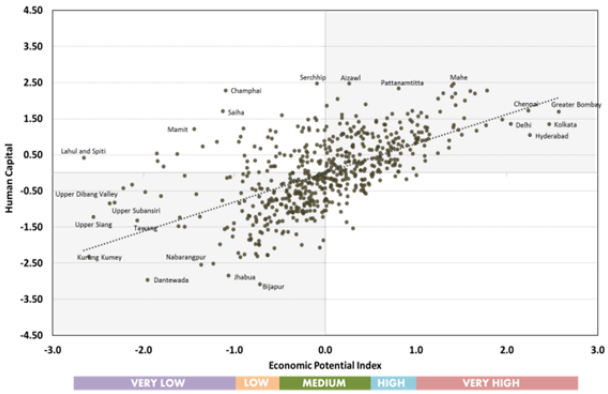
(b) Economic density



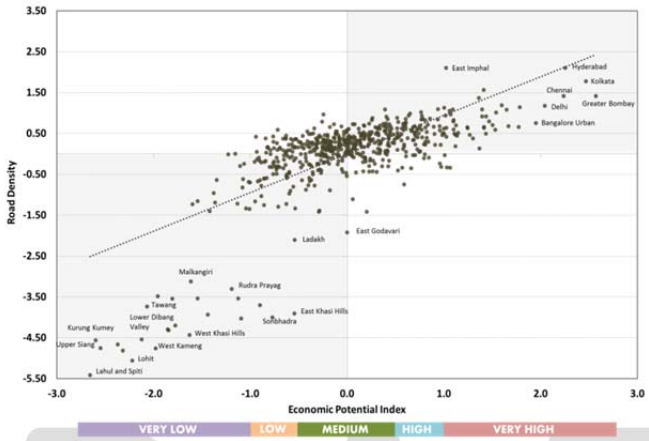
(c) Urbanization



(d) Human capital



(e) Local transport connectivity



Annex 3: Composition of High and Low Potential Clusters

Table A3.1: Constituent Districts of High Potential Clusters

Cluster	Constituent districts
Southern Peninsula Cluster	**Alappuzha**, **Coimbatore**, Cuddalore, Dindigul, **Ernakulam**, Erode, Idukki, **Kanniyakumari**, Karaikal, Karur, **Kollam**, **Kottayam**, **Kozhikode**, **Madurai**, **Malappuram**, Namakkal, Nilgiris, Palakkad, Pattanamtitta, Perambalur, **Puducherry**, Pudukkottai, Ramanathapuram, Salem, Sivaganga, Thanjavur, Theni, **Thiruvananthapuram**, Thiruvarur, Thoothukudi, **Thrissur**, Tiruchchirappalli, Tirunelveli Kattabo, Villupuram, Virudhunagar
Bangalore Cluster	Bangalore Rural, **Bangalore Urban**, **Chennai**, Chittoor, **Dakshin Kannad**, Hassan, **Kancheepuram**, **Kannur**, Kasaragod, Kodagu, Kolar, **Mahe**, Mysore, **Thiruvallur**, Tumkur, Vellore
West Coast Cluster	Ahmednagar, Belgaum, Bellary, Bharuch, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, **Daman**, Davanagere, Dharwad, **Greater Bombay**, Jalgaon, Kolhapur, **Nashik**, Navsari, **North Goa**, **Pune**, Raigarh (Maharashtra), Ratnagiri, Sangli, Satara, Shimoga, Sindhudurg, Solapur, South Goa, **Surat**, **Thane**, Udupi, Uttar Kannand, Valsad
Hyderabad Cluster	**Hyderabad**, **Rangareddi**
Ahmadabad Cluster	**Ahmadabad**, Gandhinagar, Rajkot
North Central (Delhi) Cluster	Agra, Aligarh, **Ambala**, Amritsar, Baghpat, Bhiwani, Bulandshahr, **Chandigarh**, **Delhi**, **Faridabad**, Faridkot, Fatehgarh Sahib, Gautam Buddha Nagar, **Ghaziabad**, **Gurgaon**, Haridwar, Hathras, Hisar, Hoshiarpur, Jaipur, **Jalandhar**, Jhajjar, Jind, Kaithal, Kapurthala, Karnal, Kurukshetra, **Ludhiana**, Mahendragarh, Mathura, Meerut, Moga, Muzaffarnagar, Nawan Shehar, **Panchkula**, **Panipat**, Patiala, **Rewari**, **Rohtak**, Rupnagar, Saharanpur, Sangrur, Solan, Sonepat, Yamuna Nagar
Kolkata Cluster	**Haora**, **Kolkata**
Darjiling Cluster	Darjiling, East, Jalpaiguri
Imphal Cluster	**East Imphal**, **West Imphal**

* 'Very High' potential district in bold.

Table A3.2: Constituent Districts of Low Potential Clusters

Cluster	Constituent districts
Southeast Central Cluster	**Bastar**, Bolangir, Boudh, **Dantewada**, Gajapati, Kalahandi, Kandhamal, Koraput, **Malkangiri**, **Nabarangpur**, Nuapada, Sonepur
Northeast Central Cluster	Bhabua, Bilaspur, Chatra, Dindori, Garhwa, Gumla, Jashpur, Kawardha, Latehar, Palamu, Sidhi, Simdega, Sonbhadra, Surguja
Nepal Border Cluster	Araria, Balrampur, **Banka**, **Godda**, Jamui, Katihar, Khagaria, Kishanganj, Madhepura, Madhubani, Maharajganj, **North Sikkim**, Pakur, Pashchim Champaran, Purba Champaran, Purnia, Saharsa, Samastipur, Sheohar, **Shravasti**, Siddharth Nagar, Sitamarhi, Supaul, West Sikkim
Arunachal Pradesh Cluster	Darrang, Dhemaji, **East Kameng**, East Siang, **Kurung Kumey**, Lakhimpur, **Lohit**, **Lower Dibang Valley**, **Lower Subansiri**, Papum Pare, Sonitpur, **Tawang**, **Upper Dibang Valley**, **Upper Siang**, **Upper Subansiri**, **West Kameng**, **West Siang**
Bangladesh Border Cluster	Barpeta, Dhuburi, East Garo Hills, East Khasi Hills, Goalpara, Golaghat, Jaintia Hills, Karbi Anglong, Kokrajhar, Marigaon, North Cachar Hills, Ri-Bhoi, **South Garo Hills**, West Garo Hills, **West Khasi Hills**
Far East Cluster	**Champhai**, **Chandel**, **Changlang**, **Churachandpur**, Hailakandi, **Lawngtlai**, Lunglei, **Mamit**, **Mon**, Phek, **Saiha**, Senapati, Tamenglong, **Tirap**, Tuensang, Ukhrul
Kinnaur Cluster	Kinnaur, Lahul and Spiti, Rudra Prayag

* 'Very Low' potential district in bold.

Annex 4: Regression Analysis of Relationship between Performance and Potential

This Annex reports the results of regressions which analyze, for a sample of 520 districts, the relationship between a district's performance, as measured by the natural log of its level of GDP per capita in 2005, and its potential, as measured by its EPI score. In particular, Table A4.1 reports the results from two regressions. The first regression corresponds to Figure 5 in the main text and shows that a district's EPI score is positively and significantly related to its level of GDP per capita at all conventional levels. However, from the fit of the regression, it is also clear that variations in EPI scores are unable to explain all of the observed variations in performance across districts, thereby indicating the existence of both "over-performing" and "under-performing" districts. For any given district *i*, the measure of "untapped" potential that is reported for the "very high" and "high" potential districts in Table 6 of the main text is constructed using the following equation:

$$untapped_i = \ln(\widehat{GDP\ pc})_i - \ln(GDP\ pc)_i \quad [A1]$$

i.e. as the difference between the fitted value and the actual observed natural log level of GDP per capita.

The second regression, meanwhile, is identical to the first except that it has been extended to include state / Union Territory fixed effects. Including these fixed effects has little impact on the estimated slope of the relationship between a district's EPI score and (the natural log of) its level of GDP per capita. The effect of a one point increase in a district's EPI score within states / Union Territories is, therefore, roughly the same as the effect between states. It will be observed, however, that the overall fit of the regression is much improved. This suggests that much of the explanation for why the districts in Table 6 of the main text exhibit untapped potential lies at the state level.

Table A4.1: Regression results for performance –v– potential

Variable	Without state effects	With state effects
Constant	8.750***	9.184***
	(0.360)	(.107)
EPI	0.019***	0.0198***
	(.006)	(0.001)
R^2	0.240	0.752
Adj R^2	-	0.740
F(1, 23)	9.520	62.480
Prob > F	0.005	0.000
n	520	520

Notes: dependent variable is ln(2005 GDP per capita). Standard errors for the regression without state effects are clustered by state. Estimated co-efficients on the state fixed effects are not reported for reasons of brevity. They are, however, available on request.

The results of the second regression can also be used to identify districts where "untapped" potential is predominantly due to local factors as opposed to factors at the state level. Table A4.2, in particular, reports the "very high" and "high" potential districts that are most

constrained by local, as opposed to state-level, factors from fulfilling their potential. The measure of untapped potential arising from local factors is again constructed using equation [A1], except that the fitted values are taken from the second, as opposed to the first, regression.

Table A4.2: High potential districts with greatest estimated untapped potential due to local factors

District	State	GDP per capita (INR, constant prices)	EPI	Category	% GDP per capita increase
East Imphal	Manipur	15165	69.21	Very high	65.43
Malappuram	Kerala	19473	73.41	Very high	40.59
Rohtak	Haryana	25115	70.54	Very high	29.77
Hyderabad	Telangana	31473	92.38	Very high	28.71
East	Sikkim	25522	63.92	High	26.69
Kolar	Karnataka	15771	60.17	High	25.83
Haora	West Bengal	21443	78.29	Very high	24.94
Gurdaspur	Punjab	24833	61.00	High	23.40
Varanasi	Uttar Pradesh	10989	63.28	High	22.92
Jhajjar	Haryana	24316	65.18	High	22.36
Chennai	Tamil Nadu	33336	92.08	Very high	20.42
Alappuzha	Kerala	27426	80.08	Very high	19.56
Amravati	Maharashtra	17868	60.57	High	18.24
Jind	Haryana	22888	59.72	High	17.59
Hoshiarpur	Punjab	27108	62.47	High	17.56
Akola	Maharashtra	18870	62.81	High	17.22
Kollam	Kerala	26231	76.26	Very high	16.46
Sonepat	Haryana	27131	67.62	High	16.26
Rupnagar	Punjab	29080	64.58	High	14.71
Amritsar	Punjab	28568	63.63	High	14.60
Thrissur	Kerala	29527	81.02	Very high	14.05
Rangareddi	Telangana	25370	73.82	Very high	13.46
Kozhikode	Kerala	27400	76.95	Very high	13.46
Jalandhar	Punjab	32676	69.31	Very high	12.43
South 24 Parganas	West Bengal	18335	63.20	High	10.66
Bokaro	Jharkhand	16142	59.57	High	10.59
Theni	Tamil Nadu	20136	61.46	High	10.10

Note: table lists 'very high' and 'high' potential districts in which the estimated increase in GDP per capita that could be achieved through improving performance to the predicted level is greater than 10 percent.

Annex 5: Robustness of EPI Results

The EPI results reported in the main text were derived using the indicators outlined in Table 1 and also discussed in more detail in Annex 1. Further analysis was also undertaken to assess the robustness of the results to the use of alternative indicators for, in particular, the market access and human capital components of the index. Two alternative variants of the market access indicator were considered: ***(i) MA POP*** – instead of calculating market access based on levels of district GDP, this variant bases the calculation on levels of district population – i.e. $(MA\ POP)_i = \sum_j[POP_j/(time_{i,j}\text{^}2)$ where POP_j is the population of district j in 2011 and $time_{i,j}$ is the estimated travel time by road between the centroids of districts i and j; and ***(ii) MA Class I –*** this variant instead calculates market access based on the populations of, and travel times to, Class I cities which are located in other districts – i.e. $(MA\ Class\ I)_i = \sum_j[POP_j/(time_{i,j}\text{^}2)$ where POP_j is the population of the jth Class I city in 2011 and $time_{i,j}$ is the estimated travel time by road between the centroid of district i and the jth Class I city.

Meanwhile, for the human capital component, several alternatives to the literacy rate in 2011 were considered: namely, ***(i) Primary 2001 –*** the share of the working age population (i.e. the population aged 15-64) in 2001 which had completed at least primary education; ***(ii) Secondary 2001 –*** the share of the working age population in 2001 which had completed at least secondary education; ***(iii) Higher 2001 –*** the share of the working age population in 2001 which had completed at least higher secondary/intermediate pre-University/senior secondary education; and ***(iv) Grad 2001 –*** the share of the working age population in 2001 which held a University degree. Each of these indicators provide, arguably, a better measure of a district's stock of human capital than its literacy rate. Unfortunately, however, the Census data to allow for the construction of these indicators for 2011 has yet to be released, which provides the rationale for selecting the literacy rate in 2011 as the preferred indicator for the EPI whose results are reported in the main text.

The EPI results were re-calculated for all possible permutations of the alternative indicators for market access and human capital. For completeness, results were also re-calculated using the literacy rate in 2001 (***lit 2001***) as the human capital indicator. Table A5 below reports estimated Pearson correlation co-efficients between the EPI results based on the different indicators. As can be seen, all of the results are extremely highly correlated (the lowest estimated correlation co-efficient is 0.932). This shows that the results reported in the main text are extremely robust to the choices of indicators for both the market access and human capital components.

Table A5: Correlation Matrix for EPI Variants

Panel A

		MA GDP					
		Lit 2011	***Lit 2001***	***Primary 2001***	***Secondary 2001***	***Higher 2001***	***Grad 2001***
MA GDP	***Lit 2011***	1.000					
	Lit 2001	0.990	1.000				
	Primary 2001	0.988	0.988	1.000			
	Secondary 2001	0.978	0.976	0.992	1.000		
	Higher 2001	0.973	0.971	0.985	0.995	1.000	

	Grad 2001	0.966	0.964	0.973	0.986	0.994	1.000
MA POP	***Lit 2011***	0.990	0.977	0.978	0.971	0.970	0.966
	Lit 2001	0.983	0.990	0.981	0.972	0.971	0.966
	Primary 2001	0.978	0.975	0.990	0.986	0.983	0.974
	Secondary 2001	0.964	0.959	0.979	0.991	0.990	0.984
	Higher 2001	0.955	0.951	0.968	0.982	0.991	0.988
	Grad 2001	0.945	0.940	0.952	0.969	0.982	0.991
MA Class I	***Lit 2011***	0.986	0.977	0.973	0.962	0.960	0.952
	Lit 2001	0.974	0.986	0.972	0.959	0.958	0.948
	Primary 2001	0.973	0.975	0.986	0.977	0.973	0.959
	Secondary 2001	0.964	0.964	0.979	0.987	0.985	0.974
	Higher 2001	0.956	0.956	0.969	0.979	0.987	0.979
	Grad 2001	0.950	0.949	0.958	0.971	0.983	0.987

Panel B

		MA POP					
		Lit 2011	***Lit 2001***	***Primary 2001***	***Secondary 2001***	***Higher 2001***	***Grad 2001***
MA POP	***Lit 2011***	1.000					
	Lit 2001	0.989	1.000				
	Primary 2001	0.987	0.987	1.000			
	Secondary 2001	0.976	0.974	0.991	1.000		
	Higher 2001	0.971	0.969	0.984	0.995	1.000	
	Grad 2001	0.963	0.961	0.971	0.985	0.994	1.000
MA Class I	***Lit 2011***	0.978	0.971	0.965	0.950	0.944	0.932
	Lit 2001	0.963	0.978	0.961	0.944	0.939	**0.926**
	Primary 2001	0.965	0.970	0.978	0.966	0.958	0.940
	Secondary 2001	0.959	0.961	0.975	0.980	0.974	0.959
	Higher 2001	0.955	0.958	0.969	0.976	0.980	0.969
	Grad 2001	0.952	0.954	0.961	0.971	0.979	0.980

Panel C

		MA Class I					
		Lit 2011	***Lit 2001***	***Primary 2001***	***Secondary 2001***	***Higher 2001***	***Grad 2001***
MA Class I	***Lit 2011***	1.000					
	Lit 2001	0.989	1.000				
	Primary 2001	0.987	0.987	1.000			
	Secondary 2001	0.976	0.974	0.991	1.000		
	Higher 2001	0.971	0.969	0.984	0.995	1.000	
	Grad 2001	0.963	0.961	0.971	0.985	0.994	1.000

Annex 6: EPI Scores of All Districts

District	EPI			Sub-indicator ranks				
	Rank	Score	Percentile	Market access	Economic density	Percent urban	Human Capital	Internal connectivity
VERY HIGH								
Greater Bombay	1	98.4	100.00	1	3	1	22	5
Kolkata	2	96.4	99.83	9	1	1	48	3
Hyderabad	3	92.4	99.66	18	4	1	95	2
Chennai	4	92.1	99.49	27	2	1	19	6
Delhi	5	88.4	99.32	4	6	8	47	9
Bangalore Urban	6	86.7	99.15	5	5	11	37	46
Ernakulam	7	83.5	98.98	22	9	26	7	10
Chandigarh	8	83.3	98.82	14	7	9	53	73
Thane	9	81.4	98.65	3	16	19	74	65
Thrissur	10	81.0	98.48	19	22	28	10	16
Alappuzha	11	80.1	98.31	58	14	55	8	8
Thiruvananthapuram	12	79.0	98.14	52	12	57	15	19
Daman	13	78.8	97.97	95	8	13	34	98
Haora	14	78.3	97.80	8	11	36	94	57
Gurgaon	15	77.6	97.63	11	18	24	68	40
Kanniyakumari	16	77.0	97.46	131	19	14	17	27
Kozhikode	17	77.0	97.29	72	17	29	10	133
Pune	18	76.6	97.12	7	39	39	51	72
Mahe	19	76.6	96.95	87	77	1	3	79
Puducherry	20	76.6	96.79	173	13	23	59	4
Kollam	21	76.3	96.62	54	25	81	12	26
Kottayam	22	76.2	96.45	50	21	184	4	15
Faridabad	23	75.7	96.28	6	23	17	120	341
Kanpur	24	75.6	96.11	90	10	31	153	7
Kannur	25	74.5	95.94	110	33	33	9	194
Rangareddi	26	73.8	95.77	23	78	22	22	150
Malappuram	27	73.4	95.60	70	36	86	13	84
Ghaziabad	28	73.4	95.43	12	30	27	178	76
Madurai	29	71.6	95.26	39	42	40	91	125
Ludhiana	30	71.4	95.09	32	34	45	111	158
Ahmadabad	31	71.2	94.92	91	89	12	60	58
Kancheepuram	32	71.1	94.75	34	43	35	75	305
Nagpur	33	71.1	94.59	67	85	25	31	147
Hugli	34	70.8	94.42	24	26	114	118	132
Surat	35	70.7	94.25	81	92	16	57	97
Panipat	36	70.7	94.08	16	32	78	218	37
Lucknow	37	70.6	93.91	59	31	30	193	41
Rohtak	38	70.5	93.74	13	101	94	139	14
Ambala	39	70.1	93.57	43	60	85	119	21
North 24 Parganas	40	70.0	93.40	29	27	49	80	497

North Goa	41	69.9	93.23	297	65	42	24	17
Thiruvallur	42	69.4	93.06	56	29	32	82	493
Jalandhar	43	69.3	92.89	49	50	58	108	175
Dakshin Kannad	44	69.3	92.72	142	63	75	30	81
East Imphal	45	69.2	92.55	157	141	100	116	1
West Imphal	46	69.1	92.39	335	35	38	52	24
Panchkula	47	69.0	92.22	20	52	54	117	416
Coimbatore	48	68.9	92.05	30	38	20	311	135
Rewari	49	68.9	91.88	28	49	208	129	11
Nashik	50	68.8	91.71	17	110	93	109	94
				HIGH				
Indore	51	68.6	91.54	139	47	21	131	126
Tiruchchirappalli	52	68.5	91.37	68	57	70	97	151
Gautam Buddha Nagar	53	68.3	91.20	10	24	43	264	489
Bangalore Rural	54	68.2	91.03	2	153	204	184	292
Kasaragod	55	68.0	90.86	170	59	113	20	104
Karaikal	56	68.0	90.69	150	20	71	41	469
Gandhinagar	57	68.0	90.52	134	48	89	78	66
South Goa	58	67.6	90.36	337	123	34	38	12
Sonepat	59	67.6	90.19	15	84	168	161	35
Palakkad	60	67.1	90.02	51	53	231	25	294
Bhopal	61	67.0	89.85	229	55	15	138	140
Patna	62	66.8	89.68	71	15	87	340	71
Kolhapur	63	66.1	89.51	88	73	156	122	31
Virudhunagar	64	65.9	89.34	53	54	64	140	432
Nilgiris	65	65.8	89.17	143	144	44	63	243
Yamuna Nagar	66	65.7	89.00	105	56	111	183	56
Khordha	67	65.5	88.83	299	70	73	44	116
Dhanbad	68	65.5	88.66	133	37	47	251	186
Pattanamtitta	69	65.2	88.49	136	64	456	5	78
Tirunelveli Kattabo	70	65.2	88.32	128	90	68	107	242
Salem	71	65.2	88.16	31	62	63	283	288
Jhajjar	72	65.2	87.99	25	152	215	133	39
Meerut	73	65.1	87.82	21	61	62	284	403
Barddhaman	74	65.0	87.65	33	40	106	212	441
Vellore	75	64.9	87.48	80	66	91	160	281
Navsari	76	64.7	87.31	93	173	166	84	32
Rupnagar	77	64.6	87.14	41	93	207	112	181
Agra	78	64.5	86.97	82	76	79	318	25
Patiala	79	64.5	86.80	55	88	102	238	99
Karnal	80	64.4	86.63	35	100	170	247	36
Kurukshetra	81	64.4	86.46	47	128	179	207	18
Jabalpur	82	64.2	86.29	252	130	46	128	60
Yanam	83	64.2	86.13	484	28	1	155	375

Bharuch	84	64.1	85.96	124	104	141	122	89
Namakkal	85	64.0	85.79	26	69	101	248	381
East	86	63.9	85.62	480	242	7	25	131
Jammu	87	63.7	85.45	271	96	66	91	180
Fatehgarh Sahib	88	63.7	85.28	38	80	165	157	348
Amritsar	89	63.6	85.11	107	74	120	208	87
Dharwad	90	63.6	84.94	188	156	50	145	106
Varanasi	91	63.3	84.77	168	46	88	229	161
Jaipur	92	63.3	84.60	57	135	59	234	287
South 24 Parganas	93	63.2	84.43	40	41	209	189	417
Rajkot	94	63.1	84.26	183	205	48	130	123
Valsad	95	63.1	84.09	117	139	119	171	67
Cuddalore	96	63.1	83.93	138	67	143	180	134
Vadodara	97	62.9	83.76	144	131	67	166	215
Krishna	98	62.8	83.59	66	81	97	265	219
Akola	99	62.8	83.42	263	247	107	35	77
Thanjavur	100	62.8	83.25	148	68	132	105	415
Karur	101	62.6	83.08	108	124	99	229	103
Hoshiarpur	102	62.5	82.91	101	145	267	71	107
Thoothukudi	103	62.4	82.74	181	122	65	50	500
Udupi	104	62.2	82.57	316	171	186	49	20
Darjiling	105	61.9	82.40	340	107	110	154	23
Dindigul	106	61.8	82.23	86	140	118	209	189
Theni	107	61.5	82.06	120	147	56	194	423
Jalgaon	108	61.5	81.90	125	197	155	176	44
Nadia	109	61.4	81.73	77	45	197	245	379
Mysore	110	61.4	81.56	137	114	96	287	85
Mathura	111	61.4	81.39	37	165	175	351	33
Sangli	112	61.4	81.22	149	166	211	124	55
Solapur	113	61.2	81.05	98	225	152	200	45
Purba Singhbhum	114	61.1	80.88	197	115	52	235	286
Haridwar	115	61.1	80.71	112	71	117	269	310
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	116	61.1	80.54	99	44	77	210	538
Satara	117	61.0	80.37	100	193	315	98	63
Gurdaspur	118	61.0	80.20	198	108	185	147	100
Hisar	119	60.9	80.03	92	148	157	282	50
Nawan Shehar	120	60.8	79.86	62	83	281	152	347
Kapurthala	121	60.7	79.70	78	103	136	162	498
Wardha	122	60.6	79.53	254	320	150	43	86
Amravati	123	60.6	79.36	234	353	126	40	143
Gwalior	124	60.5	79.19	221	213	37	203	227
Kolar	125	60.2	79.02	42	249	160	254	163
Kheda	126	59.9	78.85	194	211	245	103	43
Baghpat	127	59.9	78.68	45	82	271	306	176

Erode	128	59.9	78.51	69	113	61	291	506
Solan	129	59.8	78.34	115	111	331	87	353
Kota	130	59.8	78.17	303	233	41	204	124
West Godavari	131	59.7	78.00	84	79	279	248	167
Jind	132	59.7	77.83	61	160	243	323	29
Ahmednagar	133	59.7	77.66	60	248	287	164	90
Bokaro	134	59.6	77.50	179	132	74	306	190
MEDIUM								
Durg	135	59.2	77.33	190	239	116	163	213
Muzaffarnagar	136	59.1	77.16	48	106	182	376	267
Faridkot	137	59.0	76.99	113	134	133	366	146
Mahesana	138	58.8	76.82	258	170	216	89	253
Bhandara	139	58.6	76.65	172	271	306	86	93
Murshidabad	140	58.4	76.48	83	58	297	430	69
Idukki	141	58.4	76.31	64	154	571	16	121
Jamnagar	142	58.3	76.14	251	198	82	267	156
Moga	143	58.3	75.97	111	105	249	340	108
Ranchi	144	58.2	75.80	192	224	90	214	303
Hathras	145	58.2	75.63	89	109	260	380	52
Vishakhapatnam	146	58.2	75.47	106	87	76	418	451
Udham Singh Nagar	147	58.1	75.30	155	191	128	276	199
Chandrapur	148	58.0	75.13	247	284	134	143	188
Cuttack	149	58.0	74.96	298	125	194	58	486
Villupuram	150	58.0	74.79	127	194	386	83	258
Guntur	151	58.0	74.62	104	143	144	410	159
Saharanpur	152	57.9	74.45	94	112	167	347	376
Sangrur	153	57.9	74.28	73	119	161	399	297
Ratnagiri	154	57.9	74.11	182	277	362	113	34
Raipur	155	57.8	73.94	212	299	123	231	83
Sivaganga	156	57.8	73.77	233	202	164	132	363
Bulandshahr	157	57.7	73.60	46	94	225	384	410
Bhiwani	158	57.6	73.43	135	262	295	240	28
Dimapur	159	57.6	73.27	540	162	60	67	127
Anand	160	57.6	73.10	206	138	169	344	62
Kaithal	161	57.5	72.93	76	185	256	374	47
Aligarh	162	57.4	72.76	63	136	146	407	370
Thiruvarur	163	57.4	72.59	209	150	283	99	391
Jalpaiguri	164	57.4	72.42	220	137	205	275	105
Raigarh2	165	57.4	72.25	36	410	356	273	13
Jhansi	166	57.2	72.08	300	270	95	244	109
Mahendragarh	167	57.2	71.91	119	201	391	186	70
Uttar Kannand	168	57.0	71.74	327	427	177	80	49
Davanagere	169	56.9	71.57	215	237	153	226	205
East Midnapore	170	56.9	71.40	153	129	445	42	447
Naini Tal	171	56.8	71.24	228	352	112	84	487

Tumkur	172	56.6	71.07	65	323	251	242	240
Perambalur	173	56.5	70.90	102	142	342	258	272
West Tripura	174	56.4	70.73	528	184	108	29	372
Bathinda	175	56.4	70.56	130	161	125	392	352
Firozpur	176	56.3	70.39	158	175	201	381	92
Buldana	177	56.3	70.22	276	388	264	93	61
Firozabad	178	56.3	70.05	151	172	145	309	394
Chittoor	179	56.2	69.88	114	245	176	320	280
Belgaum	180	56.1	69.71	154	243	217	268	155
Hassan	181	56.1	69.54	162	296	265	213	91
Bhavnagar	182	56.1	69.37	344	258	98	233	232
Bellary	183	56.0	69.20	178	195	124	408	129
Allahabad	184	56.0	69.04	165	121	226	298	344
Sindhudurg	185	55.9	68.87	235	306	423	56	82
Latur	186	55.8	68.70	265	312	213	194	80
Shimoga	187	55.8	68.53	329	290	129	135	390
Moradabad	188	55.8	68.36	74	91	149	554	120
Ramanathapuram	189	55.8	68.19	238	190	154	149	512
Kannauj	190	55.6	68.02	255	222	351	142	137
Dhule	191	55.5	67.85	196	315	195	286	75
Kodagu	192	55.4	67.68	184	267	388	106	254
Kachchh	193	55.4	67.51	200	455	137	76	474
Gondiya	194	55.2	67.34	199	321	348	65	382
West Midnapore	195	55.0	67.17	75	146	434	182	452
Porbandar	196	55.0	67.01	496	209	72	224	212
Aizawl	197	55.0	66.84	563	456	18	2	507
Junagadh	198	54.9	66.67	543	86	147	221	30
Bid	199	54.8	66.50	222	387	291	201	38
Gorakhpur	200	54.8	66.33	224	127	318	336	115
Muktsar	201	54.7	66.16	121	200	193	440	231
Ajmer	202	54.6	65.99	246	325	103	371	136
Jagatsinghpur	203	54.6	65.82	446	102	472	45	217
Yavatmal	204	54.5	65.65	277	404	259	100	234
Jyotiba Phule Nagar	205	54.5	65.48	44	149	224	474	443
Bareilly	206	54.5	65.31	126	118	135	545	210
Etawah	207	54.4	65.14	231	216	239	173	450
Sant Ravi Das Nagar	208	54.4	64.97	216	95	385	317	153
Fatehabad	209	54.3	64.81	147	168	313	401	117
Korba	210	54.3	64.64	272	159	121	295	483
Pudukkottai	211	54.3	64.47	167	133	309	198	509
Osmanabad	212	54.3	64.30	203	402	350	172	48
Nanded	213	54.2	64.13	269	327	202	236	211
Begusarai	214	54.2	63.96	326	120	311	270	173
Alwar	215	54.1	63.79	97	221	328	339	277

Mau	216	54.0	63.62	244	181	246	277	306
Nagapattinam	217	53.8	63.45	242	75	250	90	564
Munger	218	53.6	63.28	383	179	189	349	144
Shimla	219	53.6	63.11	345	340	227	88	458
Haveri	220	53.5	62.94	219	279	253	191	440
Wayanad	221	53.5	62.77	140	98	578	27	431
Hamirpur	222	53.5	62.61	195	163	541	32	444
Parbhani	223	53.4	62.44	324	347	163	271	169
Surendranagar	224	53.4	62.27	259	334	188	304	185
Washim	225	53.3	62.10	386	438	332	95	64
Medak	226	53.3	61.93	109	169	232	512	202
Chikmagalur	227	53.3	61.76	292	338	270	159	319
Dakshin Dinajpur	228	53.2	61.59	371	116	400	285	59
Bagalkot	229	53.2	61.42	266	313	158	385	139
Unnao	230	53.2	61.25	85	265	343	434	118
Tiruvannamalai	231	53.1	61.08	129	204	286	260	508
Ujjain	232	53.1	60.91	280	292	109	297	464
Sirsa	233	53.1	60.74	156	215	228	385	387
Una	234	53.0	60.58	201	235	506	46	428
Anantapur	235	52.8	60.41	123	309	192	480	162
Nellore	236	52.8	60.24	213	280	178	382	311
Cuddapah	237	52.8	60.07	226	372	140	413	145
Chitradurga	238	52.7	59.90	169	398	298	266	166
Auraiya	239	52.6	59.73	311	301	349	165	291
Jorhat	240	52.6	59.56	499	210	285	114	260
Kolasib	241	52.6	59.39	549	553	51	14	270
Angul	242	52.6	59.22	306	176	364	188	413
Farrukhabad	243	52.5	59.05	249	208	255	379	216
Sikar	244	52.5	58.88	211	364	235	310	226
Amreli	245	52.4	58.71	434	303	212	259	122
Bidar	246	52.3	58.54	291	367	223	346	95
Bharatpur	247	52.2	58.38	116	291	307	357	396
Kochbihar	248	52.0	58.21	281	117	470	246	237
Birbhum	249	51.8	58.04	163	126	421	340	393
Jalaun	250	51.8	57.87	284	360	222	288	285
Sagar	251	51.8	57.70	355	472	173	205	229
Gadag	252	51.7	57.53	294	358	127	243	514
Bhadrak	253	51.7	57.36	392	251	429	101	349
Mandya	254	51.6	57.19	218	220	347	350	276
Saraikela Kharsawan	255	51.5	57.02	268	289	229	404	183
Sabar Kantha	256	51.5	56.85	236	311	383	223	302
South Sikkim	257	51.5	56.68	472	362	395	125	51
Karimnagar	258	51.5	56.51	171	231	206	467	335
Jhunjhunun	259	51.3	56.35	245	345	242	261	430

Faizabad	260	51.2	56.18	217	187	407	387	171
Dhaulpur	261	51.2	56.01	180	370	280	378	197
Morena	262	51.2	55.84	202	423	233	330	251
Guna	263	51.2	55.67	325	432	220	237	293
Badaun	264	51.1	55.50	159	252	334	390	338
Neemuch	265	51.1	55.33	397	451	174	338	53
Jharsuguda	266	51.1	55.16	448	196	105	167	550
Sundargarh	267	51.0	54.99	415	365	130	271	425
Pauri Garhwal	268	50.9	54.82	304	449	359	115	384
Baleshwar	269	50.9	54.65	314	212	457	151	412
Sambalpur	270	50.8	54.48	395	448	172	211	360
Nalgonda	271	50.7	54.31	146	302	314	466	179
Janjgir-Champa	272	50.6	54.15	353	188	405	280	259
Kathua	273	50.6	53.98	334	232	393	277	206
Panch Mahals	274	50.5	53.81	257	269	403	332	177
Hingoli	275	50.4	53.64	366	416	377	177	165
Gulbarga	276	50.3	53.47	232	397	151	451	266
Mokokchung	277	50.3	53.30	553	461	181	18	407
Bhind	278	50.3	53.13	323	442	214	239	388
Bhagalpur	279	50.3	52.96	318	192	296	486	96
Kangra	280	50.3	52.79	248	307	558	55	314
Thoubal	281	50.3	52.62	554	177	131	252	220
Warangal	282	50.2	52.45	223	316	187	449	373
Mansa	283	50.2	52.28	160	199	263	499	355
Cachar	284	50.1	52.12	507	250	325	158	275
Patan	285	50.1	51.95	408	343	275	300	182
Khammam	286	50.0	51.78	208	318	236	453	269
Dausa	287	50.0	51.61	152	354	426	396	102
East Godavari	288	50.0	51.44	96	97	210	332	566
Datia	289	50.0	51.27	341	435	240	290	221
Ganjam	290	49.9	51.10	384	298	258	329	315
Puri	291	49.9	50.93	457	255	370	69	523
Ratlam	292	49.9	50.76	385	342	171	422	214
Sibsagar	293	49.9	50.59	508	158	487	137	110
Hazaribag	294	49.9	50.42	230	261	369	361	356
Nalanda	295	49.9	50.25	191	272	367	462	119
Ariyalur	296	49.9	50.08	176	99	454	324	515
Mandi	297	49.8	49.92	185	348	552	121	271
Maldah	298	49.8	49.75	177	72	410	503	395
Rampur	299	49.7	49.58	79	164	219	570	419
Bankura	300	49.5	49.41	122	182	509	355	389
Kurnool	301	49.5	49.24	166	363	190	527	235
Koppal	302	49.5	49.07	237	319	353	397	239
Ambedkar Nagar	303	49.4	48.90	283	238	442	302	290
Anuppur	304	49.4	48.73	469	304	200	403	148

Nizamabad	305	49.4	48.56	204	295	241	515	218
Jaunpur	306	49.4	48.39	175	254	529	319	114
Katni	307	49.3	48.22	320	453	282	308	193
Etah	308	49.2	48.05	164	241	376	337	510
Jajpur	309	49.0	47.88	310	183	530	141	453
Raj Nandgaon	310	49.0	47.72	225	470	330	217	438
Dharmapuri	311	49.0	47.55	103	374	336	388	501
Bijnor	312	48.9	47.38	118	151	221	577	350
The Dangs	313	48.9	47.21	243	480	458	241	68
Satna	314	48.8	47.04	380	419	262	301	299
Narsinghpur	315	48.6	46.87	396	467	322	227	255
Jalna	316	48.6	46.70	391	408	310	321	209
Bhojpur	317	48.6	46.53	332	283	398	348	289
Rewa	318	48.5	46.36	278	418	354	315	308
Bilaspur2	319	48.5	46.19	132	51	590	71	204
Mandsaur	320	48.5	46.02	443	405	277	312	178
Prakasam	321	48.4	45.85	186	322	305	489	327
Dewas	322	48.4	45.69	307	466	180	369	414
Burhanpur	323	48.3	45.52	362	424	138	465	301
Almora	324	48.3	45.35	413	399	475	134	247
Chandauli	325	48.3	45.18	262	230	424	322	456
Serchhip	326	48.3	45.01	578	557	69	1	424
Chhindwara	327	48.3	44.84	330	460	230	326	368
Vidisha	328	48.3	44.67	382	490	237	345	154
North Tripura	329	48.2	44.50	535	355	335	39	478
Jehanabad	330	48.0	44.33	161	420	436	421	113
Hamirpur2	331	47.9	44.16	388	443	541	32	404
Vizianagaram	332	47.8	43.99	367	203	273	540	130
Srikakulam	333	47.8	43.82	363	206	365	502	111
Dhamtari	334	47.8	43.65	479	447	320	174	340
Muzaffarpur	335	47.7	43.49	250	167	477	483	142
Azamgarh	336	47.7	43.32	253	228	507	335	326
Deoria	337	47.6	43.15	356	246	471	327	249
Nandurbar	338	47.6	42.98	274	356	355	464	192
Raichur	339	47.4	42.81	338	413	218	531	54
Baran	340	47.4	42.64	364	428	276	428	184
Deoghar	341	47.3	42.47	372	217	337	451	364
Srinagar	342	47.3	42.30	550	511	10	368	397
Tinsukia	343	47.2	42.13	537	253	288	215	351
Puruliya	344	47.2	41.96	174	234	422	461	437
Jodhpur	345	47.0	41.79	390	481	139	437	366
Shahjahanpur	346	47.0	41.62	240	285	302	532	313
Hoshangabad	347	46.9	41.46	417	436	159	484	244
Bara Banki	348	46.9	41.29	141	229	473	501	309
Sheikhpura	349	46.8	41.12	315	341	344	473	233

Dibrugarh	350	46.8	40.95	512	207	324	364	298
Hardoi	351	46.8	40.78	189	317	417	459	369
Bongaigaon	352	46.8	40.61	429	305	411	362	268
Rae Bareli	353	46.7	40.44	193	308	496	414	252
Ghazipur	354	46.7	40.27	264	244	526	312	371
South Tripura	355	46.7	40.10	559	346	401	70	238
Mahasamund	356	46.6	39.93	331	473	446	331	74
Kohima	357	46.6	39.76	555	464	80	62	545
Mahoba	358	46.6	39.59	404	382	266	445	265
Wokha	359	46.5	39.42	551	499	272	36	439
Raisen	360	46.5	39.26	409	521	244	281	343
Ganganagar	361	46.5	39.09	425	431	203	365	472
Rohtas	362	46.4	38.92	270	324	390	472	300
Narmada	363	46.4	38.75	360	350	465	299	330
Karimganj	364	46.3	38.58	522	180	495	175	304
Kamrup	365	46.3	38.41	486	282	492	232	222
Balaghat	366	46.2	38.24	439	497	392	199	320
Tonk	367	46.2	38.07	302	454	252	506	168
Uttar Dinajpur	368	46.2	37.90	333	157	433	537	149
Mainpuri	369	46.2	37.73	241	281	373	470	460
Rayagada	370	46.2	37.56	494	498	374	136	337
Nalbari	371	46.1	37.39	497	336	460	170	361
Fatehpur	372	46.1	37.23	239	333	430	408	429
Aurangabad	373	46.0	37.06	261	403	490	352	261
Mirzapur	374	45.9	36.89	305	368	406	390	426
Banda	375	45.9	36.72	368	411	375	426	225
Raigarh	376	45.8	36.55	470	429	356	273	357
Champawat	377	45.8	36.38	483	484	384	150	411
Nagaon	378	45.8	36.21	509	276	419	295	248
Gaya	379	45.7	36.04	273	339	418	478	296
Rajsamand	380	45.7	35.87	369	377	368	486	152
Bhilwara	381	45.6	35.70	267	344	261	513	465
Banas Kantha	382	45.6	35.53	352	351	416	444	241
Sitapur	383	45.5	35.36	207	275	438	517	345
Adilabad	384	45.5	35.19	279	422	198	519	468
Zunheboto	385	45.5	35.03	558	496	304	61	329
Junagadh2	386	45.4	34.86	520	556	147	221	207
Udaipur	387	45.4	34.69	289	373	292	500	422
Lakhimpur	388	45.4	34.52	531	380	504	196	22
Keonjhar	389	45.4	34.35	347	378	402	393	406
Baragarh	390	45.3	34.18	442	445	474	250	230
Sehore	391	45.2	34.01	376	495	316	359	398
Dehra Dun	392	45.2	33.84	210	155	587	77	312
Bundi	393	45.2	33.67	346	414	289	507	263
Sultanpur	394	45.2	33.50	187	256	564	372	334

Sahibganj	395	45.2	33.33	287	218	408	576	42
Karauli	396	45.0	33.16	312	421	382	435	378
Kanpur Dehat	397	45.0	32.99	295	409	484	224	505
Tehri Garhwal	398	44.9	32.83	393	468	449	206	449
Koderma	399	44.9	32.66	433	286	300	420	516
Sawai Madhopur	400	44.9	32.49	414	394	290	443	420
Ashoknagar	401	44.9	32.32	437	479	326	432	174
Shajapur	402	44.6	32.15	342	459	308	377	502
Sirmaur	403	44.6	31.98	214	369	459	168	562
Shahdol	404	44.6	31.81	441	444	278	426	408
Lakhisarai	405	44.6	31.64	328	379	399	496	262
Basti	406	44.6	31.47	282	268	559	415	157
Bishnupur	407	44.5	31.30	541	178	122	261	565
Koriya	408	44.5	31.13	485	515	162	343	476
Jhalawar	409	44.4	30.96	378	407	363	508	187
Dhalai	410	44.3	30.80	527	415	463	54	504
Sant Kabir Nagar	411	44.3	30.63	227	223	528	425	475
Pratapgarh	412	44.2	30.46	288	330	562	358	224
Betul	413	44.2	30.29	359	500	303	382	473
Pali	414	44.1	30.12	406	462	248	497	332
Dhar	415	44.1	29.95	308	450	317	538	228
Nagaur	416	44.1	29.78	343	492	312	491	274
Churu	417	44.0	29.61	379	545	191	423	409
Mahbubnagar	418	44.0	29.44	145	401	381	564	321
Goalpara	419	43.9	29.27	504	300	413	411	279
Chittaurgarh	420	43.9	29.10	313	433	414	504	196
Vaishali	421	43.7	28.93	374	186	545	429	367
Dhenkanal	422	43.7	28.76	407	400	478	169	540
Aurangabad2	423	43.6	28.60	293	541	490	352	88
Chhatarpur	424	43.5	28.43	411	506	247	477	346
Nawada	425	43.4	28.26	256	393	481	530	128
Harda	426	43.4	28.09	456	501	274	294	521
Rajgarh	427	43.3	27.92	351	476	327	516	284
Kaushambi	428	43.3	27.75	290	263	521	514	256
Chamrajnagar	429	43.3	27.58	205	426	341	510	513
Deogarh	430	43.2	27.41	426	536	379	292	374
Buxar	431	43.1	27.24	398	337	486	356	488
Pilibhit	432	43.0	27.07	319	297	333	509	530
Shivpuri	433	43.0	26.90	336	533	345	495	138
Golaghat	434	42.9	26.73	538	386	493	190	257
Damoh	435	42.8	26.57	452	514	293	363	479
Seoni	436	42.7	26.40	420	528	437	305	323
Ballia	437	42.7	26.23	416	257	489	334	534
Saran	438	42.7	26.06	460	236	499	436	383
Udhampur	439	42.6	25.89	436	458	299	389	526

Jamtara	440	42.6	25.72	275	357	485	458	477
Umaria	441	42.6	25.55	468	526	340	438	141
Tikamgarh	442	42.6	25.38	412	477	338	510	273
East Nimar	443	42.4	25.21	370	439	294	433	539
Gopalganj	444	42.3	25.04	357	293	550	442	307
Darbhanga	445	42.3	24.87	381	189	482	561	236
Dumka	446	42.3	24.70	260	391	543	518	112
Lohardaga	447	42.0	24.53	431	437	425	405	457
Hanumangarh	448	42.0	24.37	401	430	301	416	544
West Nimar	449	41.9	24.20	349	485	366	493	434
Giridih	450	41.9	24.03	296	371	508	486	400
Kushinagar	451	41.8	23.86	350	226	570	446	282
North Cachar Hills	452	41.6	23.69	564	555	183	187	339
Siwan	453	41.3	23.52	394	259	563	367	481
Purba Champaran	454	41.3	23.35	301	294	520	559	164
Bikaner	455	41.2	23.18	440	544	142	448	532
Dahod	456	41.2	23.01	309	361	497	541	322
Sirohi	457	41.2	22.84	458	417	284	563	278
Lunglei	458	41.0	22.67	582	568	104	28	496
Lalitpur	459	41.0	22.50	427	489	394	481	402
Marigaon	460	41.0	22.34	533	266	517	373	250
Palamu	461	40.8	22.17	438	389	444	479	466
Phek	462	40.6	22.00	569	509	380	179	245
LOW								
Gonda	463	40.5	21.83	286	310	546	542	325
Dhuburi	464	40.1	21.66	478	335	468	546	208
Bolangir	465	40.0	21.49	477	440	435	455	442
Samastipur	466	40.0	21.32	317	227	583	498	201
Papum Pare	467	39.9	21.15	566	554	53	147	559
Bagdam	468	39.8	20.98	515	174	440	558	316
Chitrakoot	469	39.8	20.81	435	502	480	450	331
Ladakh (Leh)	470	39.8	20.64	464	558	92	196	567
East Khasi Hills	471	39.8	20.47	524	240	84	79	576
Garhchiroli	472	39.6	20.30	476	551	455	255	448
Lakhimpur Kheri	473	39.6	20.14	321	329	448	521	542
Purnia	474	39.5	19.97	358	332	466	578	223
Sonitpur	475	39.4	19.80	523	384	503	412	317
Mandla	476	39.4	19.63	466	535	427	419	377
Baramula (Kashmir North)	477	39.3	19.46	521	482	346	457	427
Nuapada	478	39.3	19.29	481	518	560	253	283
Maharajganj	479	39.1	19.12	459	314	567	492	203
Pithoragarh	480	38.9	18.95	525	552	397	110	546
Kokrajhar	481	38.8	18.78	455	359	553	447	435
Kanker	482	38.8	18.61	493	540	469	354	358

Pashchim Singhbhum	483	38.8	18.44	419	434	389	543	511
Sidhi	484	38.7	18.27	410	395	512	462	517
Hailakandi	485	38.7	18.10	518	260	532	257	548
Bilaspur	486	38.6	17.94	402	376	590	71	295
Jamui	487	38.4	17.77	365	475	514	529	362
Panna	488	38.4	17.60	454	539	428	454	421
Ri-Bhoi	489	38.3	17.43	492	534	479	228	524
Barpeta	490	38.3	17.26	465	349	505	475	520
Chamoli	491	38.2	17.09	513	559	378	103	555
Pulwama	492	38.2	16.92	506	452	358	482	522
Banswara	493	38.1	16.75	430	381	544	557	160
Jashpur	494	38.1	16.58	488	520	500	401	385
Barwani	495	38.1	16.41	322	505	387	583	200
Koraput	496	38.1	16.24	475	412	360	582	191
Khagaria	497	38.1	16.07	361	287	566	548	392
Tuensang	498	38.0	15.91	565	519	319	279	480
Anantnag (Kashmir South)	499	37.7	15.74	539	525	234	494	446
Dungarpur	500	37.7	15.57	399	375	549	534	418
Siddharth Nagar	501	37.6	15.40	418	385	551	535	365
Mayurbhanj	502	37.6	15.23	389	465	524	485	499
Sheopur	503	37.5	15.06	421	561	371	550	198
Kandhamal	504	37.0	14.89	495	530	476	468	342
Kishanganj	505	36.9	14.72	491	383	483	562	328
Simdega	506	36.8	14.55	453	517	535	399	492
Kullu	507	36.6	14.38	519	510	488	156	558
Pashchim Champaran	508	36.5	14.21	461	396	462	560	485
Rajauri	509	36.5	14.04	516	463	536	395	459
Bijapur	510	36.5	13.87	285	446	447	591	101
Kawardha	511	36.4	13.71	474	532	464	520	354
Sitamarhi	512	36.3	13.54	428	278	561	575	264
Gumla	513	36.3	13.37	444	494	547	441	495
Saharsa	514	36.3	13.20	405	264	515	571	518
Katihar	515	36.3	13.03	432	288	501	573	494
Dhemaji	516	36.3	12.86	552	469	538	288	436
Bhabua	517	36.3	12.69	377	487	577	370	503
Pakur	518	36.0	12.52	373	214	527	584	484
Madhubani	519	35.8	12.35	424	219	580	544	461
Kalahandi	520	35.7	12.18	482	486	522	536	336
Balrampur	521	35.7	12.01	422	390	523	580	246
Surguja	522	35.6	11.84	447	529	467	525	470
West Garo Hills	523	35.6	11.68	546	478	443	406	519
Madhepura	524	35.6	11.51	403	328	574	572	170
Sonbhadra	525	35.5	11.34	348	273	352	216	578

Bageshwar	526	35.4	11.17	502	537	582	143	491
Supaul	527	35.1	11.00	449	366	569	549	401
Darrang	528	35.1	10.83	526	425	554	489	359
Karbi Anglong	529	34.9	10.66	534	543	439	398	490
Sheohar	530	34.6	10.49	339	406	575	567	333
Gajapati	531	34.6	10.32	505	508	431	569	318
Jalor	532	34.4	10.15	473	503	510	565	324
Chatra	533	34.4	9.98	354	488	555	523	525
Araria	534	34.2	9.81	462	392	556	568	386
Garhwa	535	34.1	9.64	445	483	565	522	455
East Siang	536	34.1	9.48	584	579	196	293	195
Latehar	537	33.9	9.31	451	523	537	533	463
Uttarkashi	538	33.9	9.14	490	576	531	220	527
Boudh	539	33.9	8.97	489	522	572	316	528
East Garo Hills	540	33.8	8.80	545	547	404	263	557
Kupwara (Muzaffarabad)	541	33.3	8.63	557	524	450	460	467
West Sikkim	542	33.3	8.46	501	513	579	192	549
Bahraich	543	33.3	8.29	375	331	513	581	541
Kendrapara	544	33.1	8.12	463	274	557	64	574
Chamba	545	33.0	7.95	529	542	540	303	533
Tamenglong	546	32.9	7.78	544	575	452	360	454
Jaintia Hills	547	32.8	7.61	530	504	533	505	433
Punch	548	32.6	7.45	548	491	516	424	535
Senapati	549	32.5	7.28	536	548	586	101	445
Sonepur	550	32.4	7.11	467	457	525	586	380
Dindori	551	32.3	6.94	487	566	573	471	172
Ukhrul	552	32.1	6.77	572	571	396	126	552
Nayagarh	553	32.0	6.60	471	474	511	579	462
VERY LOW								
Banka	554	31.1	6.43	387	441	581	547	537
Godda	555	31.0	6.26	400	326	568	556	561
Bastar	556	30.8	6.09	503	546	412	566	536
Kargil	557	30.3	5.92	542	549	502	324	560
Jhabua	558	30.0	5.75	423	507	498	589	471
Mon	559	29.7	5.58	562	512	409	553	529
Chandel	560	29.7	5.41	567	570	441	328	543
Champhai	561	29.4	5.25	580	573	115	6	579
Barmer	562	29.2	5.08	498	560	539	555	482
Saiha	563	28.8	4.91	587	565	83	21	572
Doda	564	28.7	4.74	532	538	519	456	554
Tirap	565	28.2	4.57	571	562	321	574	399
Rudra Prayag	566	27.6	4.40	500	471	576	127	569
Shravasti	567	26.9	4.23	450	516	584	587	405
Kinnaur	568	24.6	4.06	517	574	588	145	531

Nabarangpur	569	24.3	3.89	514	493	534	588	553
East Kameng	570	24.1	3.72	575	582	238	524	547
West Siang	571	23.3	3.55	579	584	254	431	563
Mamit	572	22.9	3.38	573	577	339	66	577
South Garo Hills	573	20.9	3.21	568	527	494	314	571
Jaisalmer	574	20.9	3.05	561	586	415	552	551
Changlang	575	19.9	2.88	583	580	420	528	556
Malkangiri	576	19.6	2.71	510	550	518	551	568
West Khasi Hills	577	19.3	2.54	556	569	453	185	583
Lower Subansiri	578	16.5	2.37	577	578	372	256	580
Lawngtlai	579	16.0	2.20	586	563	329	439	573
Churachandpur	580	15.3	2.03	570	564	548	219	582
North Sikkim	581	15.1	1.86	560	587	461	181	581
Dantewada	582	13.2	1.69	511	567	432	590	570
West Kameng	583	12.7	1.52	574	581	268	417	588
Tawang	584	11.1	1.35	581	572	451	538	575
Lower Dibang Valley	585	10.0	1.18	589	585	269	375	584
Lohit	586	8.2	1.02	588	583	257	394	590
Upper Dibang Valley	587	6.4	0.85	591	588	199	469	589
Upper Subansiri	588	5.4	0.68	585	590	361	476	586
Upper Siang	589	2.0	0.51	590	591	323	526	587
Kurung Kumey	590	1.1	0.34	576	531	585	585	585
Lahul and Spiti	591	0.0	0.17	547	589	588	202	591

Annex 7: Urban Settlements in 'Very High' Potential Districts

This annex presents the following three tables:

(i) Table A6.1: List of Urban Settlements by State (including Census Towns)
(ii) Table A6.2: List of Urban Settlements by Type(including Census Towns)
(iii) Table A6.3: List of Urban Settlements by Population (including Census Towns)

Table A6.1: List of Urban Settlements by State (including Census Towns)

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Chandigarh	Chandigarh	Chandigarh	Municipal Corp.	961587
Daman and Diu	Daman	Dadhel	Census Town	52578
Delhi	Delhi	DMC	Municipal Corp.	11034555
Delhi	Delhi	N.D.M.C.	Muncipal Council	257803
Delhi	Delhi	Delhi Cantt	Cantonment Board	110351
Delhi	Delhi	Sahibabad Daulat Pur	Census Town	54773
Delhi	Delhi	Bawana	Census Town	73680
Delhi	Delhi	Kirari Suleman Nagar	Census Town	283211
Delhi	Delhi	Nithari	Census Town	50464
Delhi	Delhi	Begum Pur	Census Town	53682
Delhi	Delhi	Pooth Kalan	Census Town	96002
Delhi	Delhi	Sultan Pur Majra	Census Town	181554
Delhi	Delhi	Bhalswa Jahangir Pur	Census Town	197148
Delhi	Delhi	Mukand Pur	Census Town	57135
Delhi	Delhi	Burari	Census Town	146190
Delhi	Delhi	Sadat Pur Gujran	Census Town	97641
Delhi	Delhi	Karawal Nagar	Census Town	224281
Delhi	Delhi	Mustafabad	Census Town	127167
Delhi	Delhi	Khajoori Khas	Census Town	76640
Delhi	Delhi	Ziauddin Pur	Census Town	68993
Delhi	Delhi	GokalPur	Census Town	121870
Delhi	Delhi	Jaffrabad	Census Town	54601
Delhi	Delhi	Mandoli	Census Town	120417
Delhi	Delhi	Gharoli	Census Town	92540
Delhi	Delhi	DalloPura	Census Town	154791
Delhi	Delhi	Chilla Saroda Bangar	Census Town	83217
Delhi	Delhi	Hastsal	Census Town	176877
Delhi	Delhi	Bapraula	Census Town	52744
Delhi	Delhi	NangloiJat	Census Town	205596
Delhi	Delhi	Mundka	Census Town	54541
Delhi	Delhi	Roshan Puraalias Dichaon Khurd	Census Town	57217
Delhi	Delhi	Kapas Hera	Census Town	74073
Delhi	Delhi	Deoli	Census Town	169122

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Delhi	Delhi	Pul Pehlad	Census Town	69657
Delhi	Delhi	TajPul	Census Town	68796
Delhi	Delhi	Mithe Pur	Census Town	69837
Delhi	Delhi	Molar Band	Census Town	91402
Delhi	Delhi	Jait Pur	Census Town	59330
Goa	North Goa	Panaji	Municipal Corp.	70991
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Ahmadabad	Municipal Corp.	5577940
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Viramgam	Municipality	55821
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Dholka	Municipality	79531
Gujarat	Surat	Surat	Municipal Corp.	4467797
Gujarat	Surat	Bardoli	Municipality	60821
Haryana	Gurgaon	Gurgaon	Municipal Corp.	876969
Haryana	Faridabad	Faridabad	Municipal Corp.	1414050
Haryana	Panipat	Panipat	Muncipal Council	294292
Haryana	Panipat	Panipat Taraf Makhdum Zadgan	Census Town	67998
Haryana	Rohtak	Rohtak	Muncipal Council	374292
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala Sadar	Muncipal Council	103093
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala Cantt.	Cantonment Board	55370
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala	Muncipal Council	195153
Haryana	Panchkula	Panchkula	Muncipal Council	211355
Haryana	Rewari	Rewari	Muncipal Council	143021
Karnataka	Bangalore Urban	Bangalore BMP	Municipal Corp.	8443675
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Mangalore	Municipal Corp.	488968
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Ullal	TMC	53773
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Puttur	TMC	53061
Kerela	Ernakulam	Kochi	Municipal Corp.	602046
Kerela	Ernakulam	Kalamassery	Municipality	71038
Kerela	Ernakulam	Thrippunithura	Municipality	69390
Kerela	Ernakulam	Edathala	Census Town	77811
Kerela	Ernakulam	Vazhakkala	Census Town	51242
Kerela	Thrissur	Thrissur	Municipal Corp.	315957
Kerela	Thrissur	Kunnamkulam	Municipality	54071
Kerela	Alappuzha	Kayamkulam	Municipality	68634
Kerela	Alappuzha	Alappuzha	Municipality	174176
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Municipal Corp.	743691
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Nedumangad	Municipality	60161
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Neyyattinkara	Municipality	70850
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Pallichal	Census Town	53861
Kerela	Kozhikode	Kozhikode	Municipal Corp.	431560
Kerela	Kozhikode	Vadakara	Municipality	75295
Kerela	Kozhikode	Quilandy	Municipality	71873

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Kerela	Kozhikode	Cheruvannur	Census Town	61614
Kerela	Kozhikode	Beypore	Census Town	69752
Kerela	Kollam	Kollam	Municipal Corp.	348657
Kerela	Kottayam	Kottayam	Municipality	55374
Kerela	Kannur	Kannur	Municipality	56823
Kerela	Kannur	Payyannur	Municipality	72111
Kerela	Kannur	Taliparamba	Municipality	72465
Kerela	Kannur	Thalassery	Municipality	92558
Kerela	Malappuram	Malappuram	Municipality	68127
Kerela	Malappuram	Manjeri	Municipality	97102
Kerela	Malappuram	Tirur	Municipality	56058
Kerela	Malappuram	Ponnani	Municipality	90491
Kerela	Malappuram	Moonniyur	Census Town	55535
Kerela	Malappuram	Tirurangadi	Census Town	56632
Kerela	Malappuram	Thennala	Census Town	56546
Maharashtra	Greater Mumbai	Greater Mumbai	Municipal Corp.	12442373
Maharashtra	Thane	Mira Bhayandar	Municipal Corp.	809378
Maharashtra	Thane	Thane	Municipal Corp.	1841488
Maharashtra	Thane	Navi Mumbai	Municipal Corp.	1120547
Maharashtra	Thane	Kalyan Dombivali	Municipal Corp.	1247327
Maharashtra	Thane	Ulhasnagar	Municipal Corp.	506098
Maharashtra	Thane	Ambarnath	Muncipal Council	253475
Maharashtra	Thane	Badlapur	Muncipal Council	174226
Maharashtra	Thane	Dahanu	Muncipal Council	50287
Maharashtra	Thane	Palghar	Muncipal Council	68930
Maharashtra	Thane	Vasai-Virar City	Municipal Corp.	1222390
Maharashtra	Thane	Bhiwandi	Municipal Corp.	709665
Maharashtra	Pune	Pune	Municipal Corp.	3124458
Maharashtra	Pune	Pune Cantt.	Cantonment Board	71781
Maharashtra	Pune	Kirkee Cantt.	Cantonment Board	78684
Maharashtra	Pune	Pimpri Chinchwad	Municipal Corp.	1727692
Maharashtra	Pune	Talegaon Dabhade	Muncipal Council	56435
Maharashtra	Pune	Lonavala	Muncipal Council	57698
Maharashtra	Pune	Baramati	Muncipal Council	54415
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Kamptee	Muncipal Council	86793
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Nagpur	Municipal Corp.	2405665
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Wadi	Census Town	54048
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Umred	Muncipal Council	53971
Maharashtra	Nashik	Malegaon	Municipal Corp.	471312
Maharashtra	Nashik	Manmad	Muncipal Council	80058
Maharashtra	Nashik	Nashik	Municipal Corp.	1486053
Maharashtra	Nashik	Deolali Cantt.	Cantonment Board	54027

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Maharashtra	Nashik	Sinnar	Muncipal Council	65299
Maharashtra	Nashik	Ozar	Census Town	51297
Manipur	West Imphal	Imphal	Muncipal Council	282335
Manipur	East Imphal	Porompat Plan Area	Urban Outgrowth	1145
Manipur	East Imphal	Kongkham Leikai	Urban Outgrowth	887
Manipur	East Imphal	Porompat	Census Town	6191
Manipur	East Imphal	Torban	Census Town	5459
Manipur	East Imphal	Luwangsangbam	Census Town	3458
Manipur	East Imphal	Khongman	Census Town	6096
Manipur	East Imphal	Laipham Siphai	Census Town	5268
Manipur	East Imphal	Khurai Sajor Leikai	Census Town	7987
Manipur	East Imphal	Chingangbam Leikai	Census Town	4904
Manipur	East Imphal	Kshetrigao	Census Town	10534
Manipur	East Imphal	Kiyamgei	Census Town	5336
Manipur	East Imphal	Jiribam	Muncipal Council	7343
Manipur	East Imphal	Lamlai	Nagar Panchayat	4601
Manipur	East Imphal	Heingang	Census Town	6115
Manipur	East Imphal	Lairikyengbam Leikai	Census Town	4586
Manipur	East Imphal	Thongju	Census Town	10836
Manipur	East Imphal	Andro	Nagar Panchayat	8744
Puducherry	Mahe	Mahe	Municipality	41816
Puducherry	Puducherry	Puducherry	Municipality	244377
Puducherry	Puducherry	Ozhukarai	Municipality	300104
Punjab	Ludhiana	Khanna	Muncipal Council	128137
Punjab	Ludhiana	Ludhiana	Municipal Corp.	1618879
Punjab	Ludhiana	Jagraon	Muncipal Council	65240
Punjab	Jalandhar	Jalandhar	Municipal Corp.	862886
Tamil Nadu	Chennai	Chennai	Municipal Corp.	4646732
Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	Nagercoil	Municipality	224849
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Madurai	Municipal Corp.	1017865
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Anaiyur	Municipality	63917
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Avaniapuram	Municipality	89635
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Thirumangalam	Municipality	51194
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Kundrathur	Town Parishad	54986
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Pammal	Municipality	75870
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Alandur	Municipality	164430
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Puzhithivakkam	Municipality	53322
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Oggiyamduraipakkam	Census Town	76600
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Pallavaram	Municipality	215417
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Tambaram	Municipality	174787
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Maraimalainagar	Municipality	81872
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Chengalpattu	Municipality	62579

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Kancheepuram	Municipality	164384
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Avadi	Municipality	345996
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Tiruverkadu	Municipality	62824
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Poonamallee	Municipality	57224
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Tiruvottiyur	Municipality	249446
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Madavaram	Municipality	119105
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Ambattur	Municipality	466205
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Nerkunram	Census Town	59790
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Maduravoyal	Municipality	86195
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Ramapuram	Census Town	52295
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Thiruvallur	Municipality	56074
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Coimbatore	Municipal Corp.	1050721
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Goundampalayam	Municipality	83908
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Kuniyamuthur	Municipality	95924
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Kurichi	Municipality	123667
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Pollachi	Municipality	90180
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Mettupalayam	Municipality	69213
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Valparai	Municipality	70859
Telangana	Hyderabad	Secunderabad	Cantonment Board	217910
Telangana	Rangareddi	Vicarabad	Municipality	53143
Telangana	Rangareddi	Tandur	Municipality	65115
Uttar Pradesh	Kanpur	Kanpur	Municipal Corp.	2765348
Uttar Pradesh	Kanpur	Kanpur	Cantonment Board	108534
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Modinagar	Nagar Panchayat	130325
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Muradnagar	Nagar Panchayat	95208
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Municipal Corp.	1648643
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Loni	Nagar Panchayat	516082
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Khora	Census Town	190005
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Pilkhuwa	Nagar Panchayat	83736
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Hapur	Nagar Panchayat	262983
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow	Lucknow	Municipal Corp.	2817105
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow	Lucknow Cantonment	Cantonment Board	63003
West Bengal	Kolkata	Kolkata	Municipal Corp.	4496694
West Bengal	Haora	Bally	Municipality	293373
West Bengal	Haora	Bally	Census Town	113377
West Bengal	Haora	Haora	Municipal Corp.	1077075
West Bengal	Haora	Bankra	Census Town	63957
West Bengal	Haora	Uluberia	Municipality	222240
West Bengal	Hugli	Bansberia	Municipality	103920
West Bengal	Hugli	Hugli-Chinsurah	Municipality	177259
West Bengal	Hugli	Bhadreswar	Municipality	101477
West Bengal	Hugli	Champdani	Municipality	111251

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
West Bengal	Hugli	Chandannagar	Municipal Corp.	166867
West Bengal	Hugli	Baidyabati	Municipality	121110
West Bengal	Hugli	Serampore	Municipality	181842
West Bengal	Hugli	Rishra	Municipality	124577
West Bengal	Hugli	Konnagar	Municipality	76172
West Bengal	Hugli	Uttarpara Kotrung	Municipality	159147
West Bengal	Hugli	Dankuni	Municipality	94936
West Bengal	Hugli	Arambag	Municipality	66175
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Rajarhat Gopalpur	Municipality	402844
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Barasat	Municipality	278435
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Madhyamgram	Municipality	196127
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Kanchrapara	Municipality	120345
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Halisahar	Municipality	124939
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Naihati	Municipality	217900
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bhatpara	Municipality	383762
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Garulia	Municipality	85336
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	North Barrackpur	Municipality	132806
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Barrackpur	Municipality	152783
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Titagarh	Municipality	116541
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Khardaha	Municipality	108496
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Panihati	Municipality	377347
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	New Barrackpur	Municipality	76846
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Kamarhati	Municipality	330211
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Baranagar	Municipality	245213
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	South Dum Dum	Municipality	403316
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	North Dum Dum	Municipality	249142
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Dum Dum	Municipality	114786
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bidhan Nagar	Municipality	215514
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Habra	Municipality	147221
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Ashoknagar Kalyangarh	Municipality	121592
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Basirhat	Municipality	125254
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bongaon	Municipality	108864
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Baduria	Municipality	52493

Table A6.2: List of Urban Settlements by Type (including Census Towns)

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Chandigarh	Chandigarh	Chandigarh	Municipal Corp.	961587
Delhi	Delhi	DMC	Municipal Corp.	11034555
Goa	North Goa	Panaji	Municipal Corp.	70991
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Ahmadabad	Municipal Corp.	5577940
Gujarat	Surat	Surat	Municipal Corp.	4467797

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Haryana	Gurgaon	Gurgaon	Municipal Corp.	876969
Haryana	Faridabad	Faridabad	Municipal Corp.	1414050
Karnataka	Bangalore Urban	Bangalore BMP	Municipal Corp.	8443675
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Mangalore	Municipal Corp.	488968
Kerela	Ernakulam	Kochi	Municipal Corp.	602046
Kerela	Thrissur	Thrissur	Municipal Corp.	315957
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Municipal Corp.	743691
Kerela	Kozhikode	Kozhikode	Municipal Corp.	431560
Kerela	Kollam	Kollam	Municipal Corp.	348657
Maharashtra	Greater Mumbai	Greater Mumbai	Municipal Corp.	12442373
Maharashtra	Thane	Mira Bhayandar	Municipal Corp.	809378
Maharashtra	Thane	Thane	Municipal Corp.	1841488
Maharashtra	Thane	Navi Mumbai	Municipal Corp.	1120547
Maharashtra	Thane	Kalyan Dombivali	Municipal Corp.	1247327
Maharashtra	Thane	Ulhasnagar	Municipal Corp.	506098
Maharashtra	Thane	Vasai-Virar City	Municipal Corp.	1222390
Maharashtra	Thane	Bhiwandi	Municipal Corp.	709665
Maharashtra	Pune	Pune	Municipal Corp.	3124458
Maharashtra	Pune	Pimpri Chinchwad	Municipal Corp.	1727692
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Nagpur	Municipal Corp.	2405665
Maharashtra	Nashik	Malegaon	Municipal Corp.	471312
Maharashtra	Nashik	Nashik	Municipal Corp.	1486053
Punjab	Ludhiana	Ludhiana	Municipal Corp.	1618879
Punjab	Jalandhar	Jalandhar	Municipal Corp.	862886
Tamil Nadu	Chennai	Chennai	Municipal Corp.	4646732
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Madurai	Municipal Corp.	1017865
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Coimbatore	Municipal Corp.	1050721
Uttar Pradesh	Kanpur	Kanpur	Municipal Corp.	2765348
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Municipal Corp.	1648643
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow	Lucknow	Municipal Corp.	2817105
West Bengal	Kolkata	Kolkata	Municipal Corp.	4496694
West Bengal	Haora	Haora	Municipal Corp.	1077075
West Bengal	Hugli	Chandannagar	Municipal Corp.	166867
Delhi	Delhi	N.D.M.C.	Muncipal Council	257803
Haryana	Panipat	Panipat	Muncipal Council	294292
Haryana	Rohtak	Rohtak	Muncipal Council	374292
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala Sadar	Muncipal Council	103093
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala	Muncipal Council	195153
Haryana	Panchkula	Panchkula	Muncipal Council	211355

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Haryana	Rewari	Rewari	Muncipal Council	143021
Maharashtra	Thane	Ambarnath	Muncipal Council	253475
Maharashtra	Thane	Badlapur	Muncipal Council	174226
Maharashtra	Thane	Dahanu	Muncipal Council	50287
Maharashtra	Thane	Palghar	Muncipal Council	68930
Maharashtra	Pune	Talegaon Dabhade	Muncipal Council	56435
Maharashtra	Pune	Lonavala	Muncipal Council	57698
Maharashtra	Pune	Baramati	Muncipal Council	54415
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Kamptee	Muncipal Council	86793
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Umred	Muncipal Council	53971
Maharashtra	Nashik	Manmad	Muncipal Council	80058
Maharashtra	Nashik	Sinnar	Muncipal Council	65299
Manipur	West Imphal	Imphal	Muncipal Council	282335
Manipur	East Imphal	Jiribam	Muncipal Council	7343
Punjab	Ludhiana	Khanna	Muncipal Council	128137
Punjab	Ludhiana	Jagraon	Muncipal Council	65240
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Viramgam	Municipality	55821
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Dholka	Municipality	79531
Gujarat	Surat	Bardoli	Municipality	60821
Kerela	Ernakulam	Kalamassery	Municipality	71038
Kerela	Ernakulam	Thrippunithura	Municipality	69390
Kerela	Thrissur	Kunnamkulam	Municipality	54071
Kerela	Alappuzha	Kayamkulam	Municipality	68634
Kerela	Alappuzha	Alappuzha	Municipality	174176
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Nedumangad	Municipality	60161
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Neyyattinkara	Municipality	70850
Kerela	Kozhikode	Vadakara	Municipality	75295
Kerela	Kozhikode	Quilandy	Municipality	71873
Kerela	Kottayam	Kottayam	Municipality	55374
Kerela	Kannur	Kannur	Municipality	56823
Kerela	Kannur	Payyannur	Municipality	72111
Kerela	Kannur	Taliparamba	Municipality	72465
Kerela	Kannur	Thalassery	Municipality	92558
Kerela	Malappuram	Malappuram	Municipality	68127
Kerela	Malappuram	Manjeri	Municipality	97102
Kerela	Malappuram	Tirur	Municipality	56058
Kerela	Malappuram	Ponnani	Municipality	90491
Puducherry	Mahe	Mahe	Municipality	41816
Puducherry	Puducherry	Puducherry	Municipality	244377

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Puducherry	Puducherry	Ozhukarai	Municipality	300104
Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	Nagercoil	Municipality	224849
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Anaiyur	Municipality	63917
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Avaniapuram	Municipality	89635
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Thirumangalam	Municipality	51194
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Pammal	Municipality	75870
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Alandur	Municipality	164430
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Puzhithivakkam	Municipality	53322
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Pallavaram	Municipality	215417
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Tambaram	Municipality	174787
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Maraimalainagar	Municipality	81872
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Chengalpattu	Municipality	62579
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Kancheepuram	Municipality	164384
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Avadi	Municipality	345996
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Tiruverkadu	Municipality	62824
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Poonamallee	Municipality	57224
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Tiruvottiyur	Municipality	249446
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Madavaram	Municipality	119105
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Ambattur	Municipality	466205
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Maduravoyal	Municipality	86195
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Thiruvallur	Municipality	56074
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Goundampalayam	Municipality	83908
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Kuniyamuthur	Municipality	95924
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Kurichi	Municipality	123667
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Pollachi	Municipality	90180
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Mettupalayam	Municipality	69213
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Valparai	Municipality	70859
Telangana	Rangareddi	Vicarabad	Municipality	53143
Telangana	Rangareddi	Tandur	Municipality	65115
West Bengal	Haora	Bally	Municipality	293373
West Bengal	Haora	Uluberia	Municipality	222240
West Bengal	Hugli	Bansberia	Municipality	103920
West Bengal	Hugli	Hugli-Chinsurah	Municipality	177259
West Bengal	Hugli	Bhadreswar	Municipality	101477
West Bengal	Hugli	Champdani	Municipality	111251
West Bengal	Hugli	Baidyabati	Municipality	121110
West Bengal	Hugli	Serampore	Municipality	181842
West Bengal	Hugli	Rishra	Municipality	124577
West Bengal	Hugli	Konnagar	Municipality	76172

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
West Bengal	Hugli	Uttarpara Kotrung	Municipality	159147
West Bengal	Hugli	Dankuni	Municipality	94936
West Bengal	Hugli	Arambag	Municipality	66175
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Rajarhat Gopalpur	Municipality	402844
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Barasat	Municipality	278435
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Madhyamgram	Municipality	196127
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Kanchrapara	Municipality	120345
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Halisahar	Municipality	124939
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Naihati	Municipality	217900
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bhatpara	Municipality	383762
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Garulia	Municipality	85336
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	North Barrackpur	Municipality	132806
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Barrackpur	Municipality	152783
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Titagarh	Municipality	116541
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Khardaha	Municipality	108496
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Panihati	Municipality	377347
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	New Barrackpur	Municipality	76846
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Kamarhati	Municipality	330211
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Baranagar	Municipality	245213
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	South Dum Dum	Municipality	403316
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	North Dum Dum	Municipality	249142
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Dum Dum	Municipality	114786
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bidhan Nagar	Municipality	215514
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Habra	Municipality	147221
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Ashoknagar Kalyangarh	Municipality	121592
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Basirhat	Municipality	125254
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bongaon	Municipality	108864
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Baduria	Municipality	52493
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Kundrathur	Town Parishad	54986
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Ullal	TMC	53773
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Puttur	TMC	53061
Manipur	East Imphal	Lamlai	Nagar Panchayat	4601
Manipur	East Imphal	Andro	Nagar Panchayat	8744
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Modinagar	Nagar Panchayat	130325
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Muradnagar	Nagar Panchayat	95208
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Loni	Nagar Panchayat	516082
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Pilkhuwa	Nagar Panchayat	83736
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Hapur	Nagar Panchayat	262983
Delhi	Delhi	Delhi Cantt	Cantonment Board	110351

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala Cantt.	Cantonment Board	55370
Maharashtra	Pune	Pune Cantt.	Cantonment Board	71781
Maharashtra	Pune	Kirkee Cantt.	Cantonment Board	78684
Maharashtra	Nashik	Deolali Cantt.	Cantonment Board	54027
Telangana	Hyderabad	Secunderabad	Cantonment Board	217910
Uttar Pradesh	Kanpur	Kanpur	Cantonment Board	108534
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow	Lucknow Cantonment	Cantonment Board	63003
Manipur	East Imphal	Porompat Plan Area	Urban Outgrowth	1145
Manipur	East Imphal	Kongkham Leikai	Urban Outgrowth	887
Daman and Diu	Daman	Dadhel	Census Town	52578
Delhi	Delhi	Sahibabad Daulat Pur	Census Town	54773
Delhi	Delhi	Bawana	Census Town	73680
Delhi	Delhi	Kirari Suleman Nagar	Census Town	283211
Delhi	Delhi	Nithari	Census Town	50464
Delhi	Delhi	Begum Pur	Census Town	53682
Delhi	Delhi	Pooth Kalan	Census Town	96002
Delhi	Delhi	Sultan Pur Majra	Census Town	181554
Delhi	Delhi	Bhalswa Jahangir Pur	Census Town	197148
Delhi	Delhi	Mukand Pur	Census Town	57135
Delhi	Delhi	Burari	Census Town	146190
Delhi	Delhi	Sadat Pur Gujran	Census Town	97641
Delhi	Delhi	Karawal Nagar	Census Town	224281
Delhi	Delhi	Mustafabad	Census Town	127167
Delhi	Delhi	Khajoori Khas	Census Town	76640
Delhi	Delhi	Ziauddin Pur	Census Town	68993
Delhi	Delhi	GokalPur	Census Town	121870
Delhi	Delhi	Jaffrabad	Census Town	54601
Delhi	Delhi	Mandoli	Census Town	120417
Delhi	Delhi	Gharoli	Census Town	92540
Delhi	Delhi	DalloPura	Census Town	154791
Delhi	Delhi	Chilla Saroda Bangar	Census Town	83217
Delhi	Delhi	Hastsal	Census Town	176877
Delhi	Delhi	Bapraula	Census Town	52744
Delhi	Delhi	NangloiJat	Census Town	205596
Delhi	Delhi	Mundka	Census Town	54541
Delhi	Delhi	Roshan Puraalias Dichaon Khurd	Census Town	57217
Delhi	Delhi	Kapas Hera	Census Town	74073
Delhi	Delhi	Deoli	Census Town	169122

State	District	UAName	Type	Population
Delhi	Delhi	Pul Pehlad	Census Town	69657
Delhi	Delhi	TajPul	Census Town	68796
Delhi	Delhi	Mithe Pur	Census Town	69837
Delhi	Delhi	Molar Band	Census Town	91402
Delhi	Delhi	Jait Pur	Census Town	59330
Haryana	Panipat	Panipat Taraf Makhdum Zadgan	Census Town	67998
Kerela	Ernakulam	Edathala	Census Town	77811
Kerela	Ernakulam	Vazhakkala	Census Town	51242
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Pallichal	Census Town	53861
Kerela	Kozhikode	Cheruvannur	Census Town	61614
Kerela	Kozhikode	Beypore	Census Town	69752
Kerela	Malappuram	Moonniyur	Census Town	55535
Kerela	Malappuram	Tirurangadi	Census Town	56632
Kerela	Malappuram	Thennala	Census Town	56546
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Wadi	Census Town	54048
Maharashtra	Nashik	Ozar	Census Town	51297
Manipur	East Imphal	Porompat	Census Town	6191
Manipur	East Imphal	Torban	Census Town	5459
Manipur	East Imphal	Luwangsangbam	Census Town	3458
Manipur	East Imphal	Khongman	Census Town	6096
Manipur	East Imphal	Laipham Siphai	Census Town	5268
Manipur	East Imphal	Khurai Sajor Leikai	Census Town	7987
Manipur	East Imphal	Chingangbam Leikai	Census Town	4904
Manipur	East Imphal	Kshetrigao	Census Town	10534
Manipur	East Imphal	Kiyamgei	Census Town	5336
Manipur	East Imphal	Heingang	Census Town	6115
Manipur	East Imphal	Lairikyengbam Leikai	Census Town	4586
Manipur	East Imphal	Thongju	Census Town	10836
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Oggiyamduraipakkam	Census Town	76600
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Nerkunram	Census Town	59790
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Ramapuram	Census Town	52295
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Khora	Census Town	190005
West Bengal	Haora	Bally	Census Town	113377
West Bengal	Haora	Bankra	Census Town	63957

Table A6.3: List of Urban Settlements by Population (including Census Towns)

	State	District	UAName	Type	Total Population
1	Maharashtra	Greater Mumbai	Greater Mumbai	Municipal Corp.	12442373

	State	District	UAName	Type	Total Population
	Delhi	Delhi	DMC	Municipal Corp.	11034555
	Karnataka	Bangalore Urban	Bangalore BMP	Municipal Corp.	8443675
	Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Ahmadabad	Municipal Corp.	5577940
	Tamil Nadu	Chennai	Chennai	Municipal Corp.	4646732
	West Bengal	Kolkata	Kolkata	Municipal Corp.	4496694
	Gujarat	Surat	Surat	Municipal Corp.	4467797
1-4 million (16 cities)	Maharashtra	Pune	Pune	Municipal Corp.	3124458
	Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow	Lucknow	Municipal Corp.	2817105
	Uttar Pradesh	Kanpur	Kanpur	Municipal Corp.	2765348
	Maharashtra	Nagpur	Nagpur	Municipal Corp.	2405665
	Maharashtra	Thane	Thane	Municipal Corp.	1841488
	Maharashtra	Pune	Pimpri Chinchwad	Municipal Corp.	1727692
	Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Ghaziabad	Municipal Corp.	1648643
	Punjab	Ludhiana	Ludhiana	Municipal Corp.	1618879
	Maharashtra	Nashik	Nashik	Municipal Corp.	1486053
	Haryana	Faridabad	Faridabad	Municipal Corp.	1414050
	Maharashtra	Thane	Kalyan Dombivali	Municipal Corp.	1247327
	Maharashtra	Thane	Vasai-Virar City	Municipal Corp.	1222390
	Maharashtra	Thane	Navi Mumbai	Municipal Corp.	1120547
	West Bengal	Haora	Haora	Municipal Corp.	1077075
	Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Coimbatore	Municipal Corp.	1050721
	Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Madurai	Municipal Corp.	1017865
	Chandigarh	Chandigarh	Chandigarh	Municipal Corp.	961587
0.5-1 million (9 cities)	Haryana	Gurgaon	Gurgaon	Municipal Corp.	876969
	Punjab	Jalandhar	Jalandhar	Municipal Corp.	862886
	Maharashtra	Thane	Mira Bhayandar	Municipal Corp.	809378
	Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Thiruvananthapuram	Municipal Corp.	743691
	Maharashtra	Thane	Bhiwandi	Municipal Corp.	709665
	Kerela	Ernakulam	Kochi	Municipal Corp.	602046
	Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Loni	Nagar Panchayat	516082
	Maharashtra	Thane	Ulhasnagar	Municipal Corp.	506098
	Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Mangalore	Municipal Corp.	488968
	Maharashtra	Nashik	Malegaon	Municipal Corp.	471312
	Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Ambattur	Municipality	466205
	Kerela	Kozhikode	Kozhikode	Municipal Corp.	431560
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	South Dum Dum	Municipality	403316
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Rajarhat Gopalpur	Municipality	402844
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bhatpara	Municipality	383762
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Panihati	Municipality	377347
	Haryana	Rohtak	Rohtak	Muncipal Council	374292
0.2-0.5 million (35 cities)	Kerela	Kollam	Kollam	Municipal Corp.	348657

	State	District	UAName	Type	Total Population
	Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Avadi	Municipality	345996
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Kamarhati	Municipality	330211
	Kerela	Thrissur	Thrissur	Municipal Corp.	315957
	Puducherry	Puducherry	Ozhukarai	Municipality	300104
	Haryana	Panipat	Panipat	Muncipal Council	294292
	West Bengal	Haora	Bally	Municipality	293373
	Delhi	Delhi	Kirari Suleman Nagar	Census Town	283211
	Manipur	West Imphal	Imphal	Muncipal Council	282335
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Barasat	Municipality	278435
	Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Hapur	Nagar Panchayat	262983
	Delhi	Delhi	N.D.M.C.	Muncipal Council	257803
	Maharashtra	Thane	Ambarnath	Muncipal Council	253475
	Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Tiruvottiyur	Municipality	249446
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	North Dum Dum	Municipality	249142
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Baranagar	Municipality	245213
	Puducherry	Puducherry	Puducherry	Municipality	244377
	Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	Nagercoil	Municipality	224849
	Delhi	Delhi	Karawal Nagar	Census Town	224281
	West Bengal	Haora	Uluberia	Municipality	222240
	Telangana	Hyderabad	Secunderabad	Cantonment Board	217910
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Naihati	Municipality	217900
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bidhan Nagar	Municipality	215514
	Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Pallavaram	Municipality	215417
	Haryana	Panchkula	Panchkula	Muncipal Council	211355
	Delhi	Delhi	NangloiJat	Census Town	205596
Below 0.2 million (166 towns/cities)	Delhi	Delhi	Bhalswa Jahangir Pur	Census Town	197148
	West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Madhyamgram	Municipality	196127
	Haryana	Ambala	Ambala	Muncipal Council	195153
	Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Khora	Census Town	190005
	West Bengal	Hugli	Serampore	Municipality	181842
	Delhi	Delhi	Sultan Pur Majra	Census Town	181554
	West Bengal	Hugli	Hugli-Chinsurah	Municipality	177259
	Delhi	Delhi	Hastsal	Census Town	176877
	Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Tambaram	Municipality	174787
	Maharashtra	Thane	Badlapur	Muncipal Council	174226
	Kerela	Alappuzha	Alappuzha	Municipality	174176
	Delhi	Delhi	Deoli	Census Town	169122
	West Bengal	Hugli	Chandannagar	Municipal Corp.	166867
	Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Alandur	Municipality	164430
	Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Kancheepuram	Municipality	164384
	West Bengal	Hugli	Uttarpara Kotrung	Municipality	159147

State	District	UAName	Type	Total Population
Delhi	Delhi	DalloPura	Census Town	154791
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Barrackpur	Municipality	152783
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Habra	Municipality	147221
Delhi	Delhi	Burari	Census Town	146190
Haryana	Rewari	Rewari	Muncipal Council	143021
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	North Barrackpur	Municipality	132806
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Modinagar	Nagar Panchayat	130325
Punjab	Ludhiana	Khanna	Muncipal Council	128137
Delhi	Delhi	Mustafabad	Census Town	127167
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Basirhat	Municipality	125254
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Halisahar	Municipality	124939
West Bengal	Hugli	Rishra	Municipality	124577
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Kurichi	Municipality	123667
Delhi	Delhi	GokalPur	Census Town	121870
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Ashoknagar Kalyangarh	Municipality	121592
West Bengal	Hugli	Baidyabati	Municipality	121110
Delhi	Delhi	Mandoli	Census Town	120417
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Kanchrapara	Municipality	120345
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Madavaram	Municipality	119105
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Titagarh	Municipality	116541
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Dum Dum	Municipality	114786
West Bengal	Haora	Bally	Census Town	113377
West Bengal	Hugli	Champdani	Municipality	111251
Delhi	Delhi	Delhi Cantt	Cantonment Board	110351
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Bongaon	Municipality	108864
Uttar Pradesh	Kanpur	Kanpur	Cantonment Board	108534
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Khardaha	Municipality	108496
West Bengal	Hugli	Bansberia	Municipality	103920
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala Sadar	Muncipal Council	103093
West Bengal	Hugli	Bhadreswar	Municipality	101477
Delhi	Delhi	Sadat Pur Gujran	Census Town	97641
Kerela	Malappuram	Manjeri	Municipality	97102
Delhi	Delhi	Pooth Kalan	Census Town	96002
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Kuniyamuthur	Municipality	95924
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Muradnagar	Nagar Panchayat	95208
West Bengal	Hugli	Dankuni	Municipality	94936
Kerela	Kannur	Thalassery	Municipality	92558
Delhi	Delhi	Gharoli	Census Town	92540
Delhi	Delhi	Molar Band	Census Town	91402
Kerela	Malappuram	Ponnani	Municipality	90491
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Pollachi	Municipality	90180

State	District	UAName	Type	Total Population
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Avaniapuram	Municipality	89635
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Kamptee	Muncipal Council	86793
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Maduravoyal	Municipality	86195
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Garulia	Municipality	85336
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Goundampalayam	Municipality	83908
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad	Pilkhuwa	Nagar Panchayat	83736
Delhi	Delhi	Chilla Saroda Bangar	Census Town	83217
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Maraimalainagar	Municipality	81872
Maharashtra	Nashik	Manmad	Muncipal Council	80058
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Dholka	Municipality	79531
Maharashtra	Pune	Kirkee Cantt.	Cantonment Board	78684
Kerela	Ernakulam	Edathala	Census Town	77811
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	New Barrackpur	Municipality	76846
Delhi	Delhi	Khajoori Khas	Census Town	76640
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Oggiyamduraipakkam	Census Town	76600
West Bengal	Hugli	Konnagar	Municipality	76172
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Pammal	Municipality	75870
Kerela	Kozhikode	Vadakara	Municipality	75295
Delhi	Delhi	Kapas Hera	Census Town	74073
Delhi	Delhi	Bawana	Census Town	73680
Kerela	Kannur	Taliparamba	Municipality	72465
Kerela	Kannur	Payyannur	Municipality	72111
Kerela	Kozhikode	Quilandy	Municipality	71873
Maharashtra	Pune	Pune Cantt.	Cantonment Board	71781
Kerela	Ernakulam	Kalamassery	Municipality	71038
Goa	North Goa	Panaji	Municipal Corp.	70991
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Valparai	Municipality	70859
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Neyyattinkara	Municipality	70850
Delhi	Delhi	Mithe Pur	Census Town	69837
Kerela	Kozhikode	Beypore	Census Town	69752
Delhi	Delhi	Pul Pehlad	Census Town	69657
Kerela	Ernakulam	Thrippunithura	Municipality	69390
Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	Mettupalayam	Municipality	69213
Delhi	Delhi	Ziauddin Pur	Census Town	68993
Maharashtra	Thane	Palghar	Muncipal Council	68930
Delhi	Delhi	TajPul	Census Town	68796
Kerela	Alappuzha	Kayamkulam	Municipality	68634
Kerela	Malappuram	Malappuram	Municipality	68127
Haryana	Panipat	Panipat Taraf Makhdum Zadgan	Census Town	67998
West Bengal	Hugli	Arambag	Municipality	66175

State	District	UAName	Type	Total Population
Maharashtra	Nashik	Sinnar	Muncipal Council	65299
Punjab	Ludhiana	Jagraon	Muncipal Council	65240
Telangana	Rangareddi	Tandur	Municipality	65115
West Bengal	Haora	Bankra	Census Town	63957
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Anaiyur	Municipality	63917
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow	Lucknow Cantonment	Cantonment Board	63003
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Tiruverkadu	Municipality	62824
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Chengalpattu	Municipality	62579
Kerela	Kozhikode	Cheruvannur	Census Town	61614
Gujarat	Surat	Bardoli	Municipality	60821
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Nedumangad	Municipality	60161
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Nerkunram	Census Town	59790
Delhi	Delhi	Jait Pur	Census Town	59330
Maharashtra	Pune	Lonavala	Muncipal Council	57698
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Poonamallee	Municipality	57224
Delhi	Delhi	Roshan Puraalias Dichaon Khurd	Census Town	57217
Delhi	Delhi	Mukand Pur	Census Town	57135
Kerela	Kannur	Kannur	Municipality	56823
Kerela	Malappuram	Tirurangadi	Census Town	56632
Kerela	Malappuram	Thennala	Census Town	56546
Maharashtra	Pune	Talegaon Dabhade	Muncipal Council	56435
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Thiruvallur	Municipality	56074
Kerela	Malappuram	Tirur	Municipality	56058
Gujarat	Ahmadabad	Viramgam	Municipality	55821
Kerela	Malappuram	Moonniyur	Census Town	55535
Kerela	Kottayam	Kottayam	Municipality	55374
Haryana	Ambala	Ambala Cantt.	Cantonment Board	55370
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Kundrathur	Town Parishad	54986
Delhi	Delhi	Sahibabad Daulat Pur	Census Town	54773
Delhi	Delhi	Jaffrabad	Census Town	54601
Delhi	Delhi	Mundka	Census Town	54541
Maharashtra	Pune	Baramati	Muncipal Council	54415
Kerela	Thrissur	Kunnamkulam	Municipality	54071
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Wadi	Census Town	54048
Maharashtra	Nashik	Deolali Cantt.	Cantonment Board	54027
Maharashtra	Nagpur	Umred	Muncipal Council	53971
Kerela	Thiruvananthapuram	Pallichal	Census Town	53861
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Ullal	TMC	53773
Delhi	Delhi	Begum Pur	Census Town	53682
Tamil Nadu	Kancheepuram	Puzhithivakkam	Municipality	53322

State	District	UAName	Type	Total Population
Telangana	Rangareddi	Vicarabad	Municipality	53143
Karnataka	Dakshin Kannad	Puttur	TMC	53061
Delhi	Delhi	Bapraula	Census Town	52744
Daman and Diu	Daman	Dadhel	Census Town	52578
West Bengal	North 24 Parganas	Baduria	Municipality	52493
Tamil Nadu	Thiruvallur	Ramapuram	Census Town	52295
Maharashtra	Nashik	Ozar	Census Town	51297
Kerela	Ernakulam	Vazhakkala	Census Town	51242
Tamil Nadu	Madurai	Thirumangalam	Municipality	51194
Delhi	Delhi	Nithari	Census Town	50464
Maharashtra	Thane	Dahanu	Muncipal Council	50287
Puducherry	Mahe	Mahe	Municipality	41816
Manipur	East Imphal	Thongju	Census Town	10836
Manipur	East Imphal	Kshetrigao	Census Town	10534
Manipur	East Imphal	Andro	Nagar Panchayat	8744
Manipur	East Imphal	Khurai Sajor Leikai	Census Town	7987
Manipur	East Imphal	Jiribam	Muncipal Council	7343
Manipur	East Imphal	Porompat	Census Town	6191
Manipur	East Imphal	Heingang	Census Town	6115
Manipur	East Imphal	Khongman	Census Town	6096
Manipur	East Imphal	Torban	Census Town	5459
Manipur	East Imphal	Kiyamgei	Census Town	5336
Manipur	East Imphal	Laipham Siphai	Census Town	5268
Manipur	East Imphal	Chingangbam Leikai	Census Town	4904
Manipur	East Imphal	Lamlai	Nagar Panchayat	4601
Manipur	East Imphal	Lairikyengbam Leikai	Census Town	4586
Manipur	East Imphal	Luwangsangbam	Census Town	3458
Manipur	East Imphal	Porompat Plan Area	Urban Outgrowth	1145
Manipur	East Imphal	Kongkham Leikai	Urban Outgrowth	887