

Migration and Urbanisation in India in the Context of Poverty Alleviation

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1. Introduction

Migration and urbanization are direct manifestations of the process of economic development in space, particularly in the contemporary phase of globalization. Understanding the causes and consequences of the former in terms of the changes in the distribution of population and economic activities, along with the success and failures of the interventions by state and other organizations would be extremely important for evaluating the available policy options and exploring areas of possible strategic intervention.

A large part of migration and urbanization in the less developed countries have historically been linked to stagnation and volatility of agriculture and lack of sectoral diversification within agrarian economy, India being no exception to this. The growth rates in agricultural production and income has been noted to be low, unstable and disparate across regions over the past several decades, resulting in lack of livelihood opportunities in rural areas. A low rate of infrastructural investment in public sector in the period of structural adjustment - necessary for keeping budgetary deficits low – also have affected agriculture adversely. This has led to out-migration from several backward rural areas, most of the migrants being absorbed within urban informal economy. The primary concern of migration related policies must therefore be addressing the problems reflecting ecological footprints of large cities in regions that have become chronically out-migrating and stabilizing their agrarian economy through creation of livelihood opportunities¹. Although the poor have a right to the city, they should not be forced to shift as “forced migration and transferring encompass more poignant vulnerabilities”. Enabling rural people avail urban amenities without having to shift to a town and strengthening rural urban linkages and commutation would also be important maneuver in addressing the problem of rapid urbanization in a few regions.

Withdrawal or displacement of labour force from rural economy and their absorption in urban sectors have created serious stress in receiving regions as well. The capacity of the cities and towns to assimilate the migrants by providing employment, access to land, basic amenities etc. are limited. The problem have acquired severity as migrants have shown high selectivity in choosing their destinations (understandably linked with availability of employment and other opportunities), leading to regionally unbalanced urbanization as also distortions in urban hierarchy. The UNFPA (2007) regards concentration of poverty, growth of slums and social deprivation in cities as the major challenge of development in less developed countries². It is in this context that the MDG target 11 which stipulates significant improvement in the conditions of 100 million slum dwellers assumes importance. The Report of UN Secretary General of 2000 entitled *We the Peoples* makes it explicit that there should be no attempt to prevent formation of new slums in order to make the cities more attractive for globalization through “sanitisation”

¹ “root cause of migration especially those related to poverty” United Nations 1995 Population and Development vol 1.

² UNFPA (2007): *State of World Population 2007: Unleashing the Potential of Urban growth*, New York

by pushing out the slum population. The Taskforce for Improving the Lives of Slum Dwellers therefore reformulates the target 11 to suggest improving “substantially the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers while providing adequate alternatives to new slum formation by 2020”. The Taskforce further specifies that the challenge of target 11 will be two-fold. It would be (a) to improve the lives of existing slum dwellers and simultaneously (b) to plan for adequate alternatives for future urban growth³. The message comes loud and clear that the national and urban governments, civil society organizations must come forward with policies to mitigate the problems of these large cities, not only through micro level initiatives of improving slum conditions and access to basic amenities but also by adopting macro strategy of balanced regional development.

Rural urban migration has often been considered the major factor for growth of slums in urban areas. United Nations has warned that rapid urbanization and migration would lead to tripling of slum population by 2050, hindering the attainment of the MDG target, noted above. One must however point out that the technological shift from cheap labour based modes of mass production to knowledge based system is likely to bring down the demand for migrant workers, particularly of unskilled labour force and decelerate urbanization. Given this emerging scenario, one would ask “Is indeed the scale of migration and urbanization very high and alarming?” The rates of urbanization have already declined in many parts of the world, much more than what can be attributed to decline in natural growth in population⁴. While it is true that the share of natural growth in incremental urban population would decline even the rate of RU migration is likely to decelerate in future years⁵. Most of the mega cities have grown at a rate much below what was projected by UN organizations⁶. Migrants are often noted to be better off and relatively skilled than those left behind implying that the unskilled peasantry is finding it increasingly difficult to put a foothold in the urban centres in the present globalising environment. Migration to the large cities that have global linkages has become relatively more difficult as persons need access to information, market friendly skills and “some sort of bank roll”. The implications of the deceleration in the rates of migration and urbanization need to be analysed in the context of both sending and receiving regions.

It would be important to look at migration not always as a negative phenomenon - reflecting misery and lack of livelihood opportunities in the outmigrating regions and absence of basic amenities and health hazards in immigrating regions. It needs to be seen also as an opportunity being taken up by people to improve their socio-economic conditions. There are evidences that this is currently being taken up by skilled and better off sections. A large number of science and technology personnel in backward regions are locating themselves in a handful of cities and developed regions, analogous to the

³ Palnitkar and Kundu, D. Achieving the Millennium Development Goals, Financing Housing, Water and Sanitation in the Cities of Middle- Income Countries: The Case of Delhi, UNDP, 2005

⁴ Urban rural differential in population growth has gone down in most countries and regions of the world.

⁵ Several international organizations have built in an “unprecedented scale of urban growth” in their development perspective and support it by indicating that Africa and Asia would double their urban population in the next three decades. Indeed, the increase in absolute terms appears massive and alarming but one may note that urban population in the two continents had tripled during the past three decades and that urban growth has unmistakably decelerated, both due to slowing down of natural growth as also migration.

⁶ UNFPA (2007)

trends and pattern in international migration. While a section of the elite and highly skilled persons are “increasingly enjoying “benefits of migration, barriers to poorer migrants are increasing.” It should be possible to “use urban dynamics to help reduce poverty” and make migration an instrument in the strategy of poverty alleviation and hence be incorporated into a programme for meeting the first and the most important target under MDG. It is important to harness the potential of migration in the context of development and poverty alleviation. It would, therefore, make sense to discuss measures to promote orderly migration instead of considering proposals to discourage mobility of population.

The argument that poor constitute a large majority of rural urban migrants and consequently account for much of the incremental urban population is not borne out with the recent data in the Indian context as most of the million plus cities report significant decline in the level of poverty, much more than in small towns. However, with appropriate changes in the nature and form of urban expansion, as envisaged under inclusive growth strategy in the Eleventh Plan, the present exclusionary urban growth based on restrictions to migration and slum evictions can be reversed. Under a more proactive vision of inclusive development, provision of land for the poor can be made within the cities, as envisaged under the above mentioned document. Indeed, all concerned international agencies should examine the possibilities of supporting economic opportunities by providing the migrants access to also infrastructure and basic services, besides removing discriminatory regulations that deny migrants equal access to employment and basic services.

Migration and urbanization must also be looked in the context of emergence of global cities, many of which have acquired vibrancy in recent years by establishing linkages with national and international market. It is argued that the process of urbanization in India, as in other developing countries, is being determined by macro economic factors at national and global levels and is not strongly linked to the developments in rural economy. The strategy of economic reform and globalisation has given a boost to growth of industries and business in these global cities, resulting in inflow of capital from outside the region or country as also investment by local entrepreneurs. Given this perspective, it would be important to consider policies to harness the potential of migration in these and other urban centres for promoting a balanced settlement structure, ensuring equity and sustainability in development process.

It would be erroneous to restrict the analysis of urbanization and migration to a few mega cities and ignore the smaller towns in India as the data suggest that the latter report higher levels of poverty and greater deprivation in terms of quality of life. Furthermore, globalisation strategies have opened up possibilities of resource mobilisation for large cities by strengthening their internal resource base and enabling them to attract funds from global capital market and institutional sources. Unfortunately, most of these avenues have not opened up for smaller towns as their economic base is very low, offering little possibility to local government for internal resource mobilization with no business opportunity for the actors in capital market. Given this somewhat disturbing scenario, it would be a challenge, as stipulated by UNFPA (2007), to divert and promote “bulk of population growth in smaller cities and towns” that are seriously “underserved in housing, transportation, piped water, waste disposal and other services”. These have “fewer human, financial and technical resources at their disposal” and their “capabilities for planning and implementation can be exceedingly weak”. This indeed is an area of policy intervention in case the government is serious about its

commitment to alleviate poverty and usher in a process of sustainable urban development.

Given the above perspective and concerns, the present paper begins by overviewing the trends and processes of urbanization and migration in India at the macro and state levels over the last five decades in the section which follows the present introductory section. An attempt is made here to explain the temporal and regional variation in levels of migration and urbanisation and link it with the growth dynamics in the country. The third section probes further into the factors behind migration in different size class of settlements and its impact on the household and individual characteristics, based on unit level data from National Sample Survey, focusing on women and children. The programmes and schemes for urban development in operation during the last two and a half decades, particularly those launched in the wake of the 74th Constitutional Amendment Act have been reviewed in the fourth section. It also analyses how the emerging institutional structure and new initiatives in urban governance and planning, stipulating a shift away from Master Plan approach to preparation of vision documents, engagement of stakeholders in urban planning, tapping of capital market, judicial interventions etc. are impacting or could impact on the migration, urbanization and morphology of the cities. The fifth section attempts an assessment of the impact of the programme and policies of the government and rapidly changing institutional system on urban structure and morphology of cities. The final section summarises the major findings, identifies major areas of concern and puts forward a policy perspective for dealing with the problems.

2. Migration, Urbanisation and Economic Development– Macro Trends and Regional Dimension

Macro Trends in Internal Migration and Urbanisation

It may be pointed out that migration in the Indian sub-continent has historically been low. Researchers like Kingsley Davis (Davis 1951) have attributed this to prevalence of caste system, joint families, traditional values, diversity of language and culture, lack of education and predominance of agriculture and semi-feudal land relations. By the Davisian logic, too, improvement in the levels of education and that of transport and communication facilities, shift of workforce from agriculture to industry and tertiary activities etc. would increase mobility.

The pattern of internal migration (excluding the international migrants) has been presented in Table 3 using the data from Population Census. It may be seen here that mobility of population measured through percentage of lifetime migrants has declined systematically during 1961-91. This is so both in rural as well as urban areas. An analysis of intercensal migrants (those shifting place of residence during the past decade) reveals a sharper decline. The decline in the mobility of women, wherein socio-cultural factors are likely to be relatively more important, has been less than for men. The sharp decline in case of male migrants, both in case of rural as well as urban areas, has been attributed, besides the rigidities of the agrarian system, growing regionalism etc., to inhospitable environment they are confronting in the developed regions receiving

the migrants as also urban centres⁷. A fall in the rate of urbanisation during 1981-91, too, confirms this thesis.

Focusing on the urban segment, one observes that the sluggish growth of migrants compared to resident population in urban areas has brought down the percentage of lifetime (male) migrants from 37.5 to 26.0 during 1961-91 and that of intercensal migrants from 23.8 to 11.7, although the three decades - particularly seventies - have seen relatively high growth of urban population. Correspondingly, the share of intercensal interstate migrants has declined from 7.9 per cent to 3.3 per cent.

Do the data from Population Census 2001 mark a departure from the past trends? This indeed seems to be the case since, excepting the intercensal migrants, the percentage figures for all other migration categories have reported a rise during nineties, both for men as well as women (Table 1). There are nonetheless serious problems of data comparability particularly relating to the duration of stay at the place of enumeration, as discussed above. Consequently, the significant fall in the percentage of intercensal migrants can not be used for temporal comparison, without an adjustment. The more important questions would be, whether the data on total migrants too have been vitiated as a result of this factor? Are there reasons to believe that given the motivation among migrants to report longer duration of stay than the actual, particularly in the cities, they would be prompted to identify themselves as non migrants? And, has it been possible for them to do that at a much larger scale compared to earlier Censuses? To check this hypothesis, an attempt has been made to estimate the number of rural to urban (RU) migrants coming during a decade through an indirect method, using the population figures from Census. Using a simple identity, the incremental urban population during a decade can be decomposed into four categories⁸. These are: (a) natural increase, (b) new towns less declassified towns (outside the agglomerations), (c) merging of towns and jurisdictional changes in agglomerations and (d) RU migration (Table 4).

Based on this, RU migration has been estimated as a residual factor, which should be free from the bias of under-reporting as discussed in the preceding section. This as a percentage of incremental urban population (men and women combined) has been obtained as 21 per cent in the nineties, marginally less than noted in the previous decade. This would be in line with the proposition that the share of intercensal migrants has fallen continuously over the past few decades, including the nineties. One may add that even the percentage of lifetime migrants, which in 2001 is slightly above that of 1991, is significantly below those of 1961 and 1971. There are thus reasons to believe that Indian population has not become more mobile, if their mobility has not actually declined over the years.

The data from NSS for the past two decades too confirm the declining trend of migration for males, both in rural and urban areas, although the fall is less than that reported in the Census. Importantly, the migration rates had declined to all time low levels in 1993 but

⁷ UNFPA (2006) notes a similar trend at international level and draws attention “to the fact that goods capital services information and ideas are allowed to flow increasingly freely across international borders, while people are confronted with a wide range of official controls”

⁸ Using a similar identity, a study by the Office of the Registrar General, New Delhi, East West Centre, Honolulu and Bureau of the Census, Washington (1993), shows that the contribution of rural urban migration in the incremental urban population has declined significantly over the past decade and stood at 22.6 percent in the eighties.

after that, there has been slight recovery. The fact that percentages of migrants in 1993-94 are marginally above the figures for 1999-00, similar to what was noted using the data from Population Census, may be attributed to more liberal definition of migrants adopted in the 55th round of NSS, as discussed above. However, considering the period from 1983 to 1999-00, one would reconfirm that mobility has declined over the period. In case of women, the percentage of migrants has gone up marginally as this is determined by socio-cultural factors that respond slowly with time. The general conclusion thus emerges unmistakably is that mobility of men, which is often linked to the strategy of seeking livelihood, has gone down systematically over the past few decades.

The increasing immobility in the country has been attributed to growing assertion of regional and language identity, adoption of Master Plans and land use restrictions at the city level etc., that have been considered fallouts of the process of globalization. All these would discount the proposition that the mobility of labour, operationalised through market, would ensure optimal distribution of economic activities in space. It is important to note that it is no longer the avowed reactionary policies of the state that are restricting migration. It is the functioning of the market for land and basic services combined with a sense of 'otherness' that is the major barrier.

Given the sluggish growth in migration, both in rural and urban areas, one would not expect rapid growth of urban population in the country since the natural growth in urban areas has been less than that in rural areas. There have been, however, significant fluctuations in urban growth rates owing to factors that are not linked with urban dynamics. The growth rate (annual exponential) during 1941-51 was extremely high, 3.5 per cent per annum but that has been attributed to migration from East and West Pakistan at the time of partition of the country which brought in massive inflow from across the border, largely into urban settlements in India. The growth rate declined significantly during fifties to 2.3 per cent but that has been attributed to definitional factors as the Census of 1961 brought in rigorous application of demographic criteria in identifying urban centres. The growth rate would therefore be considered to be an underestimate. The definitional or other exogenous factors affected the growth rates the least in the sixties and consequently the growth rate of 3.2 per cent during 1961-71 can be taken to reflect the real urban tempo in the country.

All time high growth of 3.8 per cent was noted during 1971-81. Partly, this growth can be explained in terms of less rigorous application of criterion relating to non agricultural workforce in identifying urban centres and a more liberal definition of urban agglomeration. The annual growth rate (exponential) of urban population in India has gone from that point onwards. It came down to 3.1 per cent during 1981-91 and further to 2.7 per cent during 1991-2001 (Table 5). This declining trend of urbanisation in the country is in conformity with growing immobility of Indian population, despite growing information flows, accentuation of regional inequality etc. The trend also goes against the popular theories of "urban explosion", "over urbanisation" and "rural exodus".

Regional Pattern and Growth Dynamics of the States

Neo-classical models of growth and labour mobility stipulate that spatial disparity in development, ceteris paribus, would result in migration from backward to developed regions which would help in bringing about optimality in the spatial distribution of labour and economic activities. The mobility pattern observed in India fits well in these models. The analysis of interstate migrants, attempted on the basis of Census at the time of

Independence reveals that the less developed states had a high percentage of net out-migrants. The developed states, on the other hand, were in-migrating in character (Kundu 2006).

In the post Independence period until 1990, however, migration pattern turned out to be different (Table 6). There was a decline in the rates of net outmigration from the backward states like Bihar, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh etc. Importantly, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa stood out as exceptions as these reported significant inflow of population. This could be explained in terms of massive public sector investment, resulting in creation of job opportunities in industry and business in the two states. Local population, unfortunately, were not able to take advantage of these developments due to their low level of literacy and skill. Correspondingly, the developed states like Karnataka, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal that had attracted large scale immigration during the colonial period, reported decline in immigration rates. Only the state of Gujarat did not show this decline due to its growing dominance in the industrial map of India. Haryana reporting high immigration rates may be explained in terms of migration from Punjab due to political instability and communal tensions. The data for the nineties, however, suggest some sort of stepping up of outmigration from poor states and of immigration in to developed states, leading to possibly a marginal increase in the rate of overall migration in the country.

A few scholars have explained the decline in interstate migration (except nineties) in terms of developmental programmes, launched by central and state governments in the post Independence period promoting a spatially balanced development. Furthermore, better transport, communication and commutation facilities are supposed to alleviate the need to shift residence for employment or education, since people can now commute to neighbouring cities and towns. Undoubtedly, there is some truth in these arguments but are not adequate to explain the growing immobility. An analysis of regional structure of development reveals that inter-state inequality in several dimensions of economic and social development has not declined and in certain dimensions, this has gone up (See Srivastava 2003 and Kundu et. al. 1999).

It would be interesting to look at the migration pattern in relation to that of urbanization. The pattern of urban growth (or urban rural growth differential) across states during the first four decades since Independence exhibit negative relationship with their level of economic development articulated through income or consumption expenditure in per capita terms, share of industries in state income, agricultural productivity etc. The poor states like Orissa, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh that experienced rapid demographic growth in urban areas were also those that reported low productivity and high unemployment in agrarian sectors and heavy pressure on urban infrastructural facilities, suggesting presence of push factors behind RU migration. The slowing down of out migration from these to developed states until early nineties, as noted above, meant that the displaced persons from agrarian system sought absorption in the urban centres within the state.

In contrast, urban growth exhibits positive correlation with indicators of infrastructural and economic development both in rural and urban areas, and negative relation with poverty in the nineties. The states that are experiencing low or no growth in farm and non-farm productivity, high unemployment, severe malnutrition etc. are reporting sluggish urbanisation. Most of the cities and towns in developed states have, on the other hand, experienced rapid demographic growth. The data suggest that the RU

migrants belong to relatively higher economic and social strata compared to the non-migrants in different size class or urban settlements. Understandably, the cities in developed states are not getting their migrants driven by natural, social or economic calamities but those who have higher levels of skill or economic assets. It is this group who find it easier to establish linkages with the economy of the large cities through socio-cultural channels and avail the “opportunity” offered through migration. Many of them are traveling beyond their states. The negative perspective which characterizes and dictates large part of the contemporary literature on migration, therefore, needs to be urgently revisited.

3. Factors behind Migration and Its Impact on People in Different Size Class of Settlements

An analysis of the process of urbanization since Independence reveals that it has been large city oriented during colonial as also post colonial period. This is manifested in a high percentage of urban population being concentrated in class I cities that offer better employment and earning opportunities. This figure has gone up systematically over the past few decades. Partly this is due to graduation of lower order towns into class I category (Table 7). There is nonetheless adequate empirical evidence that these cities have grown at a distinctly higher rate than the lower order towns⁹. The pattern of growth has remained similar over the past few decades although there is a general deceleration in urban growth in all size categories during eighties and nineties. Importantly, the edge that the class I cities have over class II, III, IV and class V towns in terms of the growth rate has gone up during nineties. The gaps in the growth rates have widened (Table 7). Urban growth has become more unbalanced as developed states and class I cities, with strong economic base, raising resources through institutional borrowing and innovative credit instruments, have successfully attracted population as also economic activities. There, however, has been a modest decline in their population growth but that can be attributed largely to fertility decline.

The small and medium towns with population below 50,000 have on an average grown at a relatively slower pace during the seventies and eighties. In the backward states, however, these had exhibited rapid growth, similar or even higher than that of the class I cities during sixties, seventies and eighties. Detailed empirical analysis reveals that the demographic growth in these towns was not backed up by manufacturing\ commercial activities or infrastructural facilities in these states (Sivaramakrishna 2005). Rural poverty, stagnant agriculture, absence of sectoral diversification etc., therefore, were the factors in explaining their demographic growth. Importantly, during nineties, these (Census) towns, have experienced significant deceleration in their demographic growth. Even their number has gone down during 1991-01¹⁰ which signifies some sort of urban crisis in the context of development dynamics in the country.

⁹ Class VI towns with population below 5000, however, do not fall in line with the general pattern as they exhibit higher growth rates. One must hasten to add that these towns constitute a special category, as many of these are industrial townships, pilgrimage centres etc. or have come into existence through establishment of public sector units. Their growth dynamics, therefore, are outside the purview of the regional economy.

¹⁰ The total number of towns has however gone up due to large number of statutory towns notified by the state governments, in the states of Tamil Nadu.

Slowing down of the rates of RU migration and urbanization and concentration of demographic and economic growth in relatively developed states as well as around a few global centres, thus, seems to be a logical outcome of the new economic policy. There has been a paradigm shift in the process of urbanization, accompanying the programmes of structural reform. Many among the larger cities have been able to corner much of the resources, available for infrastructural and industrial development both from private and public sector, as noted above. The small and medium towns located away from these "global centres of growth", particularly those in backward regions, have failed in this which explains their low demographic growth.

Poverty and Vulnerability as Correlates of Migration and Urbanisation

A cross classification of migration data across consumption expenditure categories reveals that at the macro level, economic deprivation is less of a factor in migration, both in rural and urban areas. There is a sharp decline in the percentage of persons reporting economic factors as the reason for mobility in recent years. As many as 36 per cent of the migrants of less than one year duration, among rural men have reported new/better employment or transfer as the reason for their migration decision in 1983, as per the NSS data. This has come down to 25 per cent only in 1999-00. For women, the percentage figure has declined from 5 to 3 only. The economic factors have become less important in migration decisions among migrants in urban areas as well. For men, the percentage figure has gone down from 46 to 34 while in case of women, the corresponding figures are 8 to 3 (Kundu and Sarangi 2007). The increase in the share of women among migrants under all categories and durations is yet another indication of growing importance of non-economic factors since marriage and joining the family are the major factors responsible for their mobility.

The migration rate for males is as high as 23.3 per cent in the category with the highest monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) in rural areas in 1999-00 (Table 8). The figure goes down systematically in lower expenditure categories, the rate being as low as 4.3 at the bottom (Table 5). The same is valid in case of women migrants, the percentage figures varying from 31.6 to 57.0. An identical pattern is observed in urban areas as well. The above, however, is not a clinching evidence that economically better off people are more likely to migrate to avail new economic opportunities elsewhere, since the reported expenditure levels reflect the post migration situation. One can stipulate that the migrants have moved to higher consumption expenditure category after or because of their mobility. However, such post migration upward movement may not be high so as to render the hypothesis that the people in high expenditure categories are more likely to migrate, invalid.

The persons who have gone to any other place for 60 days or more during the last six months from the date of survey and returned back may be termed as seasonal or short duration migrants. A large segment of them in urban areas could be those who are adopting coping strategies or making temporary shifts in lean seasons for livelihood and survival. One would then stipulate a positive association of seasonal migrants with poverty. Alternately, seasonal migration can be attributed not to push factors but to short duration transfer of regular workers, temporary posting of marketing and extension workers etc. Interestingly, migration pattern in Table 6 reveals that poverty is not the key factor behind seasonal migration in urban areas. Indeed, this mobility is not very high among the poor when compared to middle class households. The bottom 40 per cent of the population account for only 29 per cent of the total seasonal migrants. The share of

the third quintile is, however, 29 per cent, much above its population share. These suggest that even such short term opportunities are taken more by the well off sections in urban areas.

Migration rates for Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) are around 20.4 per cent in rural areas in 1999-00 (Table 9). The rate for the remaining segment of the population is about 25 per cent. Among women, too, the migration rate for the non-backward classes is marginally above that of the others. One would infer that poverty and immiserisation, often linked with SC, ST and other backward castes, have not led to massive push factor¹¹ migration.

A unit level analysis of the 55th Round data has been attempted focusing on the urban areas. It is noted that urban households/population are equally distributed into the three categories based on mobility – rural to urban (RU) migrant, urban to urban (UU) migrant and non migrant. A large section of UU migrants may be reporting mobility due to transfer of jobs, business trips and availing better employment opportunities and hence has the least poverty, less than even the non-migrants. RU migrant category which has a substantial proportion of socially and economically displaced persons understandably reports a high incidence of poverty (Kundu and Sarangi 2007).

Poverty among urban households classified by the number of members reporting migration brings out yet another dimension of social dynamics (Table 10). It is evident that the poorest households are those that send one or a few of their members to other destinations. However, the entire household shifts to a new place when the in-migrant belongs to economically better-off strata. These households are in fact more affluent than the non-migrant households as the incidence of poverty here is the lowest.

Percentage of immigrants in different employment categories reveals an interesting pattern. Poverty among the salaried persons and those in regular employment is the lowest (Table 11), which is understandable. The next lowest figure is reported, not very surprisingly, by the unemployed persons. This is a reflection of the capability of these persons to stay out of the labour market (linked to their assets, savings etc.) as they can afford to wait for appropriate jobs. Casual workers report the highest level of poverty which should be a matter of concern for the architects of National Employment Guarantee Scheme which excludes the urban areas. The next highest poverty figure is recorded by the persons classified as others, comprising largely those outside labour force. This is because large sections of these people are children and aged dependents. Indeed, the households that report a large number of dependents have greater risk of falling below the poverty line. Importantly, this category claims more than 64 per cent of the total urban population in the country implying that in absolute terms this would be the single largest component, requiring urgent attention under any anti poverty programme.

Table 12 exhibits a negative relationship of incidence of poverty with levels of education. Poverty declines smoothly as one moves from illiteracy to graduation level of education and above. This could be a manifestation of the economic pay-off of education but could

¹¹ As per the 49th Round of NSS, the percentage of migrant households among the ST is as high as 2.7 per cent in rural areas in 1993. The figure for SC is 0.9 per cent against the national figure of 1.1 per cent. Correspondingly, in urban areas, the percentage figure for ST is 2.9 against the SC and national figures of 2.1 and 2.2.

also be due to the capability of richer sections of population to send their children to schools and higher/better institutions of learning.

Probabilities for the individuals to fall below poverty line have been calculated from the logit regression model (excluding the seasonal migrants) (Kundu and Sarangi 2007). Figure 1 shows the plotting of the probability values for the RU migrants, UU migrants and the non-migrants across different size class of urban centres. Noticeably, the probability of falling below poverty line is the highest for non-migrants, followed by RU migrants. The lowest probability is noted in case of UU migrants. Further, the figures vividly shows that the probability of being poor declines as one moves from small to medium and large cities, for all the migration categories.

Figure 2 shows the relationship between incidence of poverty and levels of education for RU and UU migrants and non-migrants. Probability of falling below poverty line declines monotonically with increase in level of education, for all the three categories. However, the curve for the non-migrants is above that of the other two categories. One would note a higher incidence of poverty among the locals than the RU migrants which again is higher than UU migrants, for all levels education. Impact of education is seen as positive in all city sizes.

The data from the 55th and 61st round of NSS suggest that the country is coming out of the jobless growth syndrome (NSSO 2001 & 2006). The employment rates by usual (principal) status in 15-59 age-group have gone up both for men and more for women during 1999-04. New employment opportunities are coming up within affluent domestic sector as also select industries and regions/urban centres that are linked to global market. While poor constitute a segment among the migrants, a substantial number of them belong to the middle and high income categories who are able to grab the new opportunities. This improved employment opportunities, nonetheless, has not restored the workforce participation rates (WPR) to the level of 1993-94 for men. In case of women, however, the WPR in 2004-05 are higher not only than those of 1999-00 but also than that of 1993-94 (Table 13). One gets a relatively less alarming picture by weekly and daily status as the growth rates by these are higher than by usual status during the entire decade ending in 2004-05. Increase in current status employment has generally been considered to be a positive factor for generation of income at the lowest economic stratum.

The overview suggests that the employment trend during last five years (1999-04) is disconcerting, particularly in case of urban India. This can be linked with the fact that the annual rate of decline in urban poverty has been significantly below that in rural poverty (Himanshu, 2007). The rate of decline has been estimated to be lower in case of urban areas during the entire decade 1993-2004 than rural areas but the gap between the two rates is very high during the later half.

One must look at urban employment scenario by considering the small medium and large cities separately. It is indeed true that large cities have successfully attracted infrastructural and industrial investment during the past decades of structural adjustment and thereby recorded reasonably high growth in employment. Poverty levels in large cities, however work out to be very low – about half compared to smaller towns. Anti-poverty strategy therefore must have a thrust on the livelihood related activities in small and medium towns. It may also be noted that the share of casual employment, which has a high incidence of poverty, has gone down in urban areas, being replaced by

increase in self employment for men and women and regular employment for women. The new employment opportunities are however being taken by skilled and semi skilled persons. Employment for persons up to secondary as also higher levels of education has gone up significantly with a corresponding decline in their unemployment rates. The benefits have however not gone to the weaker segment within the workforce like the illiterates and women.

Understandably, a large segment of migrants in urban centres comprises not of destitutes or economically and socially displaced persons, moving from place to place as a part of their survival strategy. In fact, the percentage of migrants declining over time and their economic and social status being better than that of non-migrants and even improving over time, reflect barriers to mobility for the poor. With growing regionalism, service provision being based on market affordability, changes in skill requirements in urban labour market etc., the emerging productive and institutional structure have become hostile to poor newcomers. The migration process has become selective wherein unskilled labourers are finding it difficult to access the livelihood opportunities coming up in developed regions and large cities.

4. Changing Policy Framework, Programmes and Institutional Structure for Urban Governance

The policy and strategy of urban development have undergone major changes during the past two and a half decades. This has resulted in transformation of the organisational structure for managing urban sector schemes and the supporting financing system that need to be analysed in some detail.

A review of the evolution of policy perspective on urban development indicates that until the Sixth Plan (1980-85), the policies addressed largely the problems of housing, slums and provision of civic amenities. It did sometimes put forward vision of Master Plans for large cities and development of small and medium towns in the context of regional development but did not propose specific programmes or projects to move towards the vision at national level. The Seventh Plan explicitly recognised the problems of urban poor but the issues of employment generation, pro-poor growth strategy, infrastructural requirement etc. did not figure in the strategy for this sector. The Eighth Plan (1992-97) for the first time talked of urban policies that could directly contribute to the goals of employment generation and poverty reduction by directing growth in certain directions. It envisaged a role for the local bodies in city development and stipulated cost recovery to be built into the municipal finance system. This perspective has further been reinforced in the Ninth Plan period (1997-2002) which talks of cities as engines of growth. It also puts forward a vision of market oriented growth with substantial reduction in budgetary allocations for development of urban infrastructure¹².

Overview of Central and State Government Schemes and Projects

The basic concern of public agencies in urban sector during the past couple of decades has been infrastructural deficiency in water supply, sanitation, solid waste management,

¹² “Privatisation of activities in the social service sector as well as projects with long gestation period should be stimulated through the fiscal route rather than through direct subsidy” Planning Commission (1997)

and urban transport, particularly in large cities. This led to launching of Mega City scheme in 1993-94 but that covered only five mega cities. Delhi which was not a part of the above was covered under National Capital Region Plan with much larger dose of central assistance. Ahmedabad and Hyderabad had the advantage of mobilizing resources through tax-free bonds. Accelerated Urban Water Supply Programme, another scheme launched in the same year 1993-94, had a wider spatial coverage although a large part of the benefits went to the large cities. The infrastructural problems in smaller towns have been addressed through the centrally assisted Integrated Development of Small and Medium Towns programme launched in 1979-80. Projects have been undertaken under the programme in 1854 towns and cities up to March 2007 with central subsidy of Rs. 10696.5 million. There has been serious inequality in disbursement of funds since eight states namely Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have received 70 per cent of the total. Unfortunately, the total disbursement under this scheme in per capita terms was low which went down further in the nineties. It is also important to point out that external assistance came in a big way in the urban sector during nineties. By the tenth Plan, multilateral lending agencies like the Asian Development Bank (ADB), World Bank and several bilateral agencies had become key players. Unfortunately, here again the thrust was in favour of metropolitan and other class I cities.

The Tenth Plan document expressed concern regarding decline in the rate of growth of urban population during nineties but failed to mention that this was primarily due to decline in the absolute number of Census towns and significantly higher decline in demographic growth of small and medium town compared to average urban growth in the country. It recognized the need to address the disparity in the availability of infrastructure and services across different size class of urban centres underlining the fact that “very small towns with extremely limited resources rarely see any improvement”. It noted that larger cities generally have the capacity to raise resources from domestic as well as international sources. Unfortunately, the Plan proposed very little to address the problems of serious deficiency in infrastructure and basic amenities in small towns.

The Eleventh Plan (The Approach Paper) too expresses concern, like its predecessor, regarding deteriorating infrastructural situation in cities that “provide large economies of agglomeration” and are absorbing large proportions of the incremental urban population. It lays major emphasis on Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission launched in the fourth year of the last plan “in a mission mode”. Never before have the select large cities received per capita allocation on such a large scale for infrastructural investment with Additional Central Assistance coming as grants. The other special feature is that the Mission has succeeded to a large extent in getting the state and city governments to commit themselves to structural reforms which the Central government had failed to achieve despite adopting several measures and incentive schemes since early nineties. “It would be particularly necessary to ensure that there is no dilution in these reform requirements”, the approach paper has stipulated. Also, sanctioning of the funds under the Mission is contingent on the City Development Projects (CDP) and detailed project reports being approved by the government, for which the bulk of the resources would have to be mobilized from non-governmental channels.

Like the predecessor, the Eleventh Plan talks of bringing about spatially balanced urbanization through development of new townships and growth centres. The Task

Force for Slum Development for the Plan proposes improving the level of basic services for non-Mission cities through Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP) which would replace National Slum Development Programme and Valmiki Ambedkar Awas Yojna. The IHSDP has been placed within JNNURM, which otherwise was for promoting infrastructural development only in sixty three large cities. Consequently, it is possible to project that the Mission is not for large cities alone but for promoting balanced urbanization in the country¹³. However, the resources available for other than 63 cities are too meager to stall the alarming trend of urban deceleration, particularly in less developed regions.

The Mission, besides attempting infrastructural development with market reforms, is to provide the poor access to basic services and land with tenurial security. Unfortunately, the component of infrastructure and reform in governance is being looked after by the Ministry of Urban Development while provision of shelter, basic services and slum development are the responsibilities of a separate sub-mission administered by the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development. It may further be noted that the milestones for implementation of reform agenda are unambiguous and easy to monitor as these can be ascertained based on an overview of the legislative changes, administrative orders etc. The indicators for ensuring access to basic amenities and land to the poor, on the other hand, are far too complicated and difficult to construct based on official information. Unfortunately, the CDP have not even tried to provide a framework or an institutional structure for fulfillment of these goals and the sanctioning authorities have failed to take note of this lacuna.

In the recently launched programme of UIDSSMT under JNNURM, projects have been launched only in 321 towns. The spatial disparity under the Programme can be inferred from the fact that 65 per cent of the resources has been utilized by four states namely Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh. This analysis clearly reveals that funds are utilized by a few states and concentration is in large towns and cities.

In the context of promoting livelihood for the poor, the Tenth Plan had launched Swarna Jayanti Shahari Rozgar Yojna (SJSRY) which basically subsumed Nehru Rozgar Yojna, Prime Minister's Integrated Urban Poverty Eradication Programme and Urban Basic Services for Poor, following the recommendations of Hashim Committee. The shelter and housing upgradation component was taken out and combined with National Slum Development Programme and Urban Basic Services for Poor under the new scheme IHSDP, mentioned above. The recent Evaluation Reports for SJSRY, however, reveals serious problems in its designing and implementation. As the cost ceiling for individual projects, skill upgradation etc. are low, economic viability of the self help enterprises set up under the scheme has become a casualty. The problems in identification of poor beneficiaries and implementation of the scheme without any dedicated cadre have resulted in significant leakages. Bankability of the projects also has emerged as an area of concern due to lack of marketing support to the enterprises as also difficulties in passing on the risk of running the enterprises from an individual to a group of asset less persons.

¹³ The Ministry of Urban Development has sanctioned 205 projects amounting to Rs. 169660 million in only 42 cities against the target of 63 cities. Of the allocated funds, 57.5 per cent has been sanctioned to the states of Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

An analysis of ILCS programme indicates that only one-sixth of the towns and cities located in only 23 states of the country have opted for this sanitation programme designed for provision of clean environment especially for the poor. This reflects a basic flaw in designing of the programme as it is being taken up in only 864 places though the programme despite its substantial subsidy component and all the cities and towns in the country reporting deficiency in terms of coverage of sanitation facility. The funds under ILCS have been distributed in a highly skewed manner as four states namely Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal have cornered over three quarters of the allocated funds.

Empowerment of Local Bodies and their role in Development Planning and Resource Mobilisation

With the passing of the 74th Amendment Act to Indian Constitution and corresponding legislations, amendments, ordinances etc. at the state level¹⁴, decentralisation has been hailed as a panacea for the problems of urban management in the country. All these basically attempt to achieve two objectives: one, enabling/facilitating the local bodies to undertake management, planning and development responsibility; and two, transferring powers to these bodies for generating adequate tax and non-tax revenue for this purpose.

Constitutional assignment of the responsibility of planning to city level agencies, however, has not automatically enabled them to prepare the Master Plans based on a development perspective for the city or region. A large majority of the agencies are simply not equipped to take up the responsibility of planning, especially of launching capital projects. Considerable expertise is required to identify the infrastructural and industrial projects appropriate for the growth of the city or town, assess their environmental implications and mobilise resources for these. This assistance is unlikely to come from the state government departments since they too have serious financial problems and may not be able to augment their professional staff. The only choice for the local bodies has, therefore, been to resort to financial intermediaries, credit rating agencies and private consultants. A large number of such agencies have come up in recent years in the private sector with assistance from international organisations. Projects have been prepared or identified in formal or informal consultation with interested companies or the "stake-holders" through the intermediation of the financial institutions. Understandably, identifying projects with high credit rating that would attract corporate investment is a different exercise from that of preparing a Master plan to answer the needs and aspirations of local people and then breaking it down to meaningful projects.

The second objective of the Amendment Act - increasing the resource availability at the local level - is an extremely doubtful proposition. Understandably, the outcome in different states has been different, contingent on materialisation of a number of conditions. Willingness of the state government to devolve the powers of generating tax and non tax revenues, that of local bodies to actually utilise these opportunities, that of the people to make the tax and non-tax payments etc. are the determining factors. The data available at the micro level from various sources do not lend support to the

¹⁴ National Institute of Urban Affairs (1998)

stipulation that the Amendment has indeed enhanced the resources of the local bodies, except a few large cities¹⁵.

Financial Institutions Supporting Urban Sector

The major players in urban sector currently are financial institutions including the public sector agencies that have been given the mandate and autonomy to leverage larger part of their funds from the market. Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO), the major player in public sector, established in 1970 basically to provide loans for urban development projects and associated institutional support had opened a new window in 1989 to provide funds for infrastructure projects. Availability of loans from this window, generally at less than the market rate, had made the state and city level agencies including the municipalities depend increasingly on it. This is more so in case of cities and towns with less than a million population since their capacity to mobilise internal resources were limited. HUDCO also became the premiere financial institution for disbursing loans under the Integrated Low Cost Sanitation Scheme which had a major subsidy component for different beneficiary categories. Also, the Corporation charged lower interest rates from local bodies in smaller cities¹⁶. Its loans for upgrading and improving the basic services in slums were available at a rate much lower than the normal schemes until early nineties, below that under similar schemes of the World Bank.

The provision of such loans from HUDCO has either been totally withdrawn or the volume sanctioned has been drastically reduced. Furthermore, the small bias in favour of smaller cities that had enabled a few of them to borrow funds has also been given up. Further, it was financing up to 90 per cent of the project cost in case of infrastructural schemes for “economically weaker sections” which has declined over the years. In fact, the cost of borrowing for all social sector projects has increased, resulting in reduction in the interest rate differentiation. It is important to note that HUDCO has been upgraded as ‘miniratna company’ in August 2004 and consequently it is not entitled to any equity support from the government which has further reduced its capacity to direct funds to social sectors at low interest rates. It has been pointed out that the cities with strong economic base, that are attracting private sector investment both from within as well as outside the country, are able to get also a disproportionate share of the subsidised HUDCO funds (Kundu and Maitra 1999).

The Infrastructure Leasing and Financial Services (ILFS), established in 1989, have emerged as an important financial institution in recent years. Its activities have more or less remained confined to development of industrial townships and roads and highways where risks are comparatively less. It basically undertakes project feasibility studies and provides a variety of financial as well as engineering services. With the increasing dependence on funds from private sector and capital market, the need to study the

¹⁵ National Institute of Urban Affairs (1998)

¹⁶ For urban centres with less than half a million population, the rate was 14.5 per cent; for cities with population between half to one million, it was 17 per cent; and for million plus cities, it was 18 per cent. No special concessional rate was, however, charged for the towns with less than a hundred or fifty thousand population that are in dire need of infrastructural improvement, as discussed above. These provisions no longer exist in HUDCO as it has adopted a need based approach and a uniform policy.

projects' financial viability, to safeguard the interests of the investors, has come to the forefront, which explains the growing importance of ILFS. Its contribution to the total infrastructural finance in the country however is very low and its role is being recognized more as a merchant banker rather than of a mere loan provider.

ILFS has helped local bodies, para-statal agencies and private organisations in preparing feasibility reports for infrastructure projects, detailing out the pricing and cost recovery mechanisms and establishing joint venture companies called Special Purpose Vehicles (SPV). Further, it has become equity holders in these companies along with other public and private agencies, including the operator of the BOT project. The role of ILFS may, thus, be seen as a promoter of a new perspective of development. Understandably, the projects for the provision of basic amenities in slums or low income areas, not having clear stipulations for total cost recovery within a reasonable period and therefore not fancied by private or joint sector companies are unlikely to find favour of this organisation.

Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) of India provides loans directly to municipalities and other local and state level agencies and indirectly through financial organisations like HUDCO, for infrastructure development. Unfortunately, the LIC format of funding the local bodies has not been very popular since it entails substantial contribution from the borrowing organisations that often have proved to be a bottleneck. Besides there have been problems with regard to recovery of dues (Rao 1999).

Setting up of Infrastructure Development Finance Corporations at the state level has been hailed as a landmark in this field. These are expected to play an important role in channeling the central government and HUDCO funds to local bodies and augmenting their infrastructural investment. Their role in strengthening urban infrastructural base of urban centres, particularly those located in backward regions, however, is yet to be assessed.

New System of Urban Governance and Tapping the Capital Market

Reduction of public sector intervention, ensuring appropriate prices for infrastructural services and urban amenities through elimination or reduction of subsidies, development of capital market for resource mobilisation, facilitating private and joint sector projects, simplification of legislative system to bring about appropriate land use changes and location of economic activities etc. are being advocated as a package, heralding a new system of urban governance¹⁷. Some kind of "financial discipline" has been imposed by the Central government and Reserve Bank of India on the concerned state government departments and urban local bodies to ensure that their programmes and projects rely increasingly on internal resource mobilization, loans from development cum banking institutions and capital market at non-subsidised interest rates.

The para statal agencies created in the post-Independence period like Housing Boards, Water Supply and Sewerage Boards, Development Authorities etc., that had taken over many of the functions of local bodies, have particularly come in for sharp criticism on grounds of inefficiency, lack of cost effectiveness and continued dependence on grants for sustenance. The allocations for these agencies have been cut down drastically along with that for the government departments, allowing them only limited possibility to

¹⁷ Dutta(1999)

undertake capital projects. A strong case has been made for making all organizations in urban sector financially viable and accountable to the users. Projects for the provision of sanitation facilities, improving slum colonies etc., that had a substantial component of subsidy, too have received less funds in this changed policy perspective.

Urban infrastructure projects have generally been considered commercially non-viable in India and consequently direct private investment in these from within or outside the country has been limited. Consequently, funds are being made available under Employees State Insurance Scheme and Employer's Provident Fund that have a longer maturity period and thus are more suited for infrastructure financing¹⁸. The stipulations and requirements for channeling investment into government securities are being relaxed so that larger funds can be made available as per the principle of commercial profitability.

The local and regional bodies and para-statal agencies have floated bonds carrying varying interest rates for financing their infrastructure projects. Unfortunately, the weak financial position and revenue sources of the urban local bodies often make it difficult to issue general obligation bonds as investors are reluctant to depend solely on the general revenue of the local bodies as their security. As a consequence, a new type of credit instruments has been designed to enable the local bodies tap the capital market. "Structured debt obligations" (SDOs) are arrangements through which bonds are issued on the condition that the borrowing agency would pledge or escrow certain buoyant sources of revenue for debt servicing. This is a mechanism by which the debt repayment obligations are given utmost priority and kept independent of the overall financial position of the borrowing agency. It ensures that a trustee would monitor the debt servicing and that the borrowing agency would not have access to the pledged resources until the loan is repaid. Understandably, this constraints "the local fiscal flexibility" (Mathur 1999) for carrying out its normal functions as also meeting some exigencies.

It may, however, be noted that only a handful of large cities with reasonably strong economic base have benefited from the "opportunity", opening up owing to the Constitutional Amendment¹⁹. These cities have been able to introduce new taxes, increase the rates of the old ones and at the same time liberate themselves from the legislative and administrative controls of the state government in their day to day functioning. A few of these cities have also been able to raise resources by issuing bonds or SDOs or borrowings from international organisations. It may be mentioned that the issuance of such credit instruments as also securing institutional loans have been contingent on the local bodies accepting stringent conditionalities, as discussed above. Unfortunately, the small and medium towns with weak and unstable economic base, have not been able to benefit in a similar fashion²⁰. Tamil Nadu raising Rs 304 million (unsecured and privately placed) infrastructure bonds for 15 year period in 2001 was the first case of water and sanitation pooled fund in the country. The fund thus raised were

¹⁸ An expert Committee set up by the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment (1999) recommends 20 per cent of the Provident Fund resources to be invested in investment grade corporate debt and another 10 per cent in domestic equity.

¹⁹ See Credit Rating Information Services of India Limited (1996)

²⁰ See Central Council of Local Governments (1977), National Institute of Urban Affairs (1983) and National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (1995)

passed on to several local bodies for part financing of their sanitation project. This obligated the local bodies to route their revenue earnings through an escrow account in a bank. The state of Karnataka has also tried a similar mode of resource mobilization for small towns. The Ministry of Urban Development has proposed guidelines on the pattern of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka for resource mobilization for smaller towns through reform agenda under JNNURM. Unfortunately, mobilisation of resources for pooled funds for capital investment in small towns has been difficult. Consequently, the disparity in per capita expenditure and consequently the level of amenities, across the size class of urban centres has accentuated in recent years.

The central government and the Reserve Bank of India have proposed restrictions on many of the states for giving guarantees to local bodies and para-statal agencies, in an attempt to ensure some fiscal discipline. As a consequence, in most of the states, only the para-statal agencies and municipal corporations have been able to get the state guarantee, with the total exclusion of smaller municipal bodies. Needless to mention that getting bank guarantee is even more difficult for the latter.

5. An Assessment of the Impact of the New System of Governance on Urban Structure and Morphology of Cities

The Problem of Regional and Size class Disparity

Taking a holistic view, one is not very certain that the recent programmes of liberalisation, new system of urban governance and tapping of capital market for infrastructure investment has helped mitigate problems of urbanization and migration in the country, as discussed in the preceding sections. The level of inequity in the provision of basic services across the states and size categories of urban centres have been extremely high in early eighties due to higher capacity of the people and the government in developed states to make investment in the services. The transfers of resources from the central to states had not favoured the backward states. More importantly, the state governments and para-statal institutions had not exhibited sensitivity in favour of small and medium towns.

A process of shifting the tasks and responsibilities to the local bodies has manifested clearly since mid eighties but unfortunately this has been done without examining the economic base and resource raising capacity of these bodies on the one hand and their requirements on the other. Increasing dependency of para-statal agencies as also the local governments on their internal resources and institutional finance have further accentuated the disparity in the levels of amenities across the states and size class of urban settlements.

Recent studies on the disparity in the income of local bodies and its various components across size class of urban centres at all India level suggest that the larger cities are financially in a stronger position and can take up public works and social infrastructure projects on their own which is not so for smaller towns. The Constitutional Amendment, making the civic bodies increasingly dependent on their own tax and non-tax resources, has further increased the disparity in the level of services and economic infrastructure across size class of urban centres. This has adversely affected the level of basic services in small and medium towns and their capacity to absorb future growth of population or attract new economic activities, particularly in less developed states. With the decline in central or state assistance in the era of decentralized governance, it is not

surprising that most of these towns do not make any investment for improving infrastructure and basic services. This has compounded their problems of inadequacy of basic amenities.

Institutional borrowings of the para-statal agencies, involved in the provision of the amenities, at high rates of interest, reduction in their grants from government etc. are likely to further erode their capacity to invest in backward states, smaller order towns, slums and low income areas. Unfortunately, much of the subsidised amenities, provided through the governmental programmes during the seventies and eighties, had gone to a few large cities and benefited mostly the high and middle income colonies. These could not have continued in a more liberalised regime of the nineties. However, withdrawing government support and relegating the provision of the services to the market are creating serious problems of regional inequality.

Intra Urban Disparity

The impact of the Constitutional Amendment on intra-urban disparity is likely to be adverse, leading to socio-economic segmentation of large cities. The Amendment, stipulates that the ward level committees are to be constituted in all cities having more than 0.3 million people and that these will have the powers take decisions regarding the level and nature of amenities, based on the capability and willingness of the residents to pay. The slum populations in the heart of the large cities or their peripheries, with low affordability or willingness to pay, would understandably accept a low level of civic amenities. The elite colonies, on the other hand, would be able attract private entrepreneurs and even the subsidised government programmes for improving the quality of services, based on their capacity to pay higher user charges and political connections. This would accentuate the disparity in the availability of basic amenities across the wards and between the city and the periphery.

The decade of the nineties has witnessed a sea change in urban governance, the most significant aspect being participation or engagement of civil society organizations in urban governance and planning. The institutional vacuum created by the withdrawal of the state and hesitation in the entry of private sector agencies has been sought to be filled up by non-governmental organizations and community based organizations. The limited success of the wards committees to usher in decentralized governance has led to the mushrooming of civil societies that have strived to become partners in urban management of the different localities within the cities with diverse agenda. The functioning of these societies, that have come up mainly in the planned colonies has serious implications in accentuating intra-city inequalities in the level of amenities and infrastructural facilities and slowing down migration into big cities.

The major concern of the RWAs in metropolitan cities has been able to increase safety for their residents, strive for better delivery of public amenities and more efficient management of development projects. In the process they have tried to sanitize their neighborhood by removing encroachments, slums, squatter and petty commercial establishments that pose a threat to local security and hygiene. Undoubtedly, better policing of urban land and prevention of squatting by the migrants are important fall outs of decentralized governance through citizen welfare associations in the major metropolises in the country. Many of these associations have filed petitions against vendors, encroachment by squatters etc. Courts have taken a serious view of the PILs filed by them and often directed the local authorities to remove the squatters.

Given the resource crunch in the government agencies in the era of globalisation, privatisation, partnership arrangements and promotion of community-based projects have become the only options for undertaking such investments. The projects that are now being sub contracted to private agencies or being launched with public private partnership have been responsible for exclusion of the poor due to various stipulation of cost recovery. The same is the case with public sector projects as well since these have increasingly been made to depend on institutional borrowings and capital market. All these have accentuated the gaps between rich and poor localities within the cities, particularly in the context of water and sanitation facilities, resulting in serious problems of health and hygiene. Growing disparity in the quality of micro environment has also been responsible for law and order problem resulting in individual and group violence.

The arrangements worked out by the local bodies with financial intermediaries including the credit rating institutions for tapping the capital market have often forced the former to pledge their regular earnings from octroi, grants from the state etc. as a guarantee for debt servicing. Importantly, the projects that are likely to be financed through such arrangements are commercially viable so as to ensure profitability to the investors and other stakeholders. The arrangements, thus, lead to a situation wherein the finances generated from the common people get escrowed as a security for projects that are likely to benefit better off sections of population or elite colonies. Similarly, the assignment of certain revenue channels to a separate fund, whose management is controlled by an outside financial institution or trustee can become a serious infringement on the rights of the local bodies. It, thus, appears that the policy of liberating the local governments from the regulatory and legislative controls of the state has brought the former under the direct control of financial institutions. This would be all very desirable from the development of capital market but may not answer the needs of basic amenities for the majority of urban poor and migrant workers.

The funds being made available to local bodies through Infrastructure Lease and Financial Services (ILFS) and Financial Institutions Reform and Expansion (FIRE) Programme and even HUDCO are expected to be matched by an equal amount raised from the domestic debt market. Further, a mandatory agenda for policy reform pertaining to urban governance, land management, pricing of services etc. have also been proposed for the participating institutions. Similarly, for obtaining World Bank loan under the IDA (International Development Assistance) the Corporations are required to maintain a separate account for the facilities created under the credit scheme, outside the overall municipal budget, as a pre-condition for getting the loan. Proposals have been put forward for revising the user charges for these facilities and making a group of sectors independent of the general municipal budget. All these are likely to place obligations constraining the local bodies in undertaking capital and even current expenditure out of their own revenues in slums and other low income colonies.

6. A Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

A macro overview of migration pattern reveals that economic deprivation is not the most critical factor for migration decisions in contemporary times. This factor does not emerge as important even in case of seasonal migrants which discounts the proposition that short duration mobility is restricted to the poor. Indeed, both poor and rich households report out-migration although the reasons for sending out their family members and the nature of jobs sought by them are different.

An analysis of unit level data in urban areas suggests that poor households are likely to send out one or more of their adult members to other locations, possibly for creating an outside support system for livelihood. In case of economically better-off strata, however, migration often means shifting of the entire family. The motivations for migration are, thus, diverse and varied depending on the socio-economic characteristics of the household. All these question the proposition that push factors have been the major determinants of mobility or that poverty holds the key to migration in the nineties.

Migration to urban centres emerges as a definite instrument of improving economic wellbeing and escaping poverty, irrespective of the size of the towns. The probability of being poor is less among the migrants compared to local population, in all size class of urban centres. What must however be pointed out is that large cities report low levels of poverty, irrespective of the migration status and nature of employment. However, the proposition that large cities have greater capacity of poverty alleviation for the residents or in-migrants needs to be postulated with caution. It can be argued that these cities have become less hospitable and less accommodating for the poor, reducing the absorption of economically dispossessed migrants and consequently reports lower poverty risk when compared to smaller towns.

Educational attainment emerges as the single most significant factor impacting on poverty. The poverty mitigating role of education is noted as significant for RU and UU migrants as also the non-migrant population. It suggests that there is a definite economic payoff to education in present urban context of the country but this is being enjoyed by those who are able to get regular jobs.

Despite the evidence of poverty mitigating impact of migration, the basic stipulation of the globalization model that mobility of labour, operationalised through the market, would automatically ensure optimal distribution of economic activities and population needs to be examined with rigour. The growth of manufacturing and modern service activities in India during nineties has been concentrated in a few developed states and regions as the locational controls and programmes to promote industries in backward regions have been withdrawn gradually. This understandably has accentuated interstate disparity in development. Many of the backward states, particularly their backward districts, are facing serious problems of unemployment and under employment. Unfortunately, certain specificities and fragmentations in labour market as also policies of development are hindering mobility of workers, particularly those belonging to low economic strata. Programmes of structural reform, leading to relaxation and even removal of the restrictions on movement of commodities, have unfortunately failed to make a dent on socio-economic factors constraining movement of labourforce or people.

The process of globalisation has led to weakening of institutions like family, community, common property resources etc. This has increased vulnerability of poor both in rural and urban areas, despite reported decline in poverty. Migration which brought about redistribution of population from poorer to developed regions and helped them in finding a survival strategy is yet another institution which has come under strain. Despite increase in regional imbalances, Indian population has become somewhat immobile due to emerging socio-political factors. This poses a major challenge for the development strategy, currently being pursued in the country. The policy of unbalanced development, if continued despite this ominous trend, can have serious negative implications.

The decline in population mobility would undermine the proposition that the peasantry, eking out their distressed livelihood within an overstretched agrarian economy, would be able to find their escape route and grab the growing employment opportunities in industries and business coming up in and around a few large cities. Unless the reasons for increasing immobility are properly understood and the factors responsible for it are appropriately tackled, it would be dangerous to follow the strategy of unbalanced development or leave the spatial structure of development to be determined by forces of global and national market and hope that labour market would ensure equity in the accrual of benefits. The analysis of the urban dynamics in the past few decades, as attempted above, questions these solutions, emerging from the neo liberal paradigm.

In view of this macro scenario, a case can be made for providing special assistance to the less developed states that are not in a position to allocate requisite funds to their urban centres for this purpose. Particularly, small and medium towns in these states need to be supported in financing capital projects as their economic bases are not strong to generate adequate revenues for the purpose. This would imply increasing the resources allocated for urban development. There must, however, be explicit stipulations in the urban sector schemes to ensure that most of this fund goes to small and medium towns and for the provision of basic services for the urban poor.

The seriousness of the problem of intra urban inequality demands that the concerned public agencies take the overall responsibility of ensuring the basic amenities to all sections of population in different size class of urban centres, irrespective of their income or affordability. For this purpose, it would be important to set up the "minimum standards" for the amenities in realistic terms. The public agencies may, however, fulfil this responsibility by engaging\ supporting private organisations, NGOs and CBOs or strengthening the local bodies. It is unfortunate that all urban centres have been excluded from the purview of the wage employment scheme under National Employment Guarantee Act, although the small and medium towns in most states report poverty level equal to or higher than that in rural areas. The capacity of the local governments to create livelihood opportunities on a long term basis through self employment programmes through skill formation and asset creation is limited. The past experiences suggest that there has been considerable leakage in these programmes. Banks and other financial institutions have been unwilling to give loans to the poor as the risk of non-recovery is very high²¹. Also, the assets created through wage employment programmes have not contributed significantly to the development potential or long-term income generating capacity of the poor. It is, therefore, recommended that the anti-poverty programmes in small urban areas should primarily be focussed on provision of basic amenities.

The new programmes must be designed to cover all vulnerable sections of population in the entire hierarchy of settlements. Importantly, the capacity of the small and medium towns in less developed states as also the urban poor to pay for basic services would remain low during the next few years of structural adjustment as the prospect of an increase in their real income does not seem very bright. The programmes must,

²¹ Tendulkar et. al.(1993) have demonstrated that the poor households at the lower end tend to receive less subsidy and credit than the average". They, thus, dismiss the official optimism of the self employment programmes to lift the poor above the poverty line"

therefore, be specifically targetted and the subsidies should become explicit. The justification for all these must be sought in the context of a regional development plan.

It is important that regional and city development plans are formulated and implemented through a process relatively independent of the financing system, so that all the "stakeholders", including those financing component of the projects, are obliged to function within the framework of a development plan. Also, there should be proper monitoring of the scheme so that the vested interests at the local level do not corner a large part of the benefits on the basis of their financial contribution in the project.

Constitutional amendment for decentralisation of financial powers is not sufficient for augmenting resources of the local bodies. This must be backed up by actual devolution of powers and responsibilities and their use by the municipal bodies. The management capacities of these bodies need to be strengthened by giving more technical personnel and training the existing staff. They should be able to organise their affairs better, including mobilisation of tax and non-tax resources for infrastructure development. Manufacturing activities at the town level are noted to exhibit a strong relationship with the availability of infrastructure and amenities. One may, therefore, argue that the provision of these services in small urban settlements, besides being a goal in itself, would help in generating non-agricultural employment and diversifying their economic base. This in turn would decelerate migration from backward to developed states and large cities. Further, it would enable the small towns develop better linkages with their hinterland through provision of infrastructural support and greater capacity to absorb large sections of migrants in productive activities.

Figure 1 : Probability of being Poor by Migration Status Across Size Class of Towns

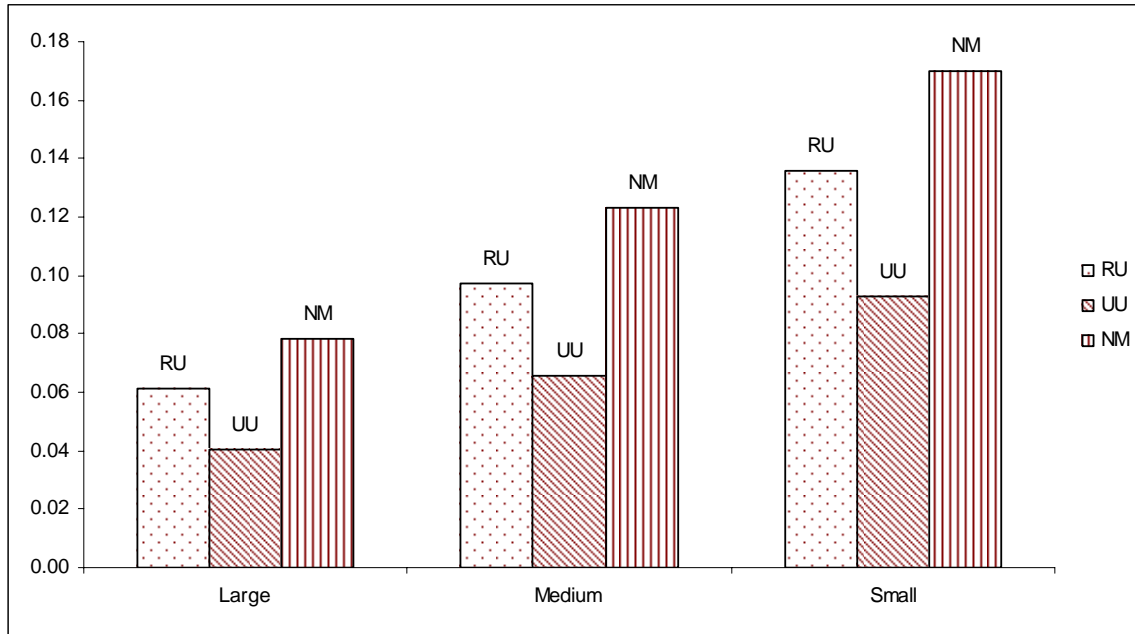


Figure 2 : Probability of being Poor by Migration Status Across Levels of Education

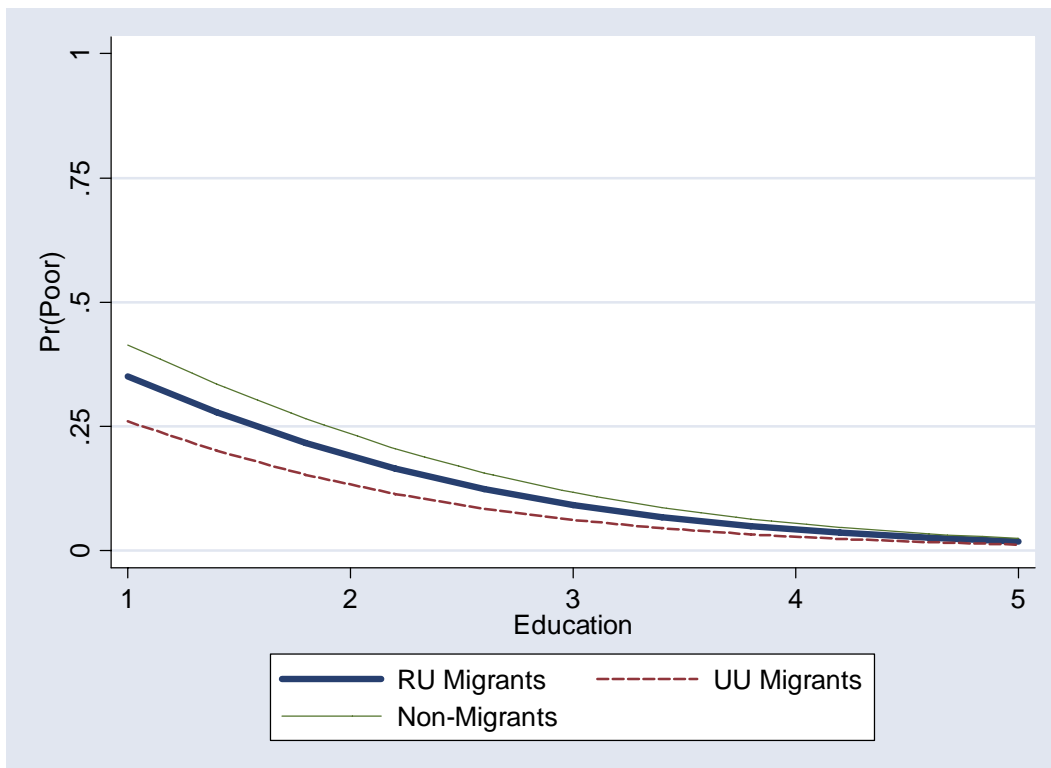


Table 1
Migrants with Different durations of Stay and their Percentage to Total Population and Growth Rates

	Total migrants - 1991			Total migrants - 2001			Annual Ex Growth (1991-2001) excluding J & K		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
<i>Total Million</i>	232.11	64.31	167.80	314.54	93.36	221.18			
<i>Rural Million</i>	162.47	32.81	129.66	210.38	43.85	166.53			
<i>Urban Million</i>	69.65	31.50	38.14	104.16	49.52	54.65			
Total	27.43	14.64	41.22	30.63	17.57	44.62	2.98	3.66	2.71
Rural	25.84	10.12	42.60	28.37	11.50	46.19	2.53	2.82	2.45
Urban	32.00	27.41	37.14	36.50	32.98	40.41	3.97	4.46	3.54
Less than 1 year									
Total	0.84	0.75	0.93	0.87	0.79	0.95	2.22	2.36	2.09
Rural	0.76	0.64	0.89	0.82	0.71	0.93	2.27	2.54	2.06
Urban	1.05	1.04	1.05	0.99	0.98	1.00	2.10	2.03	2.17
1-4 years									
Total	4.71	3.19	6.34	4.60	3.12	6.19	1.66	1.63	1.68
Rural	3.99	2.13	5.98	3.90	1.98	5.94	1.38	0.83	1.58
Urban	6.76	6.18	7.42	6.42	6.02	6.87	2.13	2.36	1.92
5-9 years									
Total	4.16	2.27	6.20	4.10	2.28	6.05	1.76	1.92	1.69
Rural	3.70	1.45	6.10	3.61	1.30	6.06	1.38	0.54	1.58
Urban	5.49	4.61	6.48	5.37	4.77	6.04	2.45	3.00	2.00
0-9 years									
Total	9.70	6.21	13.47	9.57	6.19	13.19	1.75	1.83	1.72
Rural	8.46	4.22	12.97	8.34	3.99	12.93	1.46	1.01	1.61
Urban	13.30	11.82	14.96	12.78	11.78	13.90	2.26	2.58	1.97
10-19 years									
Total	6.45	2.99	10.18	6.76	3.15	10.64	2.36	2.36	2.36
Rural	6.04	1.85	10.49	6.26	1.69	11.09	1.97	0.65	2.20
Urban	7.65	6.21	9.27	8.08	6.85	9.45	3.20	3.61	2.89
20+ years									
Total	8.96	3.39	14.97	9.84	3.74	16.38	2.83	2.84	2.83
Rural	9.22	2.26	16.65	10.04	2.07	18.48	2.46	0.70	2.69
Urban	8.21	6.61	10.00	9.32	7.98	10.81	3.94	4.54	3.48
Duration not stated									
Total	2.31	2.05	2.59	4.45	4.49	4.40	8.35	9.61	7.14
Rural	2.13	1.79	2.49	3.73	3.75	3.70	7.12	8.86	5.55
Urban	2.84	2.77	2.91	6.32	6.37	6.26	10.58	10.85	10.30

Note: The figures excepting the first three rows are percentages to total population in the country. The figures for 1991 pertain to India (excluding J & K) while those for 2001 are all India figures.

Table 2A
Addition, Declassification & Merger of Towns

1971					1981					
STATES	No.of New	Popn in New Town	No.of	Popn in Declassified	No. of	No. of New	Popn in New Town	No.of	Popn in Declassified	No. of
	Towns	as % of	Declassified	Towns as	Merged	Towns	as % of	Declassified	Towns as	Merged
		Urban Popn	Towns	% of Urban Popn	Towns		Urban Popn	Towns	% of Urban Popn	Towns
1.Andhra Pr.	40	4.83	37	3.59	2	32	2.7	1	0.09	NA
2.Arunachal Pr.	4	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--
3.Assam	20	11.47	-	-	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	--
4.Bihar	50	11.98	-	-	1	34	5	14	1.3	--
5.Delhi	-	-	-	-	-	27	9.12	-	-	--
6.Goa	-	-	-	-	-	4	11.16	-	-	--
7.Gujarat	49	6.11	11	1.05	3	48	3.9	7	0.41	--
8.Haryana	4	1.55	-	-	-	19	9.7	1	0.23	--
9.Himachal Pr	7	7.92	1	0.14	-	11	10.1	-	-	--
10.J& K	7	2.74	5	1.98	-	14	5.94	1	0.14	--
11.Karnataka	29	4.07	9	1.48	6	47	4.5	11	0.61	--
12.Kerala	22	22.28	15	5.85	11	50	22	32	10.9	--
13.Madhya Pr	34	3.68	3	0.27	-	81	7.2	1	0.04	--
14.Maharashtra	28	2.24	-	-	5	33	1.8	13	0.32	--
15.Manipur	7	29.06	-	-	-	24	33.05	-	-	--

16.Meghalaya	-	-	-	-	-	6	14.73	-	-	--
17.Mizoram	-	-	-	-	-	4	23.63	-	-	--
18.Nagaland	-	-	-	-	-	4	27.81	1	0.16	--
19.Orissa	21	12.47	2	0.85	-	28	9.1	-	-	--
20.Punjab	2	0.74	3	0.3	-	29	4.5	-	-	--
21.Rajasthan	12	2.72	-	-	-	44	7.5	-	-	--
22.Sikkim	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.86	-	-	--
23.Tamil Nadu	152	7.07	45	3.18	7	30	1.8	13	0.69	--
24.Tripura	-	-	-	-	-	4	9.14	-	-	--
25.Uttar Prad.	58	3.79	-	-	-	382	17.7	2	0.03	--
26.West Bengal	45	4.16	-	-	6	78	5.1	1	0.05	--
<i>U. Ts</i>										--
1.Andaman & N.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--
2.Chandigarh	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.62	-	-	--
3.Dadra & Nag.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	--
4.Daman & Diu	-	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	--
5.Lakshadweep	-	-	-	-	-	3	100	-	-	--
6.Pondicherry	2	32.43	-	-	1	1	0.56	-	-	--
All India	593	5.25	131	1.05	42	1054	6.81	99	0.61	--

Note:(a)NA- Not Available; (b) The towns including those appearing as constituent units of UA have been considered as separate units

Source: Paper-1, 1971, Paper-2,Rural-Urban Distribution,1981

Table 2B
Addition, Declassification & Merger of Towns

STATES/U.Ts	1991					2001					
	No.of New	Popn in New Town	No.of	Popn in Declassified	No. of	No. of New	Popn in New Town	No.of	Popn in Declassified	No. of	
	Towns	as % of	Declassified	Towns as	Merged	Towns	as % of	Declassified	Towns as	Merged	
		Urban Popn	Towns	% of Urban Popn	Towns		Urban Popn	Towns	% of Urban Popn	Towns	
1.Andhra Pr	37(32)	5.6	13	0.82	12	35 (35)	2	79	7.05	10	
2.Arunachal Pr	4(4)	28.54	-	-	-	7 (7)	25.63	-	-	-	
3.Assam	13(4)	3.72	-	-	-	37(31)	7.96	5	-	-	
4.Bihar	57(41)	5.9	2	0.05	4	3(2)	0.36	11	2.37	-	
5.Chhattishgarh	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	19(18)	5.24	3	-	14	
6.Delhi	10(10)	1.02	2	0.16	6	35(35)	9.19	2	-	3	
7.Goa	16(16)	25.98	-	-	-	17(16)	20.05	3	-	1	
8.Gujarat	29(28)	2.4	-	-	20	43(23)	3.24	63	1.59	2	
9.Haryana	15(8)	3.8	2	0.62	-	15(14)	3.32	3	0.22		
10.Himachal Pr	11	3.3	-	-	-	2(1)	4.67	1	0.79	1	
11.J& K	16(1)	NA	NA	NA	NA	1(1)	0.2	-	-		
12.Jharkhand	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	33(33)	4.17	14	1.86		
13.Karnataka	51(45)	3.4	19	1.27	7	45(27)	6.48	39	1.16	42	
14.Kerala	92(80)	27.5	1	0.27	-	18(17)	3.71	41	-	15	
15.Madhya Pr	143(45)	7.4	1	0.03	4	39(26)	2.29	6	-	6	
16.Maharashtra	62(48)	3.7	11	0.25	22	79(78)	2.51	23	0.54	14	

17.Manipur	6(2)	7.37	7	4.77	-	4(4)	3.82	2	-	-
18.Meghalaya	-	-	-	-	-	4(1)	11.86	-	-	-
19.Mizoram	16	19.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20.Nagaland	2(1)	8.17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21.Orissa	17(11)	4	1	0.15	-	18(13)	2.82	3	-	1
22.Punjab	7(6)	0.9	21	2.01	-	41(16)	5.2	3	0.22	1
23.Rajasthan	26(18)	2	2	0.19	3	17(17)	1.02	14	1.4	3
24.Sikkim	-	-	-	-	-	1(1)	24.44	-	-	-
25.Tamil Nadu	38(38)	1.9	3	0.06	-	456(59)	21	61	1.05	32
26.Tripura	8(6)	36.87	-	-	-	7(6)	12.08	2	-	-
27.Uttar Prad.	62(20)	2.3	5	0.12	8	45(42)	1.36	7	-	4
28.Uttaranchal	NA	NA	NA	NA	-	9(8)	3.44	5	-	1
29.West Bengal	111(110)	4.6	3	0.08	17	105(102)	4.75	48	-	64
<i>U T s</i>										
1.Andaman	-	-	-	-	-	2(2)	13.93	-	-	-
2.Chandigarh	1(1)	1.36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
3.Dadra & Nag.	-	-	-	-	-	-	56.61	-	-	-
4.Daman & Diu	-	-	-	-	-	1(1)	49.83	-	-	-
5.Lakshdweep	1(1)	19.48	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
6.Pondicherry	5(3)	8.22	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
All India	856(579)	4.88	93	0.32	103	1138(636)	5.09	445	-	221

Note:(a)NA- Not Available; (b) The towns including those appearing as constituent units of UA have been considered as separate units. (c)Within bracket are shown the no.of census towns

Source: Paper-2, Rural-Urban Distribution,1991,2001

Table 3
Internal migrants in various categories 1961-2001

	Percentage to total Population					Total Migrants in millions
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2001
Total Migrants						
Intercensal	15.0	12.4	12.2	9.7	9.5	98.3
Intercensal interstate	2.0	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.6	16.8
Lifetime	30.6	28.7	29.4	26.5	29.2	301.1
Lifetime interstate	3.3	3.4	3.6	3.3	4.2	42.3
Male Migrants						
Intercensal	11.3	9.4	8.9	6.1	6.2	32.9
Intercensal interstate	2.2	1.8	1.6	1.2	1.6	8.5
Lifetime	18.3	17.2	16.6	13.8	16.4	87.2
Lifetime interstate	3.4	3.4	3.3	2.8	3.7	19.7
Female Migrants						
Intercensal	19.0	15.7	15.7	13.5	13.2	65.4
Intercensal interstate	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.5	1.7	8.3
Lifetime	43.7	41.1	43.1	40.3	43.0	213.7
Lifetime interstate	3.2	3.4	3.9	3.8	4.6	22.7
Rural Male Migrants						
Intercensal	8.4	7.1	6.3	4.2	4.0	15.2
Intercensal interstate	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.6	2.3
Lifetime	13.9	12.9	11.5	9.4	10.5	40.2
Lifetime interstate	1.4	1.3	1.2	0.9	1.1	4.4
Urban Male Migrants						
Intercensal	23.8	18.5	16.9	11.7	11.7	17.7
Intercensal interstate	7.9	5.6	4.4	3.3	4.1	6.2
Lifetime	37.5	33.6	32.4	26.0	31.2	47.0
Lifetime interstate	12.3	11.2	10.0	8.0	10.2	15.3

Note: Life time migrants are by their place of birth while inter-censal migrants are by their place of last residence for reasons of temporal comparability.

Table 4
Disaggregation of Total Incremental Urban Population into Components

	Percentage Distribution			
	1961-71	1971-81	1981-91	1991-01
Total increase	30.18	49.9	57.7	67.7
(a) Natural increase on base year pop and on inter censal migrants	64.6	51.3	61.3	59.4
(b) Population of new towns less declassified towns	13.8	14.8	9.4	6.2
(c) Net RU migration	18.7	19.6	21.7	21.0
(d) Increase due to expansion in U Area and merging of towns	2.9	14.2	7.6	13.0

Note:

(a) The first component, natural increase, has been estimated by using SRS data of birth rate and death rate for the urban population.

(b) The population in new towns less that of declassified towns, is obtained by subtracting the increase in the population of common towns from the total increase in urban population. Importantly, the new towns that emerge as parts of urban agglomeration (existing in the base year), would be included in the common towns. This second component would, thus, give the population of only those new towns that are not part of the UA.

(c) The third component has been estimated as residuals in the first three decades since it is very difficult to ascertain this directly. For nineties, this has been obtained based on the assumption that there has been larger number of merging of towns with urban agglomerations and areal expansion in the latter. Since the number of towns merging with the existing towns in the nineties is 221 compared to 103 in eighties, the third component has been taken as twice that in the eighties, as a conservative estimate.

(d) The net of RU migration has been obtained from the Population Census in the first three decades while in the fourth, it is a residual category.

Table 5
Number of Towns, Percentage and Growth Rate of Urban Population in India since 1901

Census Year	No.of towns/ U A s	% Urban to total population	Annual. expn. gr. of urban pop.
1901	1827	10.84	-
1911	1815	10.29	0.03
1921	1949	11.18	0.79
1931	2072	11.99	1.75
1941	2250	13.86	2.77
1951	2843	17.29	3.47
1961	2365	17.97	2.34
1971	2590	19.91	3.21
1981	3378	23.34	3.83
1991	3768	25.72	3.09
2001	4368	27.78	2.73

Note : Estimated population has been taken for Assam and Jammu & Kashmir in 1981 and 1991 respectively

Source: Paper-2, Rural-Urban Distribution, 1981, 1991 & 2001 (Unpublished)

Table 6
Percentage of Interstate Net Male Migrants in Various Census Years During 1961-91

States	<i>Percentage of Total Netmigrants</i>				<i>Percentage of Rural Netmigrants</i>				<i>Percentage of Urban Netmigrants</i>			
	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	1991	1961	1971	1981	1991
Andhra Prad	-0.7	-0.3	-0.2	-0.1	-0.3	-0.1	-0.1	0.0	-2.5	-0.9	-0.8	-0.3
Assam	2.4	1.1	-	0.1	1.9	0.8	-	0.0	7.7	3.5	-	0.5
Bihar	-2.4	-1.4	-1.2	-1.3	-1.0	-0.7	-0.4	-0.5	-15.9	-6.6	-6.2	-6.7
Gujarat	0.0	0.4	0.6	1.1	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.6	-1.1	0.7	1.2	2.2
Haryana	-	0.7	0.9	1.0	-	1.5	0.9	0.6	-	-3.2	1.0	2.2
Himac Prad.	0.5	-0.8	-0.4	-0.2	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.1	-17.5	-23.2	-19.2	-12.7
J & Kashmir	-1.3	-0.5	-0.2	-	-0.2	0.4	0.2	-	-6.7	-4.5	-1.6	-
Karnatak a	1.3	0.4	0.2	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.1	0.1	1.6	-0.1	0.4	0.9
Kerala	-2.6	-1.8	-1.3	-0.8	-0.3	-0.1	0.2	0.3	-15.0	-10.6	-7.8	-3.6
Madhy Prad.	2.0	-0.9	0.3	0.6	0.9	-0.6	-0.1	0.2	7.9	-2.7	1.6	1.8
Maharash tra	2.9	1.9	2.2	1.3	0.1	-0.1	0.5	0.1	9.1	5.9	5.1	3.1
Orissa	-0.8	0.2	0.2	-0.3	-0.3	0.0	0.1	-0.1	-7.7	1.8	0.3	-1.7
Punjab	-1.9	-1.7	0.2	0.3	-0.6	-1.0	0.0	0.3	-6.7	-3.7	0.7	0.4
Rajasthan	-1.7	-0.9	-0.5	-0.5	-0.4	-0.1	0.1	-0.1	-8.5	-4.6	-2.5	-1.9
Tamil Nadu	-1.2	-0.3	-0.7	-0.7	-0.8	-0.4	-0.5	-0.5	-2.3	-0.1	-0.9	-1.2
Uttar Prad	-2.0	-1.6	-1.8	-1.4	-0.4	-0.3	-0.3	-0.3	-12.2	-9.3	-8.5	-6.2
West Bengal	4.1	1.5	0.7	0.3	1.4	0.6	0.2	0.1	11.6	3.8	2.1	0.8

Source : Computed by subtracting the figures in Table 3 from their corresponding figures in Table 2.

**Table 7a:
Number of towns and percentage of urban population in different size categories**

Census Year	Number of towns						Percentage of urban population					
	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI
1901	24	43	130	391	744	479	26.00	11.29	15.64	20.83	20.14	6.10
1911	23	40	135	364	707	485	27.48	10.51	16.4	19.73	19.31	6.57
1921	29	45	145	370	734	571	29.70	10.39	15.92	18.29	18.67	7.03
1931	35	56	183	434	800	509	31.20	11.65	16.8	18.00	17.14	5.21
1941	49	74	242	498	920	407	38.23	11.42	16.35	15.78	15.08	3.14
1951	76	91	327	608	1124	569	44.63	9.96	15.72	13.63	12.97	3.09
1961	102	129	437	719	711	172	51.42	11.23	16.94	12.77	6.87	0.77
1971	148	173	558	827	623	147	57.24	10.92	16.01	10.94	4.45	0.44
1981	218	270	743	1059	758	253	60.37	11.63	14.33	9.54	3.58	0.50
1991	300	345	947	1167	740	197	65.20	10.95	13.19	7.77	2.60	0.29
2001	393	401	1151	1344	888	191	68.67	9.67	12.23	6.84	2.36	0.23

The towns have been placed in six categories, following demographic criteria as given below:

Class I towns - 1,00,000 or more
 Class III From 20,000 to 49,999
 Class V From 5,000 to 9,999, and

Class II From 50,000 to 99,999
 Class IV From 10,000 to 19,999
 Class IV Below 5,000

Table 7b
Annual Exponential growth rates of urban population in different size categories

Census Year	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V	Class VI
1901-11	0.54	-0.73	0.46	-0.55	-0.43	0.72
1911-21	1.57	0.68	0.50	0.03	0.46	1.47
1921-31	2.24	2.89	2.28	1.59	0.89	-1.25
1931-41	4.81	2.59	2.51	1.47	1.50	-2.26
1941-51	5.02	2.10	3.07	2.01	1.97	3.31
1951-61	3.72	3.50	3.05	1.65	-4.05	-11.62
1961-71	4.29	2.93	2.65	1.67	-1.14	-2.32
1971-81	4.34 (3.46)	4.43 (3.09)	2.69 (3.33)	2.43 (3.00)	1.64 (3.15)	5.05 (3.90)
1981-91	3.84 (2.96)	2.38 (2.75)	2.26 (2.59)	1.02 (2.50)	-0.13 (2.62)	-2.45 (3.64)
1991-01	3.42 (2.76)	1.76 (2.37)	2.15 (2.27)	1.64 (2.19)	1.93 (2.22)	0.80 (3.26)

Note:

1. Size class wise figures exclude Assam in 1981 and Jammu & Kashmir in 1991
2. All classes exclude six towns in 1941, four each in 1931 and 1921 and two each in 1911 and 1901 of Goa, which could not be assigned to any size class as their population for these years is not available. Total number of towns therefore would not match with the figures of Table 1.
3. The growth rates for towns in a size category have been computed by taking the population in the category in the base and terminal year, without considering the change in the number of towns therein. The figures in brackets are, however, computed by taking only the population of the towns that belonged to a category, both for base and terminal years.

Source: Paper-2, Rural-Urban Distribution, 1981,1991. For 2001, unpublished data from website.

Table 8
Percentage of migrants across monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE)
classes 1999-00

MPCE class (Rs.)	Men	Women	MPCE class (Rs.)	Men	Women
Rural			Urban		
0 – 225	4.3	31.6	0 – 300	10.5	32.1
225 – 255	3.7	34.2	300 – 350	13.0	35.6
255 – 300	4.0	38.0	350 – 425	13.4	37.3
300 – 340	4.6	39.8	425 – 500	19.7	39.9
340 – 380	4.9	41.3	500 – 575	21.1	40.9
380 – 420	5.8	43.2	575 – 665	23.9	41.2
420 – 470	6.3	44.3	665 – 775	27.8	45.3
470 – 525	7.3	46.1	775 – 915	30.7	43.6
525 – 615	8.6	48.6	915 – 1120	37.1	48.3
615 – 775	10.7	51.5	1120 – 1500	41.2	48.6
775 – 950	14.5	53.0	1500 – 1925	38.8	47.3
950 & above	23.3	57.0	1925 & above	43.3	49.3
All	6.9	42.6	All	25.7	41.8

Table 9
Percentage of All and Seasonal Migrants to Total Population in Different Size Class of Urban Centres classified by their Levels of Education in 1999-00

	Illiterates	Upto Primary	Upto Secondary	Upto Higher secondary	Graduate and above	Total
In-Migrants						
Large towns / cities	32.2	25.7	32.1	32.0	34.0	30.5
Medium cities/ towns	33.9	27.4	39.4	43.8	49.9	35.5
Small towns	31.0	26.5	36.7	41.4	49.1	32.6
All Urban Areas	32.5	26.7	36.6	39.7	44.0	33.3
Seasonal-Migrants						
Large towns / cities	1.7	0.8	1.6	0.6	0.7	1.2
Medium cities/ towns	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.6	1.0	1.0
Small towns	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.7	1.1
All Urban Areas	1.1	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.0	1.1

Source: Same as Table 3.

Table 10
Percentage of migrants in different social groups

Social groups	Rural			Urban		
	male	female	person	male	female	person
Scheduled tribe	5.6	35.7	20.4	28.2	41.1	34.5
Scheduled caste	6.4	43.4	24.4	22.5	39.3	30.5
Other backward caste	6.5	42.8	24.2	23.7	41.7	32.3
Others	8.1	44.3	25.9	27.6	42.6	34.7
All	6.9	42.6	24.4	25.7	41.8	33.4

Table 11
Households Classified by All or A few Migrant Members and Incidence of Poverty

	Sample Households (Per cent to total)	Per cent Households below Poverty Line
Non-migrants	30.7	14.0
Household having migrant Members	50.4	19.3
All household Members being migrants	18.9	5.6
Total	100	15.1

Source: Same as Table 3.

Table 12
Proportion of Population below Poverty Line by Employment Status (All Persons)

	Share of population	Per cent Population below Poverty Line
Self employed	14.2	19.3
Regular	13.5	8.7
Casual	6.1	37.9
Unemployed	1.7	15.5
Others	64.6	20.9
Total	100	19.9

Source: Same as Table 3.

Table 13
Proportion of Population below Poverty Line by Level of Education (All Persons)

Education level	Per cent Share in Population	Per cent Population below Poverty Line
Illiterate	27.9	35.4
Upto Primary	30.3	22.2
Upto Secondary	26.0	11.0
Upto Higher sec.	6.9	5.4
Graduate and above	8.9	2.1
Total	100	19.9

Source: Same as Table 3

Table 14
Percentage of workers in 15–59 age group in different NSS Quinquennial rounds by usual, weekly and daily status

Year/round	Rural male		Rural female		Urban male		Urban female	
	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Principal + subsidiary</i>	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Principal + subsidiary</i>	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Principal + subsidiary</i>	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Principal + subsidiary</i>
1977–8 (32nd)	90.2	92.0	40.7	54.2	79.6	81	19.3	24.6
1983 (38th)	88.4	90.4	40.1	54.5	79.5	81	18.7	23.4
1987–8 (43rd)	86.2	88.7	39.8	51.6	77.9	79.3	18.3	23.5
1993–4 (50th)	86.5	88.4	36.7	51.6	78.8	79.7	18.4	23.4
1999–00 (55th)	85.5	86.7	33.4	48.2	77.9	78.5	17.6	20.9
2004-05 (61st)	85.5	87.1	38.0	51.5	74.5	75.5	18.7	23.0
	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>
1977–8 (32nd)	87.1	81.5	37.7	31.4	78.6	75.7	19.6	17.1
1983 (38th)	85.4	80.2	36.4	31.6	78.3	75.2	18.4	16.5
1987–8 (43rd)	84.0	83.5	35.3	33.2	77.3	75.1	18.5	17.0
1993–4 (50th)	85.1	80.9	42.0	34.3	78.2	76.0	20.9	18.1
1999–00 (55th)	83.4	78.1	40.8	32.9	77.1	74.4	19.1	16.7
2004-05 (61st)	83.8	78.1	43.2	33.9	78.5	76.0	22.3	19.4

Source: NSSO Rounds on 'Employment & Unemployment Situation in India', Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.

Table 15A
Percentage of unemployed persons/person days to labour force/labour days in rural areas

Year/round	Male			Female		
	<i>Usual principal + subsidiary status</i>	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>	<i>Usual Principal + subsidiary status</i>	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>
1977-8 (32nd)	1.3	3.6	7.1	2.0	4.1	9.2
Jan-Dec 83 (38th)	1.4	3.7	7.5	0.7	4.3	9.0
1987-8 (43rd)	1.8	4.2	4.6	2.4	4.4	9.0
1989-90 (45 th)	1.3	2.6	-	0.6	2.1	-
1990-1 (46 th)	1.1	2.2	-	0.3	2.1	-
July-Dec 91 (47 th)	1.6	2.2	-	0.7	1.2	-
Jan-Dec 92 (48 th)	1.2	2.2	-	0.6	1.2	-
1993-4 (50th)	1.4	3.1	5.6	0.9	2.9	5.6
1994-5 (51 st)	1.0	1.8	N/A	0.4	1.2	N/A
1995-6 (52 nd)	1.3	1.8	N/A	0.7	0.9	N/A
1997 (53 rd)	1.2	2	N/A	0.7	1.8	N/A
1998 (54 th)	2.1	2.9	N/A	1.5	2.7	N/A
1999-2000 (55th)	1.7	3.9	7.2	1.0	3.7	7.0
2004-05 (61st)	1.6	3.8	8.0	1.8	4.2	8.7

Table 15B
Percentage of unemployed persons/person days to labour force/labour days in
urban areas

Year/Round	Male			Female		
	<i>Usual principal + subsidiary status</i>	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>	<i>Usual Principal + subsidiary status</i>	<i>Weekly status</i>	<i>Daily status</i>
1977-8 (32nd)	5.4	7.1	9.4	12.4	10.9	14.5
Jan-Dec 83 (38 th)	5.1	6.7	9.2	4.9	7.5	11.0
1987-8 (43rd)	5.2	6.6	8.8	6.2	9.2	12.0
1989-90 (45th)	3.9	4.5	-	2.7	4	-
1990-1 (46th)	4.5	5.1	-	4.7	5.3	-
July-Dec 91 (47th)	4.1	4.8	-	4.3	5.6	-
Jan-Dec 92 (48 th)	4.3	4.6	-	5.8	6.2	-
1993-4 (50th)	4.1	5.2	6.7	6.2	8.4	10.4
1994-5 (51st)	3.4	3.9	N/A	3.4	4	N/A
1995-6 (52nd)	3.8	4.1	N/A	3.1	3.5	N/A
1997 (53 rd)	3.9	4.3	N/A	4.4	5.8	N/A
1998 (54 th)	5.1	5.4	N/A	6.8	7.8	N/A
1999-2000 (55th)	4.5	5.6	7.3	5.7	7.3	9.4
2004-05 (61st)	3.8	5.2	7.5	6.9	9.0	11.6

Table 16
Education level specific usual status WPR for persons of age 15 years and above

	Males						Females					
	1993-94		1999-00		2004-05		1993-94		1999-00		2004-05	
	PS	PS+ SS	PS	PS+ SS	PS	PS+ SS	PS	PS+ SS	PS	PS+ SS	PS	PS+ SS
Rural												
Illiterates	91.3	91.8	89.1	89.5	88.7	89.2	39.1	54.0	40.4	51.3	41.6	55.0
Literate upto primary	89.8	90.9	87.2	88.0	88.7	89.5	28.6	41.6	30.3	40.3	32.7	44.9
Middle	73.5	77.0	75.2	76.8	78.1	80.2	17.7	29.0	20.5	29.0	25.3	37.1
Secondary	68.3	72.8	71.3	73.7	69.9	73.2	15.3	25.8	17.3	25.7	20.4	30.5
Higher secondary	62.9	68.6	67.9	71.3	66.4	70.9	16.1	23.4	13.4	20.6	16.9	25.2
Diploma					78.3	82.1					39.6	52.3
Graduate and above	79.2	83.4	80.2	83.6	81.8	85.1	29.3	36.6	26.9	31.0	28.5	34.5
All	84.6	86.4	82.9	84.1	83.0	84.6	34.6	48.6	35.0	45.2	35.9	48.5
Urban												
Illiterates	86.6	87.0	83.6	83.9	82.4	83.1	23.3	30.0	22.9	27.1	25.0	30.4
Literate upto primary	84.4	85.0	82.4	83.0	85.1	85.5	15.0	20.3	14.6	17.7	18.6	23.4
Middle	71.3	72.3	72.5	73.2	75.0	76.0	9.1	13.1	9.9	12.9	11.7	16.1
Secondary	66.3	67.7	66.1	66.8	66.2	67.3	10.8	13.4	10.4	12.4	9.5	12.3
Higher secondary	58.9	60.7	59.9	60.8	59.1	60.8	12.6	14.7	11.1	12.4	10.3	12.9
Diploma					77.2	79.8					42.3	48.6
Graduate and above	80.7	81.8	79.7	80.6	78.5	79.5	28.2	30.1	25.2	27.3	26.5	29.0
All	75.8	76.8	74.5	75.2	75.2	76.3	17.5	22.3	16.6	19.7	18.5	22.7

Table 17A
Age specific work participation rates by usual (principal) status in rural areas from various NSS rounds

Age Group	Men			Women		
	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05
5-9	9	5	2	11	6	1
10-14	112	82	54	104	74	49
15-19	523	475	453	264	234	222
20-24	824	823	820	318	310	284
25-29	947	942	956	354	373	367
30-34	980	974	977	407	422	424
35-39	988	981	986	435	453	482
40-44	985	981	979	440	462	475
45-49	980	977	977	438	450	483
50-54	965	949	958	407	399	436
55-59	936	919	924	337	351	394
60+	683	622	630	172	174	197
All	538	522	535	234	231	242

Table 17B
Age specific work participation rates by usual (principal) status in urban areas from various NSS rounds

Age Group	Men			Women		
	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05	1993-94	1999-00	2004-05
5-9	4	3	2	3	1	1
10-14	59	46	44	35	28	24
15-19	337	303	314	94	87	92
20-24	654	644	662	136	130	155
25-29	892	878	900	175	161	186
30-34	961	958	965	208	198	236
35-39	982	973	975	233	235	265
40-44	980	973	977	257	242	262
45-49	971	968	965	253	234	227
50-54	941	933	925	240	225	224
55-59	845	803	819	185	181	192
60+	429	386	355	91	82	86
All	513	513	541	121	117	135

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